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HISTORY OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA

(ANCIENT AND MEDIÆVAL
RELIGIOUS AND CIVIL LAW)

8.31

BY

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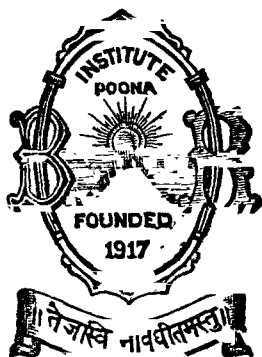
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PREFACE

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 saṁskāras, āhnikā 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), āsauca (impurity on birth and death), śrāddha, prāyaścitta, tirtha, vrata, kāla, śānti, the influence of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā 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

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 *sūstris* 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 Paramahansa Kevalānanda Svāmi of Wai for constant help and guidance (particularly in the śrauta portion); to Chintāman-śāstri Datar of Poona for assistance in the chapter on darśa-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 Tarkatīrtha Raghunāthaśāstri Kojie 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).
Ait. Br. = Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.
All. = Indian Law Reports, Allahabad Series.
Ānan. or Ānand. = Ānandāśrama Press edition, Poona.
Āp. Dh. S. = Āpastamba-dharmasūtra.
Āp. gr. = Āpastamba-gr̥hya-sūtra.
Āp. M. P. = Āpastamba-mantra-pāṭha.
Āp. Śr. = Āpastamba-śrauta-sūtra.
Āśv. gr. = Āśvalāyana-gr̥hya-sūtra.
Āśv. Śr. = Āśvalāyana-śrauta-sūtra.
A. S. W. I. = Archaeological Survey of Western India Reports.
Baud. Dh. S. = Baudhāyana-dharma-sūtra.
Baud. gr. = Baudhāyana-gr̥hya-sūtra.
Baud. śr. = Baudhāyana-śrautasūtra.
Bhār. gr. = Bhāradvāja-gr̥hya-sūtra.
B. I. = Bibliotheca Indica series, Calcutta.
Bom. = Indian Law Reports, Bombay Series.
Bom. H. C. R. = Bombay High Court Reports (vol. I-XII).
Bom. L. R. = Bombay Law Reporter (edited by Ratanlal and Dhirajlal).
B. O. R. I. = Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
Br. Up. = Br̥hadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.
Cal. = Indian Law Reports, Calcutta Series.
Chān. Up. or Ch. Up. = Chāndogya Upaniṣad.
C. I. I. = (Volumes of) Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
C. L. J. = Calcutta Law Journal.
Com. = Commentator or Commentary (according to context).
Cr. ed. = Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata, published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
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).

- E. C. = Epigraphia Carnatica.
 E. I. = Epigraphia Indica.
 E. R. E. = Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics (edited
 by James Hastings).
 F. n. = Footnote.
 Fick = The Social organization in North-east India in
 Buddha's time (translated from German by
 Dr. Shishirkumara Maitra, 1920).
 Gaut. = Dharmaśūtra of Gautama.
 Gr. R. = Gr̥hastharatnākara of Candēśvara.
 G. S. = Gupta *śamvat*.
 H. A. S. L. = History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature by
 Prof. Max Müller (1859).
 Hir. gr. = Hiranyakeśi-gr̥hya-sūtra.
 I. A. = Indian Antiquary.
 I. H. Q. = Indian Historical Quarterly.
 I. L. R. = India Law Reports series.
 Ins. = Inscription or inscriptions.
 J. B. B. R. A. S. = Journal of the Bombay Branch of the
 Royal Asiatic Society.
 J. B. O. R. S. = Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research
 Society.
 Jiv. = Pandit Jivānanda's edition.
 J. R. A. S. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.
 Kāthaka S. = Kāthaka Samhitā.
 Kauṭ. = Kauṭilya'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. = Maitrāyaṇī-samhitā.
 Mānava gr. = Mānava-gr̥hyasūtra.
 Mār. or Mārkaṇḍeya = Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa.
 Mit. = The commentary Mitākṣarā on Yājñavalkya Smṛti.
 Moo. I. A. = Moore's Indian Appeals.
 n. = footnote.
 Pāṇ. = Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī.
 P and M = Pollock and Maitland's History of English
 Law.
 Pār. gr. = Pāraskara-gr̥hya-sūtra.
 Par. M. = Parāśara-Mādhaviya.
 Pat. = Patañjali's Māhābhāṣya.

Q. = Quoted.

Rel. and Phil. = Prof. Keith's 'Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads.'

Rg. = R̥gveda.

Rit. Lit. = Hillebrandt's 'Ritual Litteratur Vedische Opfer und Zauber'.

Sam. K. = Saṃskāra-kaustubha of Anantadeva.

Sam. P. or Pr. = Saṃskāraprakāśa of Mitramiśra.

Sam. R. M. } = Saṃskāra-ratna-mālā of Gopinātha.
or S. R. M. }

Śān. gr. = Śāṅkhyāyana-gr̥hya-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 Smṛ. M. = Smṛtimuktāphala of Vaidyanātha.

Śr. P. N. = Śrautapadārthanirvacana.

S. V. = Sāmaveda.

Tai. Ār. = Taittirīya Āraṇyaka.

Tai. Br. = Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa.

Tai. S. or Sam. = Taittirīya Saṃhitā.

Tr. = Translation or translated (according to context).

Up. = Upaniṣad.

Vāj. S. = Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā.

Vaik. or Vaikhāṇasa = Vaikhāṇasa-smārta-sūtra.

Vas. or Vas. Dh. S. = Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra.

Viṣṇu. Dh. S. = Viṣṇu-dharma-sūtra.

V. S. = Vedānta-sūtra.

Yāj. = Yājñavalkyasmṛti.

Yati. Dh. S. or } = Yatidharma-saṃgraha.
Yati-dh. }

Z. D. M. G. = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

आप. गृ. सू. = आपस्तम्बगृह्यसूत्र

ऋ. = ऋग्वेदसंहिता

आप. घ. सू. or आप. घ. = आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र

ऐ. आ. = ऐतरेयारण्यक

आप. म. पाठ = आपस्तम्बमन्त्रपाठ

ऐ. ब्रा. = ऐतरेयब्राह्मण

आप. श्रौ. सू. = आपस्तम्बश्रौतसूत्र

कठोप. = कठोपनिषद्

आश्व. गृ. सू. = आश्वलायनगृह्यसूत्र

काल्या. = काल्यायन

आश्व. श्रौ. = आश्वलायनश्रौतसूत्र

काल्या. श्रौ. = काल्यायनश्रौतसूत्र

कौषीतकि ब्रा.उ. = कौषीतकिब्राह्मणोपनिषद्
 गृ. र. or गृह. र. = गृहस्थरत्नाकर
 गौ. or गौ. ध. सू. = गौतमधर्मसूत्र
 छा. उ. = छान्दोग्योपनिषद्
 जै. = पूर्वमीमांसासूत्र
 जै. उ. ब्रा. = जैमिनीयोपनिषद्ब्राह्मण
 तै. आ. = तैत्तिरीयारण्यक
 तै. उ. = तैत्तिरीयोपनिषद्
 तै. ब्रा. = तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मण
 तै. सं. = तैत्तिरीयसंहिता
 परा. मा. = पराशरमाधवीय
 पा. = पाणिनीयाष्टाध्यायी
 पूर्वमी. = पूर्वमीमांसासूत्र
 बृह. = बृहस्पतिस्मृति (as quoted in
 digests)
 बृह. उ. = बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्
 बौ. गृ. = बौधायनगृह्यसूत्र
 बौ. ध. or बौ. ध. सू. = बौधायनधर्मसूत्र
 ब्रा. = ब्राह्मण
 मनु = मनुस्मृति
 मिता. = मिताक्षरा (याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतिटीका)

मेधा. = मेधातिथि (मनुस्मृतिभाष्यकार)
 मै. सं. or मैत्रा. सं. = मैत्रायणीसंहिता
 मैत्री. उप. = मैत्र्युपनिषद्
 यति ध. सं. = यातिधर्मसंग्रह
 या. or याज्ञ. = याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति
 वाज. सं. = वाजसनेयसंहिता
 वि. चि. = विवादचिन्तामणि
 विश्वरूप = याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतिटीका of विश्वरूप
 वि. र. = विवादरत्नाकर
 वै. स्मा. or वैखा. स्मा. = वैखानसस्मार्तसूत्र
 व्य. म. or व्यव. म. = व्यवहारमयूख
 शतपथब्रा. = शतपथब्राह्मण
 शां. गृ. = शांख्यायनगृह्य
 शां. श्रौ. = शांख्यायनश्रौत
 शूद्रकम. = शूद्रकमलाकर
 सं. कौ. = संस्कारकौस्तुभ
 सं. प्र. = संस्कारप्रकाश
 सं. र. मा. = संस्काररत्नमाला
 स्मृतित्व. = स्मृतित्वन्द्रिका
 स्मृ. मु. or स्मृतिमु. = स्मृतिमुक्ताफल

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 Saṁhitās, 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, Kātyāyana, Śāṅkhyāyana, Lāṭyāyana, Drāhyāyana, Satyāśāḍha) and some of the grhya sūtras (Āśvalāyana, Āpastamba &c.).

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

600 B. C.—300 B. C.—Pāṇini.

500 B. C.—200 B. C.—Jaimini's Pūrvamīmāṃsā-sūtra.

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

150 B. C. —Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali.

200 B. C.—200 A. D.—Manusmṛti.

100 A. D.—300 A. D.—Yājñavalkya-smṛti.

100 A. D.—300 A. D.—Viṣṇudharmasūtra.

100 A. D.—400 A. D.—Nārada-smṛti.

200 A. D.—500 A. D.—Vaikhāṇasa-smārtasūtra.

200 A. D.—500 A. D.—Śabara, com. of Jaimini.

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

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

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

505 A. D.—587 A. D.—Varāha-mihira, author of Bṛhatsaṁhitā.

650 A. D.—750 A. D.—Tantravārtika 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*.
- 800 A. D.—850 A. D.—*Viśvarūpa*, com. of *Yājñavalkya*.
- 900 A. D. —*Medhātithi*, com. of *Manu*
- 1100 A. D. —*Mitākṣarā* of *Vijñāneśvara*.
- 1100 A. D.—1150 A. D.—*Kalpataru* of *Lakṣmīdhara*.
- 1100 A. D.—1150 A. D.—*Jīmūtavāhana*.
- 1125 A. D. —*Aparārka*.
- 1150 A. D.—1200 A. D.—*Smṛtyarthasāra*.
- 1200 A. D.—1225 A. D.—*Smṛticandrikā*.
- 1150 A. D.—1300 A. D.—*Haradatta*.
- 1150 A. D.—1300 A. D.—*Kullūka*.
- 1260 A. D.—1270 A. D.—*Homādrī's Caturvargacintāmaṇi*.
- 1310 A. D.—1360 A. D.—*Caṇḍeśvara*, author of the *Gṛhastharatnākara* and other *Ratnākara*s.
- 1300 A. D.—1380 A. D.—*Mādhavācārya*, author of *Parāśara-Mādhaviya*.
- 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.—*Kamalākarabhaṭṭa*, author of *Nirṇaya-sindhu* and *Sūdrakamalākara*.
- 1615 A. D.—1645 A. D.—*Nilakaṇṭha*, author of *Saṃskāra-mayūkha* and other *Mayūkh*as.
- 1610 A. D.—1640 A. D.—*Mitra Miśra*, author of *Viramitrodaya*.
- 1650 A. D.—1680 A. D.—*Anantadeva*, author of *Saṃskāra-kaustubha*.
- About 1686 A. D.—*Smṛtimuktāphala* of *Vaidyanātha*.
- 1700 A. D.—1750 A. D.—*Nāgojibhaṭṭa*.
- 1750 A. D.—1820 A. D.—*Bālabhaṭṭa*, author of *Bālabhaṭṭi*.
- 1790 A. D. —*Dharmasindhu* (of *Kāśinātha*).

SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS

CHAP. I.

1 18

Topics of dharmaśāstra. Various divisions of *dharma*. Dharmas common to all (*sādhāraṇa-dharma*). Truth, love, charity, self-restraint. Standard of moral values. Four *puruṣārthas* (goals of human existence) and their gradation. Limits of *Āryāvarta*. *Bharatavarṣa*.

CHAP. II.

19—104

Varṇa. High eulogy and condemnation of caste system. Characteristic features of modern caste system. History of the word *varṇa*. *Ārya* and *dāsa* or *dasyu*. *Viś* in the *R̥gveda*. Position of *Sūdra* in Vedic Literature. Position of the three higher *varṇas* *inter se*. Professions and crafts in Vedic *Samhitās*. *Rathakāra* and *Niśāda*. Propositions deducible from Vedic Literature. List of various crafts and avocations culled from Vedic Literature. Ramifications of caste traced by dharmaśāstra writers to mixed unions. Two postulates as to castes in dharmaśāstra writers. *Anuloma* and *pratiloma* castes. *Jāti*. Status of children of mixed castes. *Varṇasamkara*. *Jātyutkarṣa* and *Jātyapakarṣa*. Professional castes and guilds. List of castes mentioned by works from 500 B. C. to 1000 A. D. Revolt against the caste system in the *Mahābhārata*. A few of the castes mentioned by medieval works.

CHAP. III.

105—164

Duties, disabilities and privileges of *varṇas*. *Brāhmaṇa*'s special privileges and duties—study of *veda*, teaching the *veda*, officiating at and performing sacrifices, making and receiving gifts. Rules about receiving gifts. Special duty of *sūdras* to serve higher castes. Divisions of *sūdras*. *Brāhmaṇa* in distress may do the work specially meant for *kṣatriyas* and *vaiśyas*. *Brāhmaṇa* and money-lending, agriculture, sale and barter as means of livelihood in distress. Begging. High eulogy of *brāhmaṇas*. Enumeration and discussion of special privileges claimed by *brāhmaṇas*. Disabilities of *sūdras*, viz. not authorized to study the *veda* nor to perform vedic sacrifices with vedic mantras, liability to receive higher punishment for certain offences, not to hold high offices like that of judge.

CHAP. IV.

165-179

Untouchability. Hardly any Vedic passage supports it. *Antyajās* according to the *smṛtis*. Rules about shadow of untouchables. Public roads and untouchables. Matters in which immediate relief required.

CHAP. V.

180-187

Slavery. Existence of slavery in Vedic times. Kinds of slaves in the *smṛtis*. Manumission of slaves.

CHAP. VI.

188-267

Saṁskāras. Purpose of *saṁskāras*. Divisions of *saṁskāras*. Divergence as to number of *saṁskāras*. List of *saṁskāras* named by all or most of the *smṛti* writers. *Saṁskāras* of *śūdras*. Easy expiation provided for non-performance of *saṁskāras*. *Garbhādhāna* known from the times of the *Atharva-veda*. Procedure of *Garbhādhāna* in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka upanīśad* and *smṛtis*. Whether it is a *saṁskāra* of the woman or of the child. Altar in *grhya* rites. *Homa*. Preliminary rites in all *saṁskāras* such as *Gaṇapatipūjana*, *Puṇyāhavācana*, *Mātrkāpūjana*, *Nāndīśrāddha*, *Puṁsavana*, *Anavalobhana*, *Simantonnayana*, *Viṣṇubali*, *Soṣyanti-karma*, *Jātakarma* and several component parts of it such as *homa*, *Medhājānana*, *Nāmakaraṇa*. How names were given at various periods; several names for the same person. Rules about names. *Karṇavedha*, *Nīṣkramaṇa*, *Annaprātana*, *Varṣavardhana*, *Caula*, *Vidyārambha*.

CHAP. VII.

268-415

Upanayana. Meaning of the word. Origin and development of this sacrament. It implies *gāyatrīupadeśa*. Ancient features of *upanayana*. Originally a simple ceremony. The proper age for *upanayana* for the three *varṇas*. The auspicious time for it. Rules about the skin, the garments, the girdle and the staff of the *brahmacārin* of different *varṇas*. The preliminary rites of *Upanayana* such as *homa*. The principal rites of *upanayana*. History of *yajñopavīta* from ancient times. Rules for manufacturing and wearing *yajñopavīta*. Whether women had *upanayana* performed and could wear *yajñopavīta*. Wearing of *yajñopavīta* given up by *ksatriyas* in the first few centuries after Christ. Whether *upanayana* performed for the blind, the deaf and dumb, idiots &c. *Upanayana* of mixed castes and of the *śvāttha* tree. Imparting of sacred *Gāyatrī* to the student.

Vyāhrtis and 'om'. Eulogy of Gāyatrī. The dharmas (duties) of brahmacārins. Bhikṣā (begging) for food by brahmacārin. Performance of Saṁdhyā twice daily and rules about the principal elements of saṁdhyā, such as ācamana, prāṇāyāma, mārjana, aghamarṣaṇa, arghya to the sun, japa of Gāyatrī, upasthāna (worship). Nyāsa and Mudrās. Study of the veda, the first duty. Features of the ancient educational system, such as oral instruction, teaching without stipulating for a fee, student's stay with the teacher. Qualifications of a good teacher and the qualities of a good pupil. Students did work for the teacher. Rules about honouring the teacher and elders, bowing to them and about the return of greetings. Saluting women relatives and the wife of the teacher. Rules about showing courtesy and precedence on public roads. Grounds of showing respect. Duration of student-hood. Subjects of study at various periods. Corporal punishment of pupils. Education of kṣatriyas, vaiśyas, sūdras and of women. Merits and defects of the ancient system of education. The *Veda-vratas*. Perpetual (naiṣṭhika) students. *Patitasāvitrika* (whose upanayana had not been performed). Whether kṣatriyas and vaiśyas exist in the Kali age. The Vrātyastoma for those whose upanayana had not been performed at all. Taking back those who had been forcibly converted or who belonged to other faiths. Tolerance in ancient India. Absorption of foreign elements. *Punarupanayana* (performing upanayana again). *Anadhyāya* (cessation of study) on various days and for various reasons. *Keśānta* or *Godāna*. *Snāna* or *Samāvartana* (the student's return from the teacher after finishing Vedic study). Rules of conduct for *snātakas*.

CHAP. VIII.

416-426

Āśramas. Origin and development of the idea of āśramas (stages of life). Number of āśramas four from the times of the most ancient dharmasūtras. Manu's theory. Brahmacharya and householder's stage well-known even to the Rgveda. Vaikhāṇasa and yati in Vedic Literature. Three āśramas expressly mentioned in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad. Idea of mokṣa (release from saṁsāra). Varṇa and āśrama complementary. Three different points of view about the four āśramas.

CHAP. IX.

427-541

Marriage. The most important saṁskāra of all. Texts do not point to a society where there was promiscuity and no

marriage. Purposes of marriage. Qualifications of a desirable bridegroom. Rules for the selection of a bride. Lakṣaṇas (indicatory characteristics), *bāhya* (visible) and *ābhyantara* (invisible or inferible). 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 Yājñavalkya-smṛti and other works not clear. Examples of inter-caste marriages in Vedic Literature, in dharma and gṛhya sūtras and smṛtis 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 sagotras and sapravaras 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 vaiśyas. Names of kṣatriya kings among gotras and pravaras. Marriage of sagotras and sapravaras 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. *Svayamvara*. Only two forms of marriage in vogue in modern times. Procedure of marriage in the Rgveda and in the gṛhya sūtras. List of the several elements in the marriage rite and

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 Draupadī. 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 *pativrātā*. Wife's conduct when husband was away from home on a journey. Supernatural powers ascribed to *pativrātā*. 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 betelnut. 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.

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 smṛtikāras 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 Bṛhaspati 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*. Smṛtis (except those of Vasistha, 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 R̥gveda 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 *anumarāṇa*. Brāhmaṇa widows were not allowed *anumarāṇa*. References to practice of *Sati* in classical Sanskrit Literature and epigraphic records. Rewards promised to *Sati*. 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.

CHAP. XVI.

637-639

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

CHAP. XVII.

640-695

Ahnikā and ācāra. Importance of the stage of householder. Gr̥hasthas 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 (*śauca*) in various ways. Ācamana (sipping water). *Dantadhāvana* (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). Kuśas necessary in most religious acts. Rules about collecting kuśas. 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. *Tarpaṇa* as a constituent part of *snāna*. Clothes to be worn by a householder. Making marks on the forehead after bathing. *Ūrdhva-puṇḍra* and *Tripuṇḍra*. Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava sectarians condemning each other's marks. *Saṁdhyā* after bath. *Homa*. Two views about performing it before or after sunrise. Agni-hotra twice daily. Three or five or six fires. When to begin maintaining gr̥hya fire. Materials for *havis*. 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 gr̥hya 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, kuśas &c. In 3rd part one was to find out means of maintenance and to earn wealth. In 4th part mid-day bath. Then *tarpaṇa* of gods, sages and *pitṛs*. A brief *tarpaṇa* is also prescribed.

CHAP. XVIII.

696-704

Mahāyajñas (five daily observances or sacrifices). These are mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and Taittirīya 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 brahmayaajña, devayaajña, bhūtayajña, pitṛyajña and manuṣya-yajña. *Brahmayajña*. Earliest description in Śatapatha Br. and Tai. Ār. Brahmayajña for Rgvedins described.

CHAP. XIX.

705-740

Devayaajña. In sūtras homa is Devayaajña. In medieval times homa receded into background and *devapūjā* took its place. Discussion whether images of gods were known in Vedic times. Meaning of *Śiśnadeva*. Phallic emblems at Mohenjo-daro. Liṅga worship. Images known long before Pāṇini. Erection of temples and worship of images, whether borrowed or indigenous. Substances from which images were made. Principal gods of whom images were worshipped. Ritual of image worship. Who are entitled to perform devapūjā. Śālagrāma and other sacred stones. Pañcāyatanapūjā. Ten *avatāras* of Viṣṇu. Germs of the theory in Vedic Literature. When Buddha came to be looked upon as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. Why Buddhism disappeared from India. Evidence for religious persecution in India very meagre. Śiva worship. Worship of Gaṇeśa and Dattātreyā. Earliest description of the worship of Viṣṇu and Śiva. The 16 modes of worship (*upacāras*). Flowers in the worship of different gods. *Tāmbūla*. Namaskāras to the sun. Worship of Durgā. Analysis of devapūjā in modern times.

CHAP. XX.

741-748

Vaiśvadeva. According to some it comprises three yajñas, viz. to gods, bhūtas and pitṛs. Deities of Vaiśvadeva. Usually performed only once in the noon. Procedure of Vaiśvadeva. Views about Vaiśvadeva in relation to śrāddha. *Baliharaṇa* or *bhūtayajña*. Daily pitṛ-yajña.

CHAP. XXI.

741-756

Nṛyajña or *Manuṣyayajña* (honouring guests). Guests honoured from Rgveda downwards. Who is an *atithi*. 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 *ācamana*, *prāṇāhutis* &c.). Posture at time of eating. How much to eat. How *pañktis* (rows of dinners) were distinguished. Who are *pañktipāvana* *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 *sūdras* 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 *Rajasvalā* (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 *Śrāvaṇa* 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*.

CHAP. XXIV.

819-836

Minor grhya and other rites. Pārvaṇa sthālīpāka. Caitrī. Sitāyajña. Śrāvaṇī and Sarpabali. Serpent-worship from ancient times. Festival in honour of Indra. Āśvayujī. Agrayaṇa iṣṭi. Āgrahāyaṇī. Śūlagava or Īśānabali. Vāstupatiṣṭhā, ancient and modern.

CHAP. XXV.

837-888

Dāna (gifts). *Dāna* is a special feature of householder's stage. Gifts highly extolled in the R̥gveda. 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 *iṣṭāpūrta*. All could make gifts (including women and *śūdras*). 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, *saṃkrānti* and on *ayana* 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 *Tulāpuruṣa* and other *mahādānas*. Gift of cows highly extolled. Gifts of ten kinds called *dhenus* 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

Pratiṣṭhā and *Utsarga* (founding of temples and dedication of wells &c.). Women and *śūdras* also could spend on *pūrta*.

dharma, though not on *iṣṭa* (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, *māṭṛkānyāsa*, *tattvanyāsa* and *mantranyāsa*. Consecration of the image of *Viṣṇu* from *Vaikhānasa Smārtasūtra*. Practice of attaching dancing girls to temples is comparatively ancient. When re-consecration (*punaḥ-pratiṣṭhā*) becomes necessary. *Jirṇoddhāra* (repairing or re-constructing a dilapidated temple &c.), time and procedure of. Founding of *maṭhas* (monasteries or colleges for teachers and pupils). Distinction between a temple and a *maṭha*. *Maṭhas* said to have been established by the great teacher *Śaṅkarācārya*. The origin of *maṭhas* in general. How property of *maṭha* devolves. Appointment and powers of the head of a *maṭha*. How rulers and courts in ancient and medieval times controlled administration of temple and *maṭha* 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.

917-929

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 *saṁnyāsins*. So *vānaprastha* stage forbidden in Kali age by the *Nāradya-purāṇa* and other works.

CHAP. XXVIII.

930-975

Saṁnyāsa (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 *saṁnyāsa* gathered from the *dharmaśūtras* and *smṛtis*. Tridaṇḍi and ekadaṇḍi ascetics. Four kinds of ascetics, *kuṭicaka*, *bahūdaka*, *haṁsa* and *paramahaṁsa* and their characteristics. Popular notion that the *paramahaṁsa* is beyond all rules and prohibitions combated by ancient texts. *Vidvat-saṁnyāsa* and *vividiṣā-saṁnyāsa*. The *turiyātīta* and *avadhūta* kinds of ascetics. Opinions as to whether *saṁnyāsa* was allowed only to *brāhmaṇas* or to all three *varṇas*. According to *smṛtis* and medieval works a *śūdra* could not become an ascetic. Women in rare cases adopted the ascetic mode of life. The word *saṁnyāsa* conveys two distinct ideas. Some held that *saṁnyāsa* 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 saṁnyāsins* following Śaṅkarācārya's doctrines and their *maṭhas*. Disputes among the heads of these *maṭhas* as to properties and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. How successors to the pontiffs of the *maṭhas* are appointed. How and why *saṁnyāsins* gave up doctrine of *ahimsā* in medieval times. A *saṁnyāsin* is severed from his family and loses rights of property in it. By custom certain *saṁnyāsins* called *Gosāvis* were allowed to have wives and concubines. Procedure of *saṁnyāsa* according to the *sūtras*. Procedure of *saṁnyāsa* according to *Dharmaśindhu*. Principal elements are; eight *śrāddhas*, *sāvitrīpraveśa*, *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 *pañcikaraṇa* and *mahāvākyas* (like *tat tvam-asi*), giving of a new name by the teacher, *yogapatṭa* (p. 962), *paryāṅka-śauca*. *Saṁnyāsa in extremis* (*ātura-saṁnyāsa*). 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 *maṭhas* claim in modern times jurisdiction in matters of caste, excommunication, expiations for lapses. In ancient times *pariṣads* (assemblies of learned

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 Shivarji and the duties of the Panditrao, one of these eight. Panditrao 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

Śrauta (Vedic) sacrifices. Deep study of vedic sacrifices essential for the proper understanding of Vedic Literature, for appreciating the influence of that Literature on varṇas. Chronology uncertain. Works, ancient and modern, on Vedic sacrifices. Jaimini on interpretation of Vedic texts relating to sacrifices. Cult of *yajña* existed in Indo-Iranian period. Literary and epigraphic evidence for the performance of Vedic sacrifices by kings after the advent of Buddha. Grants made by kings for enabling brāhmaṇas to perform *agnihotra* &c. The references to sacrificial matters in the *R̥gveda*. General rules applicable in all *sūtras*. Mantras of four kinds, *ṛk*, *yajus*, *sāman* and *nigada*. Different kinds of ladles. Sacrificial utensils. The several fires. The five *bhūsaṁskāras*. *Agnyādheya*. Choosing the *devayajana* (place of worship). Procedure of *agnyādheya*. *Punarādheya*. *Agnihotra* in the morning and evening. Rules about *agnihotra* when the householder goes away from home either alone or with his wife.

CHAP. XXX.

1009-1090

Darśapūrṇamāsa (New moon and Full moon sacrifices). Time for starting the performance of *darśapūrṇamāsa*. *Anvārambhanīyā* *iṣṭi*, *śākhāharāṇa*, *barhīrāharāṇa* (bringing bundles of *kuśa* grass), *idhmāharāṇa* (bringing fuel-sticks), *Sāyamdoha*. *Upavasatha* day. *Sūnnāyya*. *Brahmavarāṇa* (choosing the brahmā priest). *Praṇīlā* waters. *Nirvāpa* (taking out sacrificial material). *Prokṣaṇa* (sprinkling) of sacrificial material, utensils &c. The *Haviṣkṛt* call. Beating the grains of rice. Baking cake (*puroḍāśa*) on potsherds. Construction of *vedi* (altar). *Patnīsaimahana* (girding up the sacrificer's wife). *Barhīrāstarāṇa* (strewing the *vedi* with *kuśas*). Fifteen *Sāmidhenī* verses. *Pravaramantra* (invocation of fire). The two *āghāras*

(pouring of ājya in a continuous stream). *Hotṛvarana*. The *Prayūjas* (five offerings). *Vaṣatkāra*. *Ājyabhūgas* (two). The principal sacrifice of portions of the cake. Offering to Agni *sviṣṭakṛt*. Cutting off a portion of the cake called *prāsitra* (for brahmā). *Idā* cut off from *puroḍāśa*. A thin long slice of *puroḍāśa* for *yajamāna*. Invocation of *Idā* by the *hotṛ*. *Brahmā* eats *prāsitra*, *hotṛ* eats *avāntaredā*, all priests together with the *yajamāna* partake of *idā*. Division of *puroḍāśa* for Agni into four parts and eating of the portions by the four priests. *Mārjana* thereafter. Cooking a mess of boiled rice (called *anvāhūrya*) as fee for the four priests. The three *anuyūja* offerings. Recitation of *sūktavāka*. Throwing of *prastara* bunch and *śākhā* into fire. *Śamyuvāka*. Throwing the *paridhis* on fire. *Patnīsanuyūjas*. *Phalīkaraṇahoma*. *Samsthājapa* by *hotṛ*. *Samīṣṭayajus* offerings. *Adhvaryu* and *brahmā* leave the sacrificial hall. *Yajamāna* takes *Viṣṇu* strides. Final prayer by *yajamāna*. *Pinḍapitṛyajña*.

CHAP. XXXI.

1091-1108

Cāturmasyas (seasonal sacrifices). Four *Cāturmāsyas* each called a *parvan*, viz. *Vaiśvadeva*, *Varuṇapraghāsa*, *Sākamedha* and *Śunāsīrya*, respectively performed on Full moon days of *Phalguṇa*, *Āṣāḍha*, *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 *Cāturmāsyas*. *Cāturmāsyas* may be performed throughout life or for one year. Three special offerings in *Vaiśvadeva-parva*. Nine *prayūjas* and nine *anuyūjas* in *Vaiśvadeva*. *Varuṇapraghāsa* 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 *Varuṇapraghāsa*. 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 *īṣṭis* and a *mahū-lavis* of eight offerings to eight deities. Then *pitṛyajña* (called *mahāpitṛyajña*) on a separate *vedi*. Also *Traiyaṃbaka* homa offered to *Rudra*. *Śunāsīryaparvan* has three special offerings to *Śunāsīrau*, *Vāyu* and *Sūrya*. *īṣṭi* called *Āgrayaṇa* (offering of first fruits) in *Śarad* on Full moon day. Other *īṣṭis* performed for some specific objects e. g. *putreṣṭi* for son, *Kārlīṣṭi* for rain &c.

CHAP. XXXII.

1109-1132

Nirūḍhapasubandha or *Paśubandha* (animal sacrifice). A victim is offered in Somayāga also, but as part of it. Nirūḍhapasū is an independent sacrifice to be performed by an *āhūtāgni* 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 *nābhi*. Animals sacrificed for Indra-Agni or Sūrya or Prajāpati. Eleven *prayāja* offerings. Verses from *Āpri* hymns employed. The eleven *prayāja* deities. *Śāmitra* fire for roasting omentum of the victim. Hotṛ's recitation of the *Adhrigu* formula. Choking to death or strangling of the he-goat. Omentum taken out and offered by the *adhvaryu* into *Āhavanīya* 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-puroḍāśa*. Heart of victim is roasted with a pike on *śāmitra* fire and offered as *havis* to *Manotā*. Priests and sacrificer partake of *iḍā* constituted by remnants of the limbs of the victim. *Upayāja* offerings of a part of the entrails along with the *Anuyāja* offerings. The hotṛ repeats the formula called *Sūktavāka*. *Maitrāvaruṇa* throws his staff into fire. Offerings of *Patni-samyājas* with portions of the tail. *Kāmyāḥ Paśavaḥ* (animal sacrifices from various desires). *Ekādaśina*, 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*, *Atyagniṣṭoma*, *Ukthya* &c. *Soma* sacrifices divided into *ekāha*, *ahina* and *sattra*. *Jyotiṣṭoma*, 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 *darbhā*s. Procedure of *dikṣanīya iṣṭi* after which sacrificer comes to be called *dikṣita*. Even a *ksatriya* sacrificer was announced as a *brāhmaṇa*. Observances of the *dikṣita* and his wife and people's conduct towards him. Observance of silence by sacrificer twice daily. The *prāyanīyā iṣṭi*. Purchase of *Soma* and the drama of higgling 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 prāgvamśa. Recital of the Subrahmaṇyā litany by the Subrahmaṇya 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. Ātithyeṣṭi (iṣṭi 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 Mahavira or Samrāt. 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 iṣṭi. 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 nābhi is made on which fire is brought on the 4th day from the original āhavanīya. Erection of the harvidhāna-maṇḍapa in which two carts are kept. Digging of four holes (called uparavas) 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 maṇḍapa. Planting of an udumbara post in sadas. Preparing eight dhiṣṇyas (seats), six in sadas, one in the āgnidhriya shed and the eighth in the mārjāliya 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 ājya called Vaisarjina to Soma. Fire is carried to the uttaravedi, and established on āgnidhra dhiṣṇya. Bringing Vasativarī water in a jar and keeping it in āgnidhra shed. Last day is called 'sutyā'. Repeating of a long prayer called Prātaranuvāka by hotṛ long before day-break to Agni, Uṣas and Aśvins. Making ready of five offerings. Filling of ekadhana pitchers by adhvaryu and of pannejana vessel by the sacrificer's wife. Extracting Soma from a few stalks, filling the upāmsugraha and offering its contents. Then comes Mahābhiṣava (principal pressing). Offering soma from various cups to several deities. Vipruḍ-ḍhoma. Priests come creeping towards the north corner of the great vedi, where the

Bahispavamāna laud is to be chanted by the udgātṛ, prastotr and the prati-harṭṛ. Some of the other priests and the sacrificer become choristers. The nine verses of the Bahispavamāna stotra set out from the Rgveda and method of their manipulation when sung in the sāmā chant exhibited. Notes on the parts and svaras of sāmāns. Rites of offering the savanīya animal. The five savanīya offerings of cake &c. Offerings of soma from *dividevatya grahas* (cups). *Camasonnayana* (filling of nine camasas) for the priests called Camasādhvāryus. 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 *ṛtugrahas*. Ksatriyas were not authorised to drink soma. The hotṛ performs japa, āhāva (hotṛ's call) to which there is *pratigara* (response of adhvaryu), hotṛ offers prayer called *tūṣṇīm-śaṁsa*, twelve clauses of *nivid*, then hotṛ recites the *ājyaśāstra*. Enumeration and distribution of the twelve stotras and śāstras of Agniṣṭoma. Explanation of *stoma*, *stobha* and *stotra*. Meaning of Rathantara and other sāmāns. Chanting of stotras other than Bahispavamāna near audumbarī post in *sadas*. Four ājya-stotras in morning pressing. The 2nd śāstra called Prauga recited by hotṛ and three more repeated by maitrāvaruṇa, brāhmanācchamsin 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 turban and repeats many verses from the Rgveda. The chanting of the Mādhyandina-pavamāna-stotra. The dadhigharma rite, then the offering of paśu puroḍāśa and the five savanīya offerings (cake &c.). Distribution of dakṣiṇā to the several priests, sight-seers and others. The yajamāna throws antelope horn in cātvalā pit. Five offerings called Vaiśvakarmaṇa. The Marutvatīya śāstra. Prṣṭha-stotra and Niṣkevalya śāstra. Three more Prṣṭha stotras and three śāstras recited by maitrāvaruṇa and two others. Procedure of evening pressing similar to mid-day pressing. Ārbhava-pavamāna chanted. Rbhus connected with third pressing. *Havis* prepared from savanīya paśu offered. Vaiśvadeva śāstra. The Pātnīvata cup to Agni Patnīvat. Chanting of Yajñāyajñīya stotra also called Agniṣṭomasāman. Wife of sacrificer pours *pūnnejana* water over her thigh and udgātṛ priest looks at her. Āgnimāruta-śāstra recited by hotṛ. Hāriyojana cup offered to

Indra. All priests wait on āhavanīya with *Mindū* mantras. Avabhṛtha (final bath). All vessels except four sthālis are thrown into water. Yajamāna casts antelope skin in cātvāla pit. Avabhṛtha sāman chanted. The *nīdhana* 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 avabhṛtha istī. Puroḍāśa offered to Varuṇa and then to Agni and Varuṇa. The unnetṛ brings out yajamāna, wife and priests. They offer fuel sticks. The Udayanīyā istī (concluding). Anubandhyā rite (offering of a barren cow to Mitra and Varuṇa) or only *payasyā*. Then five offerings called Devikā to Dhātṛ, Anumati, Rākā, Sinivālī and Kuhū. Udavasānīyā istī like punarādhēya. Theories about the identity of the soma plant and its relation to the moon. In the Deccan a substitute called 'rānsēra' is employed for soma.

CHAP. XXXIV.

1204-1223

Other soma sacrifices. Brief descriptions of Ukthya, Śoḍaśin, 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 brāhmaṇa or kṣatriya who desired super-eminence or overlordship. Horses of the chariots are made to smell *caru* of wild rice. When race starts brahmā priest repeats Vāji-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 pratiprasthātṛ 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 *samrāt*. Certain observances after Vājapeya. Fees distributed are 1700 cows, 17 chariots with four horses yoked to each, 17 *dāsīs* &c. After Vājapeya a king should perform Rājasūya and a brāhmaṇa Bṛhaspatisava. Jaimini's conclusions about Vājapeya. Viśvajit, Gosava and Sarvasvāra among Ekāha sacrifices briefly described. *Ahina* sacrifices extending over two to twelve days of soma pressing. Description of the twelve days of the Dvādaśāha. Differences between Dvādaśāha as an ahina and as a sattra. *Rājasūya*. A

very complex ceremony extending over a long period (over two years), and comprising many separate *iṣṭis*, 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 *Abhiṣecanīya*. Five offerings one on each day after *Pavitra* sacrifice. On Full moon of *phālguna* *iṣṭi* to *Anumati*. *Cāturmāsya*s performed for one year, between the *parvans* of which *darśa* and *pūrṇamāsa* rites are celebrated. After *Śunāsīrya* several rites. Twelve offerings called '*ratnīnām havīṃṣi*' on twelve days in the houses of the *ratnas* (viz. the king, his queens, state officers &c.) offered to different deities. *Abhiṣecanīya* (consecration) rite on first of *Caitra* and follows procedure of *Ukthya*. Eight offerings called *Devasūhaviṃṣi*. 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 *avid* 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 *Śunaḥśepa* 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 *Abhiṣecanīya* offerings called '*Samsr̥pām havīṃṣi*' 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 *dakṣiṇās* prescribed e. g. some say 240000 cows should be presented. After *Daśapeya* some observances are kept by the sacrificer for one year. At the end of the year, the *keśavapāṇīya* ceremony took place. Then two rites called *Vyuṣṭi-dvirātra* at the interval of a month. One month after 2nd *Vyuṣṭidvirātra* the *Kṣatradhṛti* rite. One month after that the *Sautrāmaṇi iṣṭi*.

CHAP. XXXV.

1224-1255

Sautrāmaṇi and other sacrifices. *Sautrāmaṇi* is one of the seven *Havīryajñas* according to *Gautama*. Chief characteristic was offering of *surā* (wine) in it, in modern times milk being offered instead. *Kokili* and *Caraka-sautrāmaṇi*. Procedure of both. *Sautrāmaṇi* 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 Br̥haspati. 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. Avabhr̥tha and then āmikṣa to Mitra-Varuṇa and an animal to Indra. *Aśvamedha*. Horse-sacrifice in vogue even in Ṛgveda. 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 iṣṭis every day to Savitr̥. Chants by a brāhmaṇa after the iṣṭis every day and also by a ksatriya lute-player. Hotṛ recites to the king surrounded by his sons and ministers the narrative called 'Pāriplava.' Every day for a year four oblations called Dhṛti made in the āhavanīya. At the end of the year horse was brought back and sacrificer took dikṣā. 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). *Mahiman* offerings. Remnants of these sprinkled over the king and offering to 12 months. Avabhr̥tha 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 avabhr̥tha bath, persons guilty of grave sins plunge into it and become free from sins. Large fees on first and third pressing days. *Aśvamedha* rare even in ancient times. Description of *Aśvamedha* in the Mahābhārata. Epigraphic references to *Aśvamedha*. *Sattras*. Their duration is from twelve days to a year or more. *Dvādaśāha* is the archetype. *Sattras* divided into two classes, *rātrisattras* and *sāmvatsarika*. *Gavāmayana* is model of all *sattras* of one year or more. Scheme of the parts of *Gavāmayana*. When dikṣā commenced. General rules applicable to all *sattras*. Though all are *yajamānas* and

also priests in a *sattra*, one of them is called *gr̥hapati*. Peculiar procedure followed as to *dikṣā*. *Brahmodya* on 10th day or abuse of *Prajāpati*. Rules to be observed while *dikṣā* lasts. Most interesting day is *Mahāvṛata*, which is the last day but one in *sattras*. Harp with a hundred strings, *brāhmaṇa* and *śūdra* engage in praise and abuse of those engaged in *sattra*. Fight of *ārya* and *śūdra* for a white circular skin; abuse by harlot and *brahmacārin* of one another. Drums beaten on corners of *vedi*. Wives of sacrificers become choristers for chanting. Dance round *mārjālīya* by servants and slave-girls singing popular airs referring to cows. *Sattras* of a thousand years believed even 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 *śrauta* sacrifices. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* is leading work on it. Fundamental conceptions underlying it are cosmological. Construction of fire altar in five layers is an *aṅga* of *Somayāga*. Five victims are first offered. Heads built up into altar. Clay for the bricks how brought, mixed and prepared. First brick called *Aṣādhā* prepared by wife of sacrificer. *Ukhā* (pan) prepared from same clay, from which he prepares three bricks called *Viśvajyotis*. 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 *svayamātr̥ṇṇāḥ*. 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 *Satyāśādhā*, but others give larger numbers. Time required for piling varies. Peculiar mode of cooling altar. Numerous offerings. Procedure of *Somayāga* followed with a few variations. Observances for a year after *cayana*.

WORKS CONSULTED

(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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Rgveda—Prof. Max Müller's edition with the com. of Sāyaṇa in four volumes.

Sāmaveda—Benfey's edition and Satyavrata Sāmaśrami's edition in five volumes, respectively indicated by the addition of ' Benfey ' and ' B. I. '.

Taittirīya Samhitā—Ānandāśrama edition with the com. of Sāyaṇa.

Vājasaneyya Samhitā—Weber's edition.

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Gopatha Brāhmaṇa—(B. I. edition) or the one edited by Dr. Gaastra (Leyden, 1919).

Kausītaki Brāhmaṇa—edited by Lindner.

Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa—edited by A. C. Burnell (1873).

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Tāṇḍya Mahā-Brāhmaṇa with Sāyaṇa's Commentary—B. I. edition (also called Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa from the number of chapters).

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Maitrī Upaniṣad—Edited by E. B. Cowell in B. I. series.

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- Āpastamba-gr̥hya-sūtra with the commentary of Sudarśanācārya (Mysore Government Central Library series).
- Āpastamba-dharma-sūtra with the commentary of Haradatta—published at Kumbakonam by Halasyanāthasāstri.
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- Āśvalāyana-gr̥hya-sūtra with the commentary of Nārāyaṇa (Nirṇayasāgara Press edition, 1894).
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- Hiranyakeśigr̥hya, with extracts from the commentary of Mātṛdatta, edited by Dr. J. Kirste (Vienna, 1889).
- Hiranyakeśi-śrauta—vide ‘ Satyāsādha-śrauta. ’
- Kāṭhaka-gr̥hya, with the commentaries of Ādityadarśana, Devapāla, Brāhmaṇabala—edited by Dr. Caland (1925).
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- Kauśika-sūtra, with extracts from the commentary of Keśava—edited by Prof. Bloomfield, 1890.
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- Śāṅkhyāyana-śrauta-sūtra—edited by Dr. Hillebrandt in three volumes (B. I. series).
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SMRTIS.

N. B. Pandit Jivānanda published in two parts a collection of 26 smṛtis and the Ānandāśrama Press, Poona, published another in 1905. They are referred to as 'Jiv.' and 'Ānan.' respectively below.

- Āṅgīrasa-smṛti—(in both Jiv. and Ānan. with a few variations).
 Āpastamba-smṛti in verse (Ānan.).
 Atri (in both Jiv. and Ānan.).
 Auśanasa-smṛti (Jiv.).
 Bṛhad-Yama (Ānan.).
 Bṛhaspati (Ānan.).
 Bṛhat-Parāśara (Ānan.).
 Caturvīṃśati-mata-saṃgraha (Benares Sanskrit series).
 Dakṣa-smṛti (Ānan.).
 Gobhila-smṛti (Ānan. and Jiv.). Also called Karma-pradīpa or Chāndogapariśiṣṭa or Kātyāyana-smṛti.
 Kātyāyana-smṛti on Vyavahāra (reconstructed by P. V. Kane as Kātyāyanasmṛti-sāroddhāra, with English translation and notes).
 Laghu-Atri (Jiv.).
 Laghu-Hārīta (Jiv. and Ānan.).
 Laghu-Śaṅkha (Ānan.).
 Laghu-Śātātapa (Ānan.).

- Laghu-Viṣṇu (Ānan.).
 Laghu-Vyāsa (Jiv.).
 Laghvāśvalāyana—(Ānan.).
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 Manusmṛti with the commentary of Kullūka (Nirṇayasāgar ed.).
 Manusmṛti with the commentaries of Medhātithi, Govindarāja,
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 V. N. Mandlik).
 Nārada-smṛti (edited by Dr. Jolly).
 Parāśara-smṛti—(Bombay Sanskrit series).
 Prajāpati-smṛti—(Ānan.).
 Saṁvarta-smṛti—(Jiv. and Ānan.).
 Śaṅkha-smṛti—(Ānan.).
 Śātātapa-smṛti—(Ānan.).
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 Uśanas-smṛti.
 Veda-Vyāsa-smṛti (Ānan.).
 Vṛddha-Gautama (Jiv.).
 Vṛddha-Hārta—(Ānan.).
 Yājñavalkya-smṛti, with the commentary of Viśvarūpa (Trivan-
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 (1921).
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 (Pothi size).
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 Ahnikatattva of Raghunandana (published by Pāṇḍit Jivānanda).
 Aparārka's Commentary on Yājñavalkya-smṛti (Ānandāśrama
 press).
 Aṣṭāvakra—Vide Mānavagrhya.
 Bālabhāṭṭi of Bālabhāṭṭa Pāyagūṇḍe—Com. on the Mitāk-
 ṣarā—edited by Mr. J. R. Gharpure, Bombay.
 Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi of Hemādri—published in the B. I.
 series.
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 Aīnāpure and published at Baroda, 1908.

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- Devapāla—Vide Kāthakagṛhya.
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- Dīpakalikā of Sūlapāṇi (edited by Mr. J. R. Gharpure, 1939).
- Gopinātha—Vide Saṃskāra-ratna-mālā.
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- Haradatta—Vide Gautamadharmasūtra.
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HISTORY OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA

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 *samskāras* performed on an individual (from *garbhādhāna* to *antyeṣṭi*); the duties of the *brahmacārin* (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); *vivāha* (marriage) and all matters connected therewith; the duties of the *gṛhastha* (house-holder's stage); *śauca* (daily purification of body); the five daily *yajñas*; *dāna* (gifts); *bhakṣyābhakṣya* (what food should one partake of and what not); *śuddhi* (purification of persons, vessels, clothes &c.); *āśauca* (impurity on birth and death); *antyeṣṭi* (rites on death); *śrāddha* (rites performed for the deceased ancestors and relatives); *śrīdharmā* (special duties of women) and *śrīpūṇḍharmā* (duties of husband and wife); *dharmaś* 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); *karmavipākā* (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 *saṃnyāsin* (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 dharmaśūtra 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 *dharmasāstra* give very elaborate treatment of certain topics of which only faint traces are found in the ancient *dharmasūtras* 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), *tīrtha* (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 *dharmasāstra* 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 *smārta*. The first comprised those rites and ceremonies with which the Vedic *Saṃhitās* 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 *smārta* comprised those topics that were specially dealt with by the *smṛtis* and that concerned the various classes and stages of life.¹ The present work will concern itself principally with *smārta dharma* and *śrauta dharma* will be dealt with concisely in an appendix. Some works divide *dharma* into *śrauta* (Vedic), *smārta* (based upon *smṛtis*) and *śiṣṭācāra* (the actions of the respected in society)². This classification is based on the three sources of *dharma* viz., *śruti*, *smṛti* and *śiṣṭācāra*, as observed by Baudhāyana.³ 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'), *āśramadharmā*

1. दाराभिर्द्वौ तसंभन्धमिज्या औतस्य लक्षणम् । स्मार्तो वर्णाश्रमाचारो यमैश्च नियमैर्बुतः ॥ मत्स्यपुराण 144. 30-31; वायुपुराण 59. 31-32 and 39; 'अग्न्याधानादिपूर्वकोऽधीतमस्यक्षवेदमूलो दर्शपूर्णमासादिः औतः । अनुमितपराक्षशास्त्राभूतः शौचाचमनादिः स्मार्तः ॥ परा. मा. I. part 1 p. 64.

2. वेदोक्तः परमो धर्मः स्मृतिशास्त्रगतोऽपरः । शिष्टाचरिणः परः प्रोक्तश्च यो धर्मः सनातनः ॥ अनुशासनपर्व 141. 65; वनपर्व 207. 83 'वेदोक्तः धर्मशास्त्रेषु चापरः । शिष्टाचारश्च शिष्टानां त्रिविधं धर्मलक्षणम् ॥'; चांदो शान्ति 354. 6 also.

3. उपदिष्टो धर्मः प्रतिवेदम् । ... स्मार्तो द्वितीयः । तृतीयः शिष्टाचरः । बौ. ध. सू. I. 1. 1-4.

(such rules as 'begging' and 'carrying a staff' enjoined on a brahmacārī), *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 *brahmacārī* should carry a staff of *palāśa* tree), *guṇadharmā* (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., *ahiṃsā* and other virtues).⁴ 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 (vrata-khaṇḍa p. 5) quotes 16 verses from the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa on the six-fold dharma.⁵ 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.⁶ But

4. इह पञ्चमकारो धर्म इति विवरणकाराः प्रवक्ष्यन्ति । मेधा० on मनु II. 25; अत्र च धर्मशब्दः षड्विधस्मार्तधर्मविषयः । तद्यथा-वर्णधर्म आश्रमधर्मो वर्णाश्रमधर्मो गुणधर्मो निमित्तधर्मः साधारणधर्मश्चेति । मिताक्षरा on या. I. 1.

5. Kullūka on Manu II. 25 and the Kṛtyaratnākara pp. 9-10 do the same. It is to be noted that some of these very verses are quoted as from Sumantu by the Smṛticandrikā. (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

this does not at all mean that the principles of ethics were passed over by dharmaśāstra works or were not highly thought of by them. From very ancient times truth is exalted above everything else. Rgveda VII.104.12 says⁷ '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 Encyclopædia 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 Śāstras to offer food according to his ability to students, ascetics and to all beings including the untouchable cāṇḍālas and even dogs and crows. Every brāhmaṇa who could teach had to do so without demanding any fee beforehand. *Maths* were established in all parts of India for expounding religious books, feeding students and the poor. There are *annasatras* 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. Aśoka 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 Encyclopædia 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. सविज्ञानं त्रिकिमुदे जगत्प सञ्ज्ञासञ्च वचसी परमुच्यते । तयोर्वत्सत्यं वदरद्वयीय-
त्पदितोभोवति हन्त्यसत् ॥ ऋ. VII. 104. 12.

false speech run a race against each other. Soma protects out of the two what is true and what is very straight-forward 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'⁸. In the Taittirīyopaniṣad (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.⁹ In the Chāndogya (III. 17) there is an allegory of a Soma sacrifice on life, where the dakṣiṇā (fee to be paid) is fivefold viz. the five virtues of tapas (asceticism), dāna (charity), ārjava (straightforwardness), ahimsā (non-injury to sentient beings), satyavacana (truthfulness). The Br. Up. remarks that truth and dharma are in practical life identical terms.¹⁰ 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 Muṇḍakopaniṣad 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).¹¹ The Chān. 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 Chān. Up. V. 10 sternly condemns five sins, viz. theft of gold, drinking spirits, murder of a brāhmaṇa, defiling of one's guru's bed and association with these, as the greatest sins and in V. 11. 5 Āśvapati exultantly declares that in his kingdom there were no grave sinners. The Kathopaniṣad (I. 2.23) insists¹² upon cessation from evil

8. Compare शतपथब्रा. I. 1. 1. 1. 'अनेष्ट्यो वै पुण्यो यददृतं वदति' and I. 1. 1. 5. 'स वै सत्यमेव वदेत्'.

9. वेदमन्त्र्याचार्योऽन्तेवासिनमनुशस्ति। सत्यं वद। धर्मं चर। तै. उ. I. 11. 1.

10. तस्मात्सत्यं वदन्तमाहुर्धर्मं वदतीति धर्मं वा वदन्तं सत्यं वदतीत्येतद्व्यपेक्षैतदुभयं भवति। बृह. उ. I. 4. 14.; वदन्तानि जपेदसतो मा सद्गमय तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय शुक्त्यामोऽसुतं गमयेति। बृह. उ. I. 3. 28.

11. तस्मादेतन्नयं शिक्षेद् दमं दानं दयामिति। बृह. उ. V. 2. 3.

12. नाविरतो दुश्चरिताश्चाशान्तो नासमाहितः। नाशान्तमानसो वापि प्रज्ञानेनेनमाप्नुयात्॥ कठोप. I. 2. 23; vide also I. 3.7 and मैत्री उप. 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 brāhmanas and verses 22-25 describe at great length the characteristics of one who is *dānta* (self-controlled). Śānti 160 contains an eulogy of *dama* (self-control). Śānti 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-dharmaśāstra (VIII. 24-26) holds that *dayā* (compassion or love for all beings), *kṣānti* (forebearance), *anasūyā* (freedom from envy), *śauca* (purity of body, speech and thought), *anāyāsa* (absence of painful efforts or ambitions), *maṅgala* (doing what is commended), *akārpanya* (not demeaning oneself before others), *asprīhā* (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 Brahman and reaches the world of Brahman, though he may not have all the other forty *saṁskāras*, while he who has all the forty *saṁskāras* but is not possessed of these eight qualities does not reach the world of Brahman.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

13. अद्रोहः सर्वभूतेषु कर्मणा मनसा विरा । अद्वेषश्च दानं च सदा धर्मः सनातनः ॥
शान्तिपर्व 162. 21.

14. अथाष्टावाल्मीक्याः । देवा सर्वभूतेषु क्षान्तिरनसूया शौचमनायासो मङ्गलमकार्य-
प्यनस्पृहेति । गो. घ. सू. VIII. 23-24. Haradatta quotes eight verses which explain these eight qualities. Atri (verses 34-41) also defines these eight qualities similarly but in different words. Aparārka (pp. 164-165), Smṛticandrikā (I. p. 13), Hemādri (Vrata p. 8) and Parāśaramādhaviya I. part 1 p. 84 quote from Bṛhaspati eight verses defining these eight qualities, which closely resemble Atri's. Vide Matsya 52.8-10 for these eight qualities and Vāyu 59.40-49, Mārkaṇḍeya 61.66 for saying that *dayā* (love for beings) is at the top of the eight *ātmaguṇas* and 28.31-32 for a slightly different enumeration of the eight. Viṣṇupurāṇa (III. 8.35-37) says that these eight mentioned by Gautama (तितिक्षा being substituted for क्षान्ति) and three more namely नाभिमानिता, सत्य, and मिथवादिता are common to all varṇas. Vide वैशिष्ट्य VI. 3 आचारदीर्घं न युनक्ति वेदाः.

15. Smṛticandrikā (I. p. 13) quotes verses of Śāṅkha to the same effect.

near; look at what is highest, not at what is not highest'. Āpastamba 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 *himsā* (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-puruṣa*) 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 Ādi-parva 74. 28-29, Manu VIII. 86, Anuśāsana 2. 73-74. The reason given for cultivating such virtues as *dayā*, *ahimsā* is based upon the philosophical doctrine of the one Self being immanent in every individual as said in the words 'tat tvam-asi'. 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) declares ¹⁶ '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. यथैवात्मा परस्तद्वद्दृष्टव्यः सुखमिच्छता । सुखदुःखानि तुल्यानि यथात्मानं तथा परे ॥ दक्ष III. 22.

17. स्वयं धर्मसर्वत्र सुखो वैवावधार्यताम् । आत्मनः प्रतिकूलानि परेषां न समाचरेत् ॥ देवल quoted in कृत्यरत्नाकर p. 17. Compare आपस्तम्बस्मृति X. 12 'आत्मवत्सर्वभूतानि यः पश्यति स पश्यति ॥'; अनुशासनपर्व 113. 8-9 न तत्परस्य संद्वेषात् प्रतिकूलं यदात्मनः । एष संक्षेपतो धर्मः कामादन्यः प्रवर्तते ॥ प्रत्याख्यानं च दानं च सुखदुःखे प्रियाप्रिये । आत्मौघेन पुरुषः प्रमायमानमिच्छति ॥ शान्ति 260. 20 and 25 यद्वैर्विहितं नेच्छेदात्मनः कर्म पुरुषः । न तत्परसु कुर्वीत जानामियमात्मनः ॥ सर्वे प्रियाभ्युपगतं धर्मं प्राहृर्नोविधाः ।

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.¹⁸ 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 discipline 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. त्रिवर्गयुक्तः भाज्ञानामारम्भो भरतर्षभ । धर्मार्थवस्तुश्च्यवते त्रिवर्गात्मनवे नराः ॥
 ब्रुवन्स्वविनिविष्टानां धर्मं धीरोस्तुश्च्यते । मध्यमोर्थं कर्त्ति बालः काममेवास्तुश्च्यते ॥...कामार्थो
 लिप्समानस्तु धर्ममेवादितश्चरेत् । नहि धर्मादपैत्यर्थः कामो वापि कदाचन । उपायं धर्म-
 मेवाहुस्त्रिवर्गस्य विज्ञापते । उद्योगपर्व । 124. 34-38; vide ज्ञान्तियर्व 167.8-9 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 so deal with others as he would
 deal with himself 'तस्माद्धर्मप्रधानेन भवितव्यं यत्तात्मना । तथा च सर्वश्रेष्ठे तु वर्तितव्यं
 यथात्मनि ॥.' The महाभारत winds up with the words ऊर्ध्वबाहुर्विरौन्धे न च काञ्चि-
 ष्छृणोति माम् । धर्मादर्थश्च कामश्च स किमर्थं न सेव्यते ॥ स्वर्गरोहः 5.62; vide also
 सत्य 60.22, द्रोण 151.37.

dharma. In this way one secures both worlds'.¹⁹ In the Bhagavadgītā (VII. 11) Kṛṣṇa identifies himself with *kāma* that is not opposed to dharma. Kauṭilya says²⁰ '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*.²¹ Manu (II. 224)²¹ 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 Kāmasūtra²² 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 dharmaśāstra 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 II. 4 (like Aristotle in the first sentence of his Politics) says that the end of all activity is some presumed good. 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 Upaniṣads²³ recognise the

19. भोक्ता च धर्माधिपद्मान् भोगान् । एवमुभौ लोकावभिजयति । आप. ध. II. 8. 20. 22-23.

20. अर्थशास्त्र I. 7 'धर्मार्थाविरोधेन कामं सेवेत । न निःसुखः स्यात् । अर्थ एव प्रधान इति कौटिल्यः । अर्थमुलौ हि धर्मकामाविति ।'

21. धर्मार्थावुच्यते श्रेयः कामार्थो धर्म एव च । अर्थ एवेह वा श्रेयस्त्रिवर्ग इति तु स्थितिः ॥ मनु II. 224; परित्यजेदर्थकामौ यौ स्यातां धर्मवर्जितौ । मनु IV. 176; compare विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 71.84 'धर्मविरुद्धौ चार्थकामौ (परिहरेत्) ॥'; अथशासन 111.18-19 'धर्मश्चार्थश्च कामश्च त्रितयं जीविते फलम् । एतच्च यमवास्त्यमधर्मपरिवर्जितम् ॥'; विष्णुपुराण III. 11. 7 परित्यजेदर्थकामौ धर्मपीडितकरो वृष । धर्ममप्यसुखोदार्कं लोकविद्विदमेव च ॥

22. अलौकिकत्वादृष्टदार्थत्वात् अभवत्तानां यज्ञादीनां साक्षात्प्रवर्तनं लौकिकत्वाद् दृष्टदार्थत्वाच्च भवत्सेव्यश्च मांसभक्षणोद्विष्यः साक्षादेव निवारणं धर्मः । ...विद्याभूमिहिरण्यपशुधान्यभाण्डोपस्करमित्रादीनामर्जनमर्जितस्य विवर्धनमर्थः । ...ओन्नत्यक्रचक्षुर्जिह्वाभ्रानामात्मसंयुक्तो मनसाधिष्ठितानां स्वेषु स्वेषु विषयेष्वालोक्यतः भवृत्तः कामः । तेषां समवाये पूर्वे पूर्वे भरीयान् । अर्थश्च राज्ञः । कामसूत्र I. 2.7-15.

23. त्वमेव वृजीष्टं यं त्वं मनुष्याय हिततमं मन्यस इति । कौषीतकि ब्रा. उ. III. 1.

distinction between what is beneficial (*hita*) and what is most beneficial (*hitatama*). Śāntiparva (288. 20 and 330. 13) declares that what conduces to the greatest good of beings is 'satya.'

The Mitākṣarā on Yāj. I. 1. remarks that *ahiṃsā* and other qualities are the dharma common to all including even cāṇḍālas. The qualities are variously enumerated and emphasis is laid upon different lists in different works. Śaṅkhaśmṛti (I. 5) says that forbearance, truthfulness, self-restraint and purity are common to all varṇas. The Mahābhārata says that three are the best qualities among all beings viz., absence of enmity, truthfulness and freedom from anger²⁴ and in another place says that the best *vratā* (vow) for a man is threefold viz., he should feel no enmity (to others), should give and should speak the truth. Vasiṣṭha (IV. 4) says²⁵ that truthfulness, freedom from anger, generosity, *ahiṃsā* (non-injury) and procreation of offspring are (the common dharma) of all (varṇas). 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 *ahiṃsā*, truthfulness, no wrongful taking of another's possessions, purity and restraint of senses are in brief the common dharma of all varṇas.²⁶ 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 cāṇḍāla²⁷). The Mahābhārata says that freedom from anger, truthfulness, sharing one's wealth

24. एतद्धि त्रितयं श्रेष्ठं सर्वभूतेषु भारत । निर्बेरता महाराज सत्यमक्रोध एव च ॥
आश्रमवासिपर्व 28.9; त्रीत्येव तु पदान्याहुः पुष्परयोत्तमं मतम् । न दुष्कृच्छैव दद्याच्च सत्यं
चैव परं वदेत् ॥ अनुशासन 120.10.

25. सर्वेषां सत्यमक्रोधो दानमहिंसा मजननं च । वसिष्ठ IV. 4; vide वसिष्ठ X. 30 for 13 qualities prescribed for all āśramas.

26. अहिंसा सत्यमस्तेयं शौचमिन्द्रियनिग्रहः । एतं सामासिकं धर्मं चातुर्वर्ण्येऽ-
नवीनमुच्यते ॥ मनु X. 63; vide मनु VI. 62 for ten *gūṇas* prescribed for all āśramas.

27. अहिंसा.....न्द्रियसंयमः । दमः क्षमार्जवं दानं सर्वेषां धर्मसाधनम् ॥ या. I. 122;
vide या. 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 varṇas.²⁸ The Vāmanapurāṇa says that tenfold dharma is common to all and names these ten as *ahiṃsā*, *satya*, *asteya*, *dāna*, forbearance, restraint, quiescence, not demeaning oneself, purity, tapas.²⁹ Hemādri (vratakhaṇḍa pp. 7-8) quotes several passages from the Brahma, Brahmaparivarta and Viṣṇudharmottara for several sādharma dharma (virtues common to all varṇas and āśramas). The Viṣṇudharmasūtra enumerates fourteen qualities as sāmānya-dharma.³⁰

The foregoing discussion establishes that all dharmaśāstra 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 varṇāśrama dharma and not with sādharma dharma (i. e. duties common to all alike).

Āryāvarta — One important question that is very much canvassed in works on dharmaśāstra 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 R̥gveda shows that the centre of Āryan culture in the times of the R̥gveda was the land of the seven

28. अक्रोधः सत्यवचनं संविभागः क्षमा तथा । प्रजनः स्वेष्टे दारेषु शौचमद्रोह एव च ।
आर्जवं ब्रह्मचर्यं नवैते सार्ववर्णिकाः ॥ शान्ति. 60. 7-8.

29. अहिंसा सत्यमस्तेयं दानं क्षान्तिर्दमः शमः । अकार्षण्यं च शौचं च तपश्च
रजनीचर । दशाङ्गो राक्षसश्चेष्ट धर्मसि सार्ववर्णिकः ॥ वामनपुराण 14. 1-2; मनुपुराण
114. 16-18 prescribes the following as common to all varṇas and āśramas.
' दया समस्तभूतेषु तितिक्षा नाभिमानिता । सत्यं शौचमनायासो मङ्गलं मिथवादिता । मैत्री
चैवात्थुहा तद्वत्कार्षण्यं द्विजोत्तमाः । अनसूया च सामान्या वर्णानां कथिता गुणाः ॥
आश्रमाणां च सर्वेषामेते सामान्यलक्षणाः ' ।

30. क्षमा सत्यं दमः शौचं दानमिन्द्रियसंयमः । अहिंसा शुद्धशुद्धा तीर्थावसरणं दया ।
आर्जवं लोभशून्यत्वं देवब्राह्मणपूजनम् । अनन्यद्वेषा च तथा धर्मः सामान्य उच्यते ॥ विष्णु-
धर्मसूत्र II. 16-17; compare आप. ध. सू. I. 8. 23.6 for a long list of qualities
prescribed for all āśramas and शान्तिपर्व 297. 24-25 for 13 साधारणधर्मः
' आर्द्रशंस्यमहिंसा च प्रमादः (प्रसीदः ?) संविभागिता । आद्रकर्मतिथेयं च सत्यमक्रोध एव
च ॥ स्वेष्टे दारेषु संतोषः शौचं नित्यानसूयता । आत्मज्ञानं तितिक्षा च धर्माः साधारणा वृष ॥

rivers, viz. North-west India and Punjab. We find that the rivers from Kubhā (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 Sindhus (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 Sarayu (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), Vipāś and Śutudri (Rg. III. 33. 1 where their confluence is spoken of), Vipāś alone in Rg. IV. 30. 12, Śutudri alone in Rg. X. 75. 5, Dṛśadvatī, 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.³¹ In Śat. Br. XI. 4. 1. 1 Uddālaka Āruṇi is called a Kuru-Pañcāla brāhmaṇa and contrasted with brāhmaṇas of the north (S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 51). Similarly the Kauṣītaki-br. (VII. 6) remarks³² 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 Māthava who went beyond the country of Kosala-Videha, crossed the river Sadānīrā 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

31. तस्मादुत्तराहि वायव्यं कुमुद्वालम् । शतपथ ब्रा. III. 2. 3. 15. Vide S. B. E. vol. 12 p. XLII n. 1 and vol. 26 p. 50 for various interpretations.

32. तस्मादुदीच्यां दिशि प्रजातया वायव्यं उद्भूत उ एव यन्मि नार्चं शिशिदुं यो वा तत् आगच्छति तस्य वा शुभं भवते । कौषीतकी ब्रा. VII. 6.

Jātakas we see that being an 'udicoa brāhmaṇo' 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 Kuru-kṣetra.³³ Even in the R̥gveda itself the country through which the rivers Dṛṣadvatī, Āpayā and Sarasvatī flowed is spoken of as the best spot (vide III. 23. 4). The Tai. Br. says that the Kurupañcālas go east in the winter and westwards in the last month of summer. In the times of the Upaniṣads also the Kurupañcāla 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 Kurupañcāla 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 Pañcālas. Kauṣītaki Br. Up. (IV. 1.) names the countries of Uśīnara, Matsya, Kurupañcāla 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 Surāṣṭra 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 Āryāvarta. The Vasiṣṭha-dharma³⁴-sūtra says, 'Āryāvarta 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., 'Āryāvarta 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 Āryāvarta as Vasiṣṭha,

33. देशे वै सत्रमासत । तेषां कुरुक्षेत्रे वेदिरासीत् । तै. ब्रा. V. 1. 1; नि त्वा द्युधे वर आ धृयिष्या इडायास्पदे सुदिनत्वे अह्नात् । दृषद्वत्यां मानुष आपयायां सरस्वत्यां रेवदग्ने दिदीदि ॥ ऋ. III. 23. 4; for Kurukṣetra as a very ancient place vide Śatapatha IV. 1. 5. 13 and Ait. Br. (chap. 35. kh. 4); आग्नेयमहाकपालं निर्वपति । तस्माच्छिखारि कुरुपञ्चालाः प्राञ्चो यन्ति । तस्माज्जघन्ये नैदाये मर्यञ्चः कुरुपञ्चाला यन्ति । तै. ब्रा. I. 8. 5.

34. आर्यावर्तः प्रागादूर्ध्वमप्यक्ष् कालकवनाद्बुधपारियात्रादक्षिणेन हिमवतः । उत्तरेण च दिक्ष्वप्यस्य । ... गङ्गायमुनयोरेतरेभ्योके । यावद्वा कृष्णभुगो विचरति तावद्भूमिर्वर्चसमिष्यते । वसिष्ठवर्मसूत्र I. 8-9 and 12-13.

substituting the word 'vināśana' for 'ādarśa'.³⁵ Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya defines Āryāvarta several times in the same terms as Vasiṣṭha does.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 Sauvira, to the west of the city of Kāmpili, to the south of Himālaya and to the north of Pāriyātra'.³⁷ The extant Manusmṛti (II. 22) makes Āryāvarta coterminous 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 Tai. Ār. II.20 special honour is shown to those who dwell between the Gaṅgā 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 Vasiṣṭha (I. 14-15) and Baud. Dh. S. (I. 1. 29-30) quote an ancient *gāthā* from the Nidāna work of the Bhāllavins³⁸ 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

35. प्राग्विनशनात् प्रत्यक् कालकवनाद् दक्षिणेन हिमवन्तुदूपारियात्रमेतदायार्चते तस्मिन् आचारः स प्रमाणम् । बौ. ध. सू. I. 1.27. Even so early as the ताण्ड्यमहा-
ब्राह्मण we have the words सरस्वत्या विनशने दक्षिणते (24.17.1). This shows that the Sarasvatī had disappeared by the time of the ताण्ड्य. According to the Vanaparva 82. 111 Vināśana is the tīrtha where the Sarasvatī disappeared and Vanaparva (130. 3-5) says that the Sarasvatī disappeared at the entrance of Niṣādarāṣṭra through fear of pollution from Niṣādas and Śalyaparva (37. 1-2) tells us that Vināśana is the sacred place where the Sarasvatī disappeared through hatred for Śūdras and Ābhīras.

36. कः पुनरार्चयते । प्रागादृशात् प्रत्यक्कालकवनाद् दक्षिणेन हिमवन्तुदूपारियात्रेण पारियात्रम् । महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 475 (on Pāṇ. II. 4.10), vol. III. p. 174 (on Pāṇ. VI. 3.109)

37. प्राक्सिन्धुसौवीरात् दक्षिणेन हिमवतः पश्चात्काम्पिल्या उदक् पारियात्राद्वनवर्धे ब्रह्मवर्चसम् । quoted in परिभाषाप्रकाश (चरित्रोद्घ. p. 57).

38. अथापि ब्राह्मविनो निदाने गाथासुदाहरन्ति । पश्चात्सिन्धुविधारणी सूर्यरयोदयनं पुरः । यावत्कृष्णोमिधावति तावद् ब्रह्मवर्चसम् । इति । वसिष्ठ I. 14-15. Viśvarūpa reads 'विहरणी' and explains it as 'where the sun sets', while विधारणी may mean 'dividing line, boundary'. परिभाषाप्रकाश p. 57 reads वितरणी and explains वितरणी जनकपर्वतसमीपे भालवद्वेगे परच्छुरामेण वधुष्कोट्या कुण्डं भित्त्वा निर्मितेति जनप्रसिद्धः ।

arose from some mythological account as is indicated by the commentary of Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 2 which quotes a prose passage of the Śvetāśvataras 'Sacrifice became a black antelope and wandered over the earth; *dharma* followed it in its wanderings'. This view of the limits of Āryāvarta is maintained by Śaṅkha (as quoted by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 2), Viṣṇudharmasūtra 84.4, Manu II. 23, Yāj. I. 2, Saṁvarta 4, Laghu-Hārta (I. p. 178), Veda-Vyāsa (I. 3), Bṛhat-Parāśara (p. 56) and several other smṛtis. The Manusmṛti (II. 17-24) defines Brahmāvarta as the country between the holy rivers Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī,³⁹ says that the traditional mode of conduct observed in that country is called *sadācāra*, that the countries of Kurukṣetra, Matsya, Pañcāla and Śūrasena are styled Brahmarṣideśa and are slightly less (in holiness) than Brahmāvarta, that Madhyadeśa is between the Himālaya and the Vindhya and to the east of Vinasana and to the west of Prayāga, that Āryāvarta is the country between the Himālaya 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 *mlecchadeśa*, that men of the three higher varṇas should endeavour to live in these countries (viz. Brahmāvarta, Brahmarṣideśa, Madhyadeśa, Āryāvarta &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 Āryāvarta 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 Avantī, Aṅga, Magadha, Surāṣṭra, Dakṣiṇāpatha, Upāvr̥t, Sindhu

39. Vide Tāṇḍya Br. 25. 10. 13-14 for Dṛṣadvatī falling into the Sarasvatī and 25. 10. 16 for the disappearance of the latter and Ait. Br. (chap. 38 kh. 3) for Kuru-Pañcāla, Vāśa and Uśīnara as included in the centre of India.

and Sauvira are of mixed origin (i. e. not of pure Āryan ancestry), that a person who goes to Āraṭṭaka, Kāraṣkara, Puṇḍra, Sauvira, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kāliṅga and Prānūna (?) has to offer a solemn sacrifice like the Sarvaṣṭha and that for going to Kāliṅga the prāyaścitta 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, Sauvira, Saurāstra, the border lands (or Mleccha countries), Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kāliṅga and Andhra he has to perform the Upanayana saṁskāra 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 Āryan culture spread over the whole of what is now called India the view of the sages about the countries pre-eminently Āryan had to be given up. Medhātithi on Manu II. 22 explains that Āryāvarta is so called 'because Āryas 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 varṇas (in the Mleccha country) and assign to Mlecchas a position similar to that of cāṇḍālas in Āryāvarta, 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 Āryan culture eastwards and southwards and the frequent invasions of non-Āryan 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 Āryas to live in. Karpaparva 43. 5-8 abuses those who live on the Sindhu and the five rivers of the Punjab as impure and *dhaṁ mābāhya*.⁴²

40. सिन्धुसौवीरसौराष्ट्रांस्तथा मत्स्यन्तवासिनः । अङ्गवङ्गकलिङ्गान्ध्रान् गत्वा संस्कार-
मर्हति । This is Devala v. 16 with slight variations in the 3rd *pāda*.
It is ascribed to Baudhāyana in the Smṛticandrikā I. p. 9.

41. आर्या वर्तन्ते तत्र पुनः पुनश्च नृपत्याकन्याकन्यापि न चिरं तत्र श्लेष्ठाः स्थातारो
भवन्ति । मेधा० on मनु II. 22; यदि कश्चित्क्षत्रियादिजातीयो राजा साक्षाच्चरणं श्लेष्ठा-
म्पराजयेत् चातुर्वर्ष्यं वासयेत्, श्लेष्ठाश्चाप्यवर्तन्ते इव चाण्डालान् व्यवस्थापयेत् सोऽपि
स्याद्यज्ञियः, यतो भूमिर्न स्वतो दुष्टा संसर्गादिति सा दुष्यति । मेधा. on मनु II. 23.

42. पञ्चानां सिन्धुपञ्चानां नदीनां येऽन्तराश्रिताः । तान् धर्मबाह्यान् शुचीन् बाहीका-
नपि वर्जयेत् ॥ कर्णपर्व 43. 7; कर्ण० 44. 31-34 calls these countries Arattas and
'naṣṭadharmā'. Vide पञ्च नद्यो वहन्त्येता यत्र निःसृत्य पवेतात् । आरद्धा नाम बाहीका
न तेष्वार्यो द्रव्यं वसेत् ॥ कारकरोन्मादिषकाश्च कालिङ्गान्कोरलास्तथा । कर्कोटिकाञ्जीरकाश्च
दुर्धर्माश्च विवर्जयेत् ॥ कर्णपर्व 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 Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa says that Bharatavarṣa has the ocean on the east, south and west and the Himālaya 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 Śābara (not later than 5th century A. D.) in his bhāṣya on Jaimini (X. 1.35 and 42) shows that to him there was unity of language and culture from the Himālaya to Cape Comorin.⁴⁶ Paiṭhīnāsī as quoted in the Paribhāṣā-prakāśa (p.58) says that dharma is fully developed (lit. four-legged) in the country from the Himālaya to Cape Comorin.⁴⁷ According to Mārkaṇḍeya (53.41), Vāyu (vol. I chap. 33.52) and other Purāṇas Bharatavarṣa is so called after Bharata, son of Rṣabha, descendant of Svāyambhuva 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 Duṣyanta 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 Vāyupurāṇa 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. दक्षिणापरतो ह्यस्य पूर्वणि च महोदधिः । हिमवान्नुत्तरेणारव्य कार्त्तिकस्य यथा शुणः ॥ तदेतद्भारतं वर्षं । मार्कण्डेय 57.59.

45. उत्तरं यत्समुद्रस्य हिमाद्रेश्चैव दक्षिणम् । वर्षं तद्भारतं नाम भारती यत्र संततिः ॥ विष्णुपुराण II. 3. 1; वायु vol. I, 45. 75-76 उत्तरं यत्समुद्रस्य हिमवदक्षिणं च यत् । वर्षं यद्भारतं नाम यत्रैव भारती प्रजा । ; मत्स्य 114. 10 आयतस्तु कुमारोतो गङ्गायाः प्रवहावधिः (प्रभवावधिः ?); compare with the last वायुपुराण vol. 1, 45. 81 ' आयतो ह्या कुमारिकयादागङ्गाप्रभवश्च वै '.

46. ' प्रसिद्धश्च स्थाल्यां चरुशब्द आ हिमवत आ च कुमारीभ्यः ' on जैमिनि X. 1. 35 and ' ओदने हि चरुशब्दः प्रसिद्ध आ हिमवत आ च कुमारीभ्यः ' on जैमिनि X. 1.42.

47. पैठिनासिः । आ हिमवत आ च कुमार्याः सिन्धुर्वेतरणी नदी स्वर्गस्योदयनं पुरः यावद्वा कृष्णसुगो विचरति तत्र धर्मश्चतुष्पादो भवतीति । परिभाषाप्रकाश p. 58.

48. कर्मसुमिरियं स्वर्गमपवर्गं च गच्छताम् । विष्णुपुराण II. 3. 2; vide Wilson's Viṣṇupurāṇa vol. II. pp. 105-106; ततः स्वर्गश्च मोक्षश्च मर्त्यश्चान्तश्च गम्यते । न अल्लव्यत्र मर्त्यानां भूमौ कर्म विधीयते ॥ वायु 45. 77; विष्णुपुराण II. 3. 5.

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 *Smṛticandrikā*) to be countries unfit for habitation and to be such that a stay in them except for pilgrimage entailed loss of caste and *prāyaścittas*.⁴⁹ The *Ādipurāṇa* (*Ādityapurāṇa*?) as quoted in the *Paribhāṣāprakāśa* (p. 59) says 'no one, whether a *dviija* or not, born in *Āryāvarta* should cross the three rivers, *Sindhu*, *Karmadā* (i. e. *Karmanāśā*) or *Karatoyā* except on a pilgrimage' and that if he does so, he should perform the penance of *cāndrāyana*.

All *smṛti* writers and commentators generally restrict themselves to the duties of *varṇas* and *āśramas* as practised in *Āryāvarta* or *Bharatavarṇa*, though in very rare cases (as in *Yāj. II. 192*) they provide for the observance of the usages of even heretics.

49. काशीकारयपसौराष्ट्रदेवराष्ट्रान्ध्रमत्स्यजाः । कावेरीकोङ्कणा ह्यणस्तो देशा निन्दिता
भूराः ॥ पञ्चनद्यो...वसेत् ॥ (same verse as in n. 42)...सौराष्ट्रसिन्धुसौवीरमावन्त्यं दक्षि-
णापथम् । गत्वेतान् कामतो देशान् कलिङ्गांश्च पतेद्द्विजः ॥ स्मृति- I. p. 9 quoting
आदित्यपुराण; आदित्यपुराणे-आर्यावर्तसंस्तुत्यसो द्विजो वा यादे वाऽद्विजः । कर्मदां सिन्धुपारं च
कारतोयां न लङ्घयेत् । आर्यावर्तमतिक्रम्य विना तीर्थक्रियां द्विजः । आसौ चैव तथा पित्रोरेन्दवेन
विशुध्यति ॥ परिभाषामकारा p. 59.

CHAPTER II

VARNA

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

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 1916); 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' (1868); 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,⁵¹ 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 scouts 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 brāhmaṇas. 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 stand-points 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 Dharmaśāstrakāras, other smṛtikāras 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 brāhmaṇas, 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 authors⁵² 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 *dharmaśāstra* 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 *dharmaśāstra* 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 *dharmaśāstra* 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 avocations 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 (XI.VII) '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, Abhyankara, 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 *Koṅkanastha* or *Citpāvana* *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 *varṇa* 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 *varṇa* 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 *varṇas*'; 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 *dasyus* protected the *ārya varṇa*' (Rg. III. 34.9); 'You (Indra) subdued for Rjīśvan, the son of Vidathin, Pipru and powerful Mṛgaya; you mowed down fifty thousand dark (men), you shattered cities as old age does shatter good looks' Rg. IV. 16.13; 'Somas, 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 *varṇa* 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 '*varṇas*' on account of the colour of their skins. The Tai. Br. I. 2. 6 (with reference to the Mahāvratā in which there was a mock fight between a brāhmaṇa and a *sūdra*) says 'that the brāhmaṇa is the divine *varṇa*, and *sūdra* is the *asurya varṇa*'.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 '*sūdra* tribe.' There is no doubt that the word *asura* when applied to gods like Varuṇa has another meaning also in the Rg. In numerous places in the Rgveda the antagonism

53. यो दासं वर्णमधरं युहः कः । ऋ. II. 12.4; उभौ वर्णावृषिभ्यः पुषोष । ऋ. I. 179.6. Here Sāyana interprets '*varṇau*' as '*kāma*' and '*tapas*,' but this is far-fetched and it appears better to take the passage as meaning that Agastya supported both Āryas and *dāsas*. The words cannot reasonably be taken to refer to Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya since there was no difference of colour between the two and since *varṇas* have been four and not two.

54. माह्वणश्च यूपश्च चर्मकर्तुं व्यापृच्छते । देवो वै वर्णो माह्वणः असुर्यः यूपः । तै. ब्रा. I. 2. 6.

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; I. 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 'barhiṣmat' 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.⁵⁵ 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, 'akratu' (who perform no sacrifice) in VII. 6.3,⁵⁶ 'mṛdhraṇvācaḥ' (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, Śambara 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. अकर्मा दस्युरभि नो अमन्तुरव्यवतो अमावस्यः । त्वं तस्याभिजहन् वयदर्शितस्य दम्भय ॥ ऋ. X. 22.8.

56. न्यक्रतुश्च ग्रथिनो मृध्रवाचः पर्णीरभ्रद्धा अवृथा अवज्ञान् । प्रम तान्दस्यूरभिर्विवाय पूर्वश्चकारापरां अयन्तु ॥ ऋ. VII. 6.3. This verse applies seven epithets to *dasyus*. They are called *panis* (greedy traders), *अभ्रद्धा* (without faith). In Nirukta VI. 31 Yaska paraphrases *मृध्रवाचः* as *भृदुवाचः*. In Rg. V. 34. 6-7 the *dāsa* is styled *pani*.

57. तेन दस्युन व्यसदन्त देवा हस्तासुराणामवच्छन्निभिः । तै. सं. 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. 83-1, 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 kṣatriya 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 water-tight 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 'brahmaputra' 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 Sāma like the Udgātṛ priest' and so 'brahmaputra' must mean a ṛtvij whose duty it was to recite śāstras (the Brāhmaṇācchamsin as Sāyana 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 *R̥gveda*:⁵⁸ 'Oh *brāhmaṇas*, Oh *pitṛs* fond of soma! May the sinless *Dyāvāpṛthivī* (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' (*R̥g. VII. 103. 7*);⁵⁹ 'The *brāhmaṇas*, who drink soma, reciting prayers of the yearly sacrifice, have sent forth their speech' (*R̥g. 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*' (*R̥g. X. 16. 6*). 'When the *brāhmaṇas* worship together as friends in hymns (lit. speed of the mind) that are fabricated from their hearts' (*R̥g. X. 71. 8*). In *R̥g. 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 *R̥g. VIII. 35. 16-18* we read 'You (*Āsṛins*) urge on (or inspire) *brahma*, you urge on our thoughts (or actions), you kill the evil spirits and subdue diseases; (17) you urge *ksātra* (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*, *ksātriyas* and *viśaḥ*) but there is nothing in them to show that these three had crystallised into somewhat like the castes of later times. In *R̥g. VII. 33. 11* *Vasiṣṭha* 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 *Urvaśī* from *Mitra* and *Varuṇa*. Similarly, in

58. ब्राह्मणासः पितरः सोम्यासः शिवे नो धावापृथिवी अनेदसा । ऋ. VI. 75.10.

59. ब्राह्मणासो अतिरात्रे न सोमे सरो न पूर्णमभितो वदन्तः । संवत्सरस्य तद्वदः परि ह यन्मण्डूकाः मातृषीणं बभूव ॥ ऋ. 7. 103. 7; ब्राह्मणासः सोमिनो वाचमक्रत ननु कुण्वन्तः परिवत्सरीणम् । ऋ. 7. 103. 8; अग्निष्टद्विष्टादग्दं कुणोतु सोमश्च यो ब्राह्मणो आविवेश । ऋ. 10. 16. 6; इदा तद्वेषु मनसो जयेषु यद्ब्राह्मणाः संयजन्ते सखायः । ऋ. X. 71. 8; चत्वारि वाक्पूरिमिवा पदानि तानि विदुर्ब्राह्मणा ये मनीषिणः ॥ ऋ. I. 164. 45.

Rg. IX. 96. 6 (Brahmā devānām) the word brahmā⁶⁰ does not certainly mean 'brāhmaṇa by birth', nor does 'viprāṇām' 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 kaśaplakas (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 cāsi grhapatis-ca no dame). The word 'brahmajayā' in Rg. X. 109. 2, 3, 6 and 7 does not mean the wife of a brāhmaṇa by birth but rather 'wife of Bṛhaspati'. The whole hymn is obscure and more or less enigmatic or allegorical. In the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa⁶¹ 35. 2-4 it is said that soma is the food of brāhmaṇas and that a kṣatriya 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. ब्रह्मा देवानां पदवीः कवीनामुषेर्विश्राणां महिषो मृगाणाम् । इत्येनो वृक्षाणां स्वधित्तिर्वनानां सोमः पवित्रमत्येति रेमन् । ऋ. IX. 96.6; अथः वरयस्व मोपरि संतरां पादुको हर । मा ते कशकौ दशन् स्त्री हि ब्रह्मा बभूविच ॥ ऋ. VIII. 33. 19.

61. वृद्धमेवाद्यापि क्षत्रं सोमपीयेत् । ...स यदि सोमं ब्राह्मणानां भक्षः । अथास्यैव स्वी भक्षो न्यग्रोधस्यावरोधाश्च फलानि चोदुम्बराणि चाश्वत्थानि क्लृप्ताण्यभिषुष्ययात् तानि भक्षयेत् सोऽस्य स्वी भक्षः । ऐ. ब्रा. 35. 2-4; vide पूर्वमीमांसासूत्र III. 5. 22, III. 5. 47-51, III. 6. 36 and Śabara'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'. Vide⁶² 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 occur⁶³ 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 brāhmaṇas⁶⁴ and kṣatriyas (e. g. Tai. Br. II. 7.18, Br. Up. I. 4.11, Kāthopanīṣad 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 Varuna), 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)';⁶⁵ Rg. X. 109.3

62. त्वं नो अग्ने अग्निभिर्ब्रह्म यज्ञं च वर्धय । क्र. X. 141.5; विश्वामित्रस्य रक्षति ब्रह्मेण भारतं जनम् । क्र. III. 53. 12.

63. यद्युजाये वृषणमश्विनार्यं धृतेन नो मधुना क्षत्रमुक्षतम् । अस्माकं ब्रह्म धृतनासु जिन्यतं वयं धना दूरसाता भजेमहि ॥ क्र. I. 157.2.

64. ब्रह्म वै ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रं राजन्यः । तै. ब्रा. III. 9. 14.

65. मम द्विता राण्डं क्षत्रियस्य विश्वापोविश्वे अश्रुता यथा नः । क्र. IV. 42.1. Acc. to the Anukramanī this is a hymn of king Trasasadyu son of Parukutsa.

(=Atharva V. 17.3) 'the domain of the kṣatriya has been protected (from the sight of enemies)'. The word 'rājanya' occurs in the Rgveda only in the Puruṣasūkta. It occurs in the sense of kṣatriya in the Atharvaveda V. 17.9. The same remark applies to the word kṣatriya as to brāhmaṇa. It is difficult to say whether kṣatriyas 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 Devāpi as the *purohita* of Śantanu who became a king. The story⁶⁶ is that both were sons of Rṣiṣeṇa and that Śantanu, though a younger brother, became king as Devāpi was not willing to be a king. The result was a famine due to Śantanu's transgression and so Devāpi 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.'⁶⁷ 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 ṛṣi or a noble or a king. Dr. Ghurye (in 'Caste and race in India' p. 44) thinks that the kṣatriyas 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. 1, p. 207) for the same purpose. That verse literally means 'Soma does not urge on the crooked one, nor the kṣatriya who bears false. He strikes the rakṣas, and strikes him who speaks falsely; both lie in the bonds of Indra'. The words 'kṣatriyam mithuyā dhārayantam' are explained by Sāyana as 'Kṣatriya who bears false words'. The 2nd half is only an expansion of the first half and so 'vrjina' corresponds to 'rakṣas' and 'asad vadantam' is only a paraphrase of 'mithuyā dhārayantam'. They may mean this that one who is a kṣatriya, but has no strength as a kṣatriya should have, is at

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

67. का० १६ ततो भिषकुपलमक्षिणी नमः । नानाधियो वक्ष्यवो अङ्ग गा इव तस्थिम ।
 ऋ. IX. 112.3. Kāru means here 'composer of hymns'; Viśvāmitra is addressed as kāru by the rivers in Rg. III. 33.10 'आ ते कारो ह्यथवाना वचसि' । Vide निरुक्त VI. 6 for का० १६.

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 kṣatriyas by birth. Dr. Ghurye also says (p. 44) 'The 2nd order in society, the kṣatriya, is known in the earlier portions of the R̥gveda as rājanya.' I have not been able to find the word rājanya in the R̥gveda any where except in the Puruṣasūkta. In the Aitareya brāhmaṇa (chap. 34. 2) the word 'rājanya' stands for a member of the 2nd class in society, while kṣatriya 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 R̥gveda only in the Puruṣasūkta, 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 *mānuṣīr-viśaḥ* or *mānuṣīṣu viṣṇu* or *mānuṣīṇām viśām*, e. g. R̥g. 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 (*viśo mānuṣyān*), X. 1. 4, X. 69. 9. In some places we have 'dāsīr viśaḥ' (the dāsa hordes) e. g. IV. 28. 4, VI. 25. 2. In⁶⁸ R̥g. III. 34. 2 we have 'Oh Indra, you are the leader of human hordes as well as of divine hordes' (where we have *daivīnām viśām*). R̥g.⁶⁹ 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 R̥g. V. 32. 11 Indra is styled 'pāñcājanya' (favourable to the five people) and in IX. 66. 20 Agni has the appellation 'pāñcājanyaḥ purohitaḥ' (the *purohita* of the five peoples). Sometimes *jana* and *viś* seem to be contradistinguished as in R̥g. II. 26. 3 (*sa i-janena sa viśā sa janmanā sa putrair-vājam bharate dhanā nṛbhiḥ*). But the very fact that *viś* is qualified also as pāñcājanya shows that

68. इन्द्र क्षितीनामासि मातृबीजां विशां दैवीनामुत पूर्वपारवा । ऋ. III. 34. 2.

69. यत्पाञ्चजन्यया विशेन्द्र घोषा असृक्षत । ऋ. VIII. 63. 7. Śaṅkara in his bhāṣya on Vedāntasūtra I. 4. 12 says that the word pāñcājana in R̥g. VIII. 63. 7 means 'prajā' (people) and also notes that according to some 'pāñca janāḥ' are devas, pitṛs, asuras, gandharvas and rakṣases; while according to others they are the four varṇas and niṣādas as the fifth. The Ait. Br. (13. 7) gives an explanation of pāñca janāḥ similar to the first 'पाञ्चजन्यं वा एतदुक्तं यद्वैश्वदेवं सर्वेषां वा एतत्पाञ्चजनानामुक्तं देवमनुष्याणां मनुष्याणां सपत्नीनां च पितॄणां च'. The Nirukta (III. 8) in explaining R̥g. X. 53. 4 remarks about pāñca janāḥ. 'मनुष्याः पितरो देवा असुरा रक्षांसि-त्येके । चत्वारो वर्णा निषादः पञ्चम इत्येषामन्यथा ।'

there was hardly any distinction between jana and viś. In the Rgveda frequent reference is made to five people (pañca 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 kṛtī (II. 2. 10, IV. 38. 10), ksiti (V. 35. 2, VI. 48. 7, VII. 75. 4), carṣaṇi (V. 86. 2, VII. 15. 2) are employed along with *pañca*. We have also 'pāñcājanyaśu kṛtīṣu' in Rg. III. 53-16. So it is clear that *viś* cannot in almost all hymns of the Rg. mean 'vaiśya' but means the 'people' or 'āryan people' when no epithet like 'dāsih' or 'daivih' is prefixed.⁷⁰ The Ait. Br. (I. 26) says that 'viśaḥ' means 'rāṣṭrāṇi' (countries) when explaining Rg. IV. 50-8 (tasmai viśaḥ svayam-avānamante).

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 śūdra is said to have been created by God for service (*dāśya*) of the brāhmaṇa.⁷¹ We find in the Tai. S., the Tai. Br. and other Brāhmaṇa works that the śūdra 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 śūdras. 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, ksatriya, vaiśya and śūdra 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 śūdra in the Vedic Samhitās and Brāhmaṇas. In the Rgveda the Ārya is contradistinguished from the men 'of dark skin.' In the dharmasūtras we find the śūdras spoken of as 'dark varṇa.'

70. Vide Rg. I. 25.1, I. 114.3, VI. 15.1, X. 173.4 for 'viś' by itself.

71. अहं तु कारयेद् दास्यं क्रीतमक्रीतमेव वा । दास्यमैव हि दृष्टोत्तौ ब्राह्मणस्य स्वयंभुवः ॥ मनु VIII. 413

Vide Āp. 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 vaiśyas 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 Gāyatrī, the rājanya with Triṣṭubh and the vaiśya with Jagatī; but he did not create the śūdra with any metre.'⁷⁶ The Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa says⁷⁷ '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 Puruṣasūkta X. 90. 12 *padbhyām śūdro ajāyata*). This shows that the śūdra, however rich in cattle he might be, had to perform the menial duty of washing the feet of *dvijas*. The

72. यदेकरात्रेण करोति पापं कृष्णं वर्णं ब्राह्मणः सेवमानः । चतुर्थकाल उदकाभ्यवाप्य त्रिभिर्वैश्वदेवैस्तदपहस्ति पापम् ॥ आप. ध. सू. I. 9. 27. 11=शौ. ध. सू. II. 1. 59=शान्तिपर्व 165. 29.

73. शूद्रो मनुष्याणामश्वः पशूनां तस्मात्तौ धृतसंक्रामिणावश्वश्च शूद्रश्च तस्माच्छूद्रो यज्ञेऽनवकूतः । तै. सं. VII. 1. 1. 6.

74. 'चंच नो धेहि ब्राह्मणेषु चंच राजसु नस्तुयि । चंच विरयेषु शूद्रेषु मयि धेहि चचा चचम् ॥ तै. सं. V. 7. 6. 3-4.

75. पशु वा एतच्छृणानं यच्छूद्रः । तस्माच्छूद्रसमीपे नाध्येयम् । This is quoted by Sabara on Jaimini VI. 1. 38 as a śruti. बसिष्ठ ध. सू. 18. 11-12 echoes these words 'एके वा एतच्छृणानं ये शूद्राः । तस्माच्छूद्रसमीपे नाध्येतव्यम् ।' पशु...च्छूद्रः is cited as Śātapatha Śruti by the Śūdrakarmalākara (p. 3).

76. This is quoted by Vas. Dh. S. IV. 3. Vide Ait. Br. 5. 12 'गायत्रो वै ब्राह्मणः त्रेष्टुभो वै राजन्यः जागतो वै वैश्यः'.

77. तस्माच्छूद्र उत बहुपशुरथज्ञियो विदेवो नहि तं काचन देवतान्वस्यत्यत तस्मात्पादावनेष्यं नातिवर्धते पत्तो हि सुष्टः । ताण्ड्य VI. 1. 11.

Śatapatha 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 śūdra⁷⁸ 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 Śunaḥśepa⁷⁹ (who had sold Śunaḥśepa for 100 coins and had shown himself ready to kill him as a paśu 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 dharmasūtras. The Tāndya 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 brāhmacārin, 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 Dharmasūtra⁸² (II. 2.3. 1 and 4) says 'Āryas who are pure (by bath) should prepare the food for Vaiśvadeva;.....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. (शूद्रः) अयस्य प्रेष्यः कामोत्थाप्यो यथाकामवक्ष्यः । ऐ. ब्रा. 35.3

79 यः सङ्कल्पायं कुर्यात्कुर्वद्दिनस्ततोऽपरम् । नापायाः सौद्रात्पायादसन्धेयं त्वया कृतम् ॥ ऐ. ब्रा. 33. 5. The legend of Śunaḥśepa is referred to even in Rg. I. 24.12-13 and V. 2.7 (where it is expressly said that Śunaḥśepa was released by Varuṇa from the sacrificial post to which he had been tied).

80. शूद्रायौ चर्मणि ध्यायच्छेते तयोसार्यवर्णकुञ्जापयन्ति । ताण्ड्य V. 5. 14.

81. आर्याय वा पर्यवक्ष्यात् । अन्तर्धिने वा शूद्राय । आप. घ. सू. I. 1. 3. 40-41

82. आर्याः प्रयता वैश्वदेवेऽसंस्कर्तारः स्युः । आर्याधिष्ठिता वा शूद्राः संस्कर्तारः स्युः आप. घ. सू. II. 2. 3. 1 and 4.

śūdra having sexual intercourse with an ārya woman. Jaimini in his Pūrvamīmāṃsā sūtra (VI. 1.25-38) establishes after elaborate discussion that the śūdra 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 śūdra and propounded the view that all (including śūdras) were entitled to perform Vedic sacrifices (VI. 1.27). In the Vedānta-sūtras also (I. 3.34-38) it is established that the śūdra has no *adhikāra* for brahmavidyā based on Veda study, though some śūdras like Vidura might have been endowed with the knowledge of *brahma* owing to saṁskāras of former births. In the smṛti literature, however, a few passages are found allowing marriages of āryas with śūdra women (which will be discussed later on). Similarly sexual relations (illicit) between a śūdra woman and a man of higher varṇa are alluded to even in the Samhitās e. g. Tai. S.⁸³ VII. 4.19.3 'when a śūdra 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 Kavaṣa Ailūṣa, 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 śūdra and his disabilities will follow in another section later.

The position of the three varṇas *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, kṣatriyas and vaiśyas had become differentiated and their privileges, duties and liabilities had become more or less fixed in those times.

83. शूद्रा यदर्थं जरा न पोषाय धनं यति। तै. सं. VII. 4. 19.3 and Vājasaneyi Samhitā 23. 30. 'Arya' may mean an Ārya, or simply 'master' or 'vaiśya' (as in later literature). The words न...यति may mean 'He (the father of the śūdra woman) does not desire wealth for his own prosperity' (as he is pained by the event).

84. A similar story is told in the Śāṅkhayana Brāhmaṇa XII. 3. The words 'dāsyāḥ putraḥ' 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 dāśī.

In Rg. IV. 50.8 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 '. ' Brāhmaṇas⁸⁵ 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 brāhmaṇas who have studied and teach the sacred lore are the human gods ' Śat. 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 brāhmaṇas and the consequences of harming them or their cows. ' Therefore the brāhmaṇa is the foremost ' (Tai. S. II. 6. 2. 5, V. 2. 7. 1). ' Therefore the brāhmaṇa shows his might by his mouth, since he was created from the mouth ' (Tāṇḍya Br. XI. 1. 2).⁸⁶ In the Ait. Br. (33. 4) Varuṇa, when he was told that a brāhmaṇa boy would be offered in place of the son of the king Hariścandra, is made to say ' a brāhmaṇa is indeed preferable to a kṣatriya '. The mere fact of birth as brāhmaṇa's son is represented here as giving to the boy pre-eminence over a king's son. On the other hand the Śat. Br. says (V. 1. 1. 12) ' a brāhmaṇa⁸⁷ is not adequate to (competent to manage) a kingdom '. In the Tai. Br. it is said that playing on the vīṇā (in the Āsvamedha) is to be done by a brāhmaṇa and a rājanya (and not by two brāhmaṇas), since wealth does not find delight in the brāhmaṇa. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa⁸⁸ (XI. 5. 7. 1) lays emphasis on the four peculiar attributes of brāhmaṇas viz. brāhmaṇya (purity of parentage as a brāhmaṇa), pratirūpacaryā (befitting deportment or conduct), yaśas (glory) and lokapakti (the teaching or perfecting of people). ' When the people are being perfected or taught by him, people endow him with four privileges viz. arcā (honour), dāna (gifts), ajyeyatā (freedom

85. एते वै देवाः प्रत्यक्षं यद् ब्राह्मणाः । तै. सं. I. 7. 3. 1; यावतीर्वै देवतास्ताः सर्वा वेदविदि ब्राह्मणे वसन्ति तस्माद् ब्राह्मणेष्वप्यो वेदविद्वस्यो दिवे दिवे नमस्कुर्यात् । नाश्लील कीर्तयेदेता एव देवताः प्रीणाति । तै. आ. II. 15 and ' ब्राह्मणो वा आर्येयः सर्वा देवताः । ' शतपथ XII. 4. 4. 6; तस्माद्ब्राह्मणो मुखेन वीर्यं करोति मुखतो हि सृष्टः । ताण्ड्यमहा- ब्रा. VI. 1. 6. The same idea is expressed in the उत्तररामचरित V. ' वाचि वीर्यं क्षिजानाम्. '

86. ब्रह्म हि पूर्वं क्षत्रात् । ताण्ड्यमहा ब्रा. XI. 1. 2; शूयान्नै ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रियादिति वश्य उवाच । ऐ. ब्रा. 33. 4.

87. ' न वै ब्राह्मणो राज्यापालम् ' शतपथ V. 1. 1. 12; S. B. E. vol. 41 p. 4. न वै ब्राह्मणे श्री रमते इति ब्राह्मणोन्यो गायेद्वाजस्योन्यः । तै. ब्रा. III. 9. 14.

88. भूता वर्धमाना चतुरो धर्मान् ब्राह्मणमभिनिरपादयति ब्राह्मण्यं प्रतिरूपचर्यं यशो लोकपक्तिः लोकः पश्यमानश्चतुर्भिर्धर्मैः ब्राह्मणं सुनक्त्यर्चयति च दानेन चाज्येयतया चावश्यतया च । शतपथ XI. 5. 7. 1.

from being harassed) and *avadhyatā* (freedom from being beaten). The *Śatapatha* (V. 4. 6. 9) expressly mentions that *brāhmaṇa*, *rājanya*, *vaiśya* 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 होवाचाजातराजुः प्रतिलोमे चेतद्यद् ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रियमुपेयाद् ब्रह्म मे वदय-
तीति। बृह. उ. II. 1.15; तं होवाचाजातराजुः प्रतिलोमरूपमेव स्याद्यत्क्षत्रियो ब्राह्मणमुप-
नीत। कौषीतकिना. उ. IV. 18. In the Tai. S. IV. 5. 11. 9 we read यद् ब्राह्मण-
श्चाब्राह्मणञ्च प्रश्नमेयातां ब्राह्मणायाधिभूयायद् ब्राह्मणायाध्याहात्मनेपेयाद् यद्
ब्राह्मणं पराहात्मानं पराह तस्माद् ब्राह्मणो न परोच्यः। 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 inter-
preted 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 *adhibrū* 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 kṣatriyas 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 Bhrgus and Druhyus and VII. 18. 7 for Trtsus, 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.⁹⁰ When a king was crowned, it was thought that 'a kṣatriya was produced, a lord of all beings, the defender of brāhmaṇas (or of holy texts) and of dharma.'⁹¹ The Sat. Br. says 'for these two (śrotriya and king) are the upholders of the sacred law among men' (S. B. E. vol. 41 p. 106).⁹² That the co-operation between brāhmaṇa and kṣatriya results in glory and success is frequently emphasized e. g. 'therefore a brāhmaṇa must certainly be approached by a kṣatriya who is about to perform some act, for indeed that act of a kṣatriya which is sped on by brāhmaṇa succeeds' (Śatapatha, S. B. E. vol. 26 pp. 270-271)⁹³. 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. Ghurye takes it they would never have scrupled to say so in smṛti 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' (विश्वदेवो अधिवक्ता 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. तस्माद्वाज्ञा मनुष्या विधृताः । ते. सं. II. 6. 2.2.

91. क्षत्रियोऽजनि विश्वस्य धृतस्याधिपतिरजनि विशामसाजनि ... ब्रह्मणो गोसाजनि धर्मस्य गोसाजनि । ऐ. ब्रा. 38 and 39. 3.

92. Varuṇa is frequently called धृतव्रत (e. g. ऋ. I. 25. 8 and 10 and once even the yajamāna is so called (ऋ. I. 25. 6)); the शतपथ V. 4. 4. 5 explains ऋ. I. 25. 10 as 'निषसाद धृतव्रत इति । धृतव्रतो वै राजा ... एष च ओत्रियश्च तौ ह वै द्वौ मनुष्येभु धृतव्रतौ ।'. In गौतम VIII. 1 practically the same words occur 'द्वौ लोके धृतव्रतौ राजा ब्राह्मणश्च बहुधृतः'. Manu IX. 322 and Nārada (prakṛṇaka 42) express the same idea.

93. तस्माद्वा क्षत्रियेण कर्म करिष्यमाणेनोपसर्तव्य एव ब्राह्मणः । स हेवास्मै तद् ब्रह्मभक्ष्यं कर्म दधेति । शतपथ ब्रा. IV. 1. 4. 6; the words ब्रह्म ... दधेति occur in गौतम XI. 14.

ksatriya came to occupy a very high position. The Śatapatha (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 Tvaṣṭr was the purohita of gods.'⁹⁴ Śaṇḍa and Amarka were the purohitas of the Asuras (Kāthaka 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) says⁹⁵ '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)⁹⁶ '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 Śatapatha (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.'⁹⁷ 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 Śatapatha 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' Śatapatha (S. B. E. vol. 12 p. 94); 'hence when a nobleman approaches, all these people, the subjects crouch down by him on the ground' Śatapatha (S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 228); 'therefore there is nothing higher than the ksatra;

94. विश्वरूपो वै त्वाष्ट्रः पुरोहितो देवानामासीत् स्वर्चीयोऽसुराणाम् । तै. सं. II. 5. 1. 1.

95. अर्धात्मो ह वा एष क्षत्रियस्य यत्पुरोहितः । ऐ. ब्रा. 34. 8; न ह वा अपुरोहितस्य राज्ञो देवा अजमदन्ति तस्माद् राजा यक्ष्यमाणा ब्राह्मणं पुरोदधीत देवा मेऽजमदक्षिन्ति । ऐ. ब्रा. 40. 1.

96. तस्माद् ब्राह्मणो राजन्यवानत्यन्यं ब्राह्मणं तस्माद् राजन्यो ब्राह्मणवानत्यन्यं राजन्यम् । तै. सं. V. 1. 10. 3.

97. यो वै राजा ब्राह्मणादबलीयानमित्रेभ्यो वै स बलीयान् भवति । शतपथ V. 4. 4. 15.

therefore the brāhmana sits down below the kṣatriya in the Rājasūya ' (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 brāhmana or from robbing him of his cow. ' He who regards brāhmana as food drinks of the poison of Taimāta; he who injures a brāhmana, the relative of the gods, does not attain to the world of pitrs ' (Atharvaveda V. 18. 4 and 13). ' Those who spat on a brāhmana 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 brāhmana; that wicked act strikes that kingdom ' (Atharvaveda V. 19. 3 and 8).

The stories of king Kārtavīrya and Viśvāmitra who respectively carried off the cows of Jamadagni and Vasiṣṭha narrated in the Mahābhārata (Śānti 49 for Kārtavīrya; Ādi. 175 for Viśvāmitra) and the Purāṇas show how several kings were high-handed and treated brāhmanas with no respect whatever. It appears that even the wives of brāhmanas were not quite safe at the hands of kings. ' The chamberlain (kṣatr) of that king in whose kingdom the wife of a brāhmana 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 ' brahmajāyā ' figures prominently probably hints at the same fact (viz. the kidnapping of the wives of brāhmanas).

The Tai. S. says that ' the vaiśya indeed sacrifices, being desirous of cattle ' and that the gods having been defeated were reduced to the condition of being the vaiśyas or ' viś of asuras ' ;¹⁰⁰ ' the vaiśya 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 ' .¹⁰¹ The Tai. Br. says ' the vaiśya class is

98. ये ब्राह्मणं प्रत्यष्टीवन् ये वास्मिन् शुक्लमीषिरे । अस्मस्ते मध्ये कुल्यायाः केशान् खादन्त आसते ॥ तद्धे राक्षसास्त्रवति नार्य भिज्जमिवोड्कम् । ब्राह्मणं यत्र हिंसन्ति तद्भ्रात्रं हन्ति दुष्पुत्रा ॥ अथर्ववेद V. 19. 3 and 8.

99. नास्य क्षत्रा निष्कधीवः सुजानामेत्यथतः । यस्मिन् राक्षे निरुध्यते ब्रह्मजायाऽ-चित्प्रा ॥ अथर्ववेद V. 17. 14.

100. पशुकामः खलु वैश्यो यजते । तै. सं. II. 5. 10.2 : ते देवाः पराजिग्याना असुर-राणां वैश्यमुपायन् । तै. सं. II. 3. 7. 1.

101. वैश्यो मनुष्याणां गावः पशूनां तस्मात् आद्या अन्नधानादप्यसृज्यन्त तस्माद्भूयांसोऽप्येभ्यः । तै. सं. VII. 1. 1. 5

said to have been born from ṛk verses, they declare the Yajurveda as the origin of the kṣatriya, the Sāmaveda is indeed the source of brāhmaṇas'.¹⁰² The same Brāhmaṇa further says 'the viś go away from (reside separately from) the brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas'. The Tāndya Br. says¹⁰³ 'Hence the vaiśya, though being eaten (i. e. subsisted upon) by others is not exhausted, since he was created from the *prajānana* (from the sexual parts of Prajāpati); therefore he has numerous cattle, he has all the gods (as his patrons) and was produced with the Jagatī 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 (viś) subservient and obedient to the nobility'.¹⁰⁴ According to the Ait. Br. 35. 3 the vaiśya is one who is the food of others, who pays taxes to others. These passages show that vaiśyas 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 kṣatriyas and were obedient to them.

The system of the four varṇas 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 kṣatriyas; Vasus, Rudras, the Viśve Devas and Maruts being the viś, and Pūṣan being the śūdra.¹⁰⁵ Similarly it is said 'the brāhmaṇa is really spring, the kṣatriya summer, and the viś are the rainy season.'

102. कर्म्यो जातं वैश्यं वर्णमाहुः । यजुर्वेदं क्षत्रियस्याहुर्गोनिम् । सामवेदो ब्राह्मणानां भूतिः । तै. ब्रा. III. 12. 9 ; तस्माद् ब्रह्मणश्च क्षत्राच्च विशोऽन्यतोऽपक्रमिणीः । तै. ब्रा. I. 6. 5.

103. तस्माद्देवोऽद्यमानो न क्षीयते प्रजननाद्भि सुष्टस्तस्माद् बहुपशुर्वैश्वदेवो हि जायते वर्षा ह्यस्य तुस्तस्माद् ब्राह्मणस्य च राजन्यस्य चाथोऽधरो हि सुष्टः । ताण्ड्यमहाब्रा. VI. 1. 10.

104. अथैतदिन्द्रमेवानु भूत आभजन्ति । तत्क्षत्रायैवेतद्विशं कृतायुकरामयुवर्त्मानं करोति । शतपथ IV. 3. 3. 10.

105. Vide Maitrāyaṇī Samh. I. 10. 13, Śatapatha 14. 4. 2. 23-25 which is the same as Br. Up. I. 4. 11-13, Kauṣītaki Br. 9. 5 and Ait. Br. (34. 5). Compare शान्तिपर्व 208. 23-25 for Ādityas being kṣatriyas. Maruts as vaiśyas, Āsvins as śūdras.

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; tvaṣṭā (a carpenter) in VIII. 102.8; bhiṣak (medicine man) in IX. 112.1 and 3, karmāra or kārmarā (iron-smith) in X. 72.2 and IX. 112.2, carmamna (tanner) in Rg. VIII. 5.38.

The Atharvaveda mentions rathakāra (III. 5.6), karmāra (III. 5.6) and sūta (III. 5.7). In the Tai. S. (IV. 5.4.2)¹⁰⁶ mention is made of kṣatr (royal chamberlain or doorkeeper), saṁgrahītṛ (treasurer), takṣan (carpenter) and rathakāra (maker of chariots), kulāla (potter), karmāra, puñjiṣṭa (fowler), niśāda, iṣukṛt (maker of arrows), dhanvakṛt (maker of bows), mṛgayu (hunter) and śvani (those who lead packs of hounds). These also occur in the Vājasaneyasa-mhitā 16. 26-28 and these and a few more in Vāj. S. 30.5-13 and in Kāthaka Samhitā 17.13. In the Tai. Br. (III. 4.1 and the following anuvākas that deal with Puruṣamedha) we have āyogū, māgadha (bard), sūta, śailūsa (actor), rebha, bhīmala, rathakāra, takṣan, kaulāla, karmāra, maṇikāra, vapa (sower or barber), iṣukāra, dhanvakāra, jyākāra (maker of bow-string), rajjusarga, mṛgayu, śvani surākāra (vintner), ayastāpa (heater of iron or copper), kitava (gambler), bidalakāra (worker in wicker-work), kaṇṭhakāra. The Śatapatha Br. XI. 8.1. speaks of kaulāla-cakra (the potter's wheel). The Tai. 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 Tai. S. I. 8.9.1-2 mentions among the ' ratnas ' (the jewels), the sūta, grāmaṇī, kṣatr, saṁgrahītṛ, bhāgadugha (collector of taxes), akṣāvāpa (superintendent of gambling). Vide also Tai. Br. I. 7.3. In the Tāndya 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, kṣatr and saṁgrahītṛ '. Therefore it looks likely that kṣatr and saṁgrahītṛ were high officers of state and not castes. In the Śat. Br. XIII. 4. 1. 5 among the

106. नमः क्षत्रभ्यः संयहीतृभ्यश्च वो नमो नमस्तक्षभ्यो रथकारेभ्यश्च वो नमो नमः कुललेभ्यः कर्मारिभ्यश्च वो नमो नमः पुञ्जिष्टेभ्यो निषादेभ्यश्च वो नमो नम इषुकुद्भ्यो धन्वकुद्भ्यश्च वो नमो नमो मृगयुभ्यः श्वनिभ्यश्च वो नमः । ते. सं. IV. 5. 4. 2.

guards of the horse let loose in the *Asvamedha* there were 'a hundred sons of *ksātra-saṅgrahitṛs* carrying clubs'. As the word '*ksātra*' is prefixed to '*saṅgrahitṛ*' it follows that '*saṅgrahitṛs*' were officers who may have belonged to any *varṇa*. In the same passage mention is made of a hundred guardians who were the sons of *sūtagrāmanīs*. In another passage of the same *brāhmaṇa* (XIII. 2. 2. 18) the *sūtas* and *grāmanīs* are said to be no kings and yet are *rājakṛt* (i. e. king-makers).¹⁰⁷ This means probably that they are the principal persons on whose support the king depends. The *Sat. Br. V. 4. 4. 15-19* arranges *brāhmaṇa*, king, king's brother, *sūta* or *sthapati*, *grāmanī*, *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 (*klība*), 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).¹⁰⁸ The *Vāj. S.* (30. 17) speaks of *Paulkasa* in connection with *bibhatsā* (nauseating filth) and of *cāṇḍāla* (in 30. 21) in connection with *vāyu* (wind). The *paulkasa* and *cāṇḍāla* occur in *Tai. Br.* (III. 4. 14 and III. 4. 17 (respectively). In the *Chāndogya Up.* (V. 10. 7)¹⁰⁹ the *cāṇḍāla* is ranked with the dog and the boar. ' Therefore even if one knowing thus were to give the leavings of his food to a *cāṇḍāla* that would in his case be an offering made into the

107. यथा वै राज्ञोऽराजानो राजकृतः सुतग्रामण्यः । शतपथ XIII. 2. 2. 18.

108. Vide ताण्ड्य ब्रा. 13. 12. 5, बाज. सं. 30. 16, अथर्ववेद X. 4. 14, ते. ब्रा. III. 4. 12 for *kirāta*.

109. अभ्यासो ह यत्ते कपूयां योनिमापद्येरन् श्वयोनिं वा सुकरयोनिं वा चण्डाल-योनिं वा । द्वा. V. 10. 7. There were strict rules about giving one's *ucchiṣṭa* to another. *Āp. Dh. S.* (I. 11. 31. 25-26) did not allow a *brāhmaṇa* to give his *ucchiṣṭa* to one not a *brāhmaṇa*, unless certain rather obnoxious things were done to it. *Manu* IV. 80 forbids the giving of *ucchiṣṭa* to a *śūdra* (who is not a dependant) while *Manu* X. 125 allows it to be given to a *śūdra* who is a dependant.

Self as Fire'—Chāndogya V. 24. 4. This shows that the cāṇḍāla 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 cāṇḍāla 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 ksatriya from a śūdra woman (Yāj. 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 niśāda deserve a passing notice. The Tai. Br. I. 1. 4 after stating that the brāhmaṇa should consecrate sacred fires in the spring, the ksatriya in summer, the vaiśya 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 Pūrvamīmāṃsā-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 'rbhūṇām tvā' (Tai. Br. I. 1. 4) and that the rathakāras are the caste called Saudhanvana which is neither śūdra nor one of the three higher ones, but is slightly inferior to the three higher varṇas. Viśvarūpa¹¹² (on

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

111. वचनाद्व्यकारस्याधानेऽस्य सर्वेष्वत्वात् । सौधन्वनास्तु हीनत्वान्मन्त्र-वर्णात्प्रतीयेरन् । पूर्वमी. VI. 1. 44 and 50.

112. यत्तु स्मृत्यन्तरे रथकारस्योपनयनस्मरणं तद्व्याधानाधिकृतत्वाद् भ्रान्तेरित्यवसेयम् । विश्वरूप on या. I. 10. The जौ. ग्र. II. 5. 6. has वसन्ते ब्राह्मणमुपनयति शीर्षे राजन्यं शरदि वैश्यं वर्षासु रथकारमिति । Vide भारद्वाजश्रुत्य I. 1 for the same rule. क्षत्रिय-वैश्यास्तुलोमानन्तरजोत्पन्ना रथकारस्तस्य ज्ञेयादानोपनयनसंस्कारक्रिया अश्वप्रतिष्ठा रथ-चक्रवास्तुविद्याध्ययनवर्तिता च । शङ्ख quoted in संस्कारप्रकाश p. 399 which says that this रथकार is different.

Yāj. I. 10) notices that in some *smṛti* the *rathakāra* though not belonging to the three higher *varṇas*, was allowed the privilege of *upanayana*, but adds that this dictum of the *smṛti* is due to mistake, it being misled by the fact that he is allowed the privilege of *ādhāna*¹¹³ (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 *iṣṭi* offered to Rudra a Vedic text says 'one should make a *niṣādashapati* perform this *iṣṭi*.' The *Pūrvamīmāṃsā sūtra*¹¹⁴ (VI. 1. 51-52) discusses the question whether this authorises a *niṣāda* who is himself a chieftain or a chieftain (who is a member of the three higher *varṇas*) of *niṣādas*. The established conclusion is that the *iṣṭi* is to be performed by a *niṣāda* 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 *Tatpuruṣa*. The *Ait. Br.* (37. 7) says¹¹⁵ 'just as the *niṣādas*, or *selagas* (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 *niṣādas* whose food is the lowest that he is allowed to take. The *Kātyāyanaśrauta-sūtra* (I. 1. 12-14) says¹¹⁶ that 'the chieftain who is a *niṣāda* 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 *Raudra iṣṭi* does not entitle him to perform Vedic consecration of fire (*ādhāna*). But according to *Satyāśadha*¹¹⁷-kalpa III. 1 both the *niṣāda* and the *rathakāra* are entitled to perform *Agnihotra* and *Darśa-pūrṇamāsa*.

113. वसन्तो ब्राह्मणस्य श्रीमो राजन्यस्य हेमन्तो वा शरत् वैश्यस्य वर्षा रथकारस्य । आप. औ. सू. V. 3. 18; vide कात्यायनश्रौत I. 1. 9-10 also.

114. स्थपतिर्निषादः स्याच्छब्दसामर्थ्यात् । पूर्वमी. VI. 1. 51.

115. यथाह वा इदं निषादा वा सेलगा वा पापकृतो वा वित्तवन्तं पुरुषं गृहीत्वा कर्तमन्वस्य वित्तमादाय ददन्ति । ऐ. ब्रा. 37. 7. The com. on Āśv. Śr. (Uttara-śatka IV. 7. 6 explains सेलगाः as सर्पेणोन्मत्ताः (?).

116. निषादः स्थपतिगवेषुकैधिकृतः । वावकीर्णिनी गर्दभेज्या । लौकिके । कात्यायनश्रौ. I. 1. 12-14.

117. निषादश्चकारयोरौषधानादग्निहोत्रं दर्शपूर्णमासौ च नियम्यते । सत्यायनादकल्प III. 1.

The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa¹¹⁸ narrates that Viśvāmitra cursed his senior fifty sons, when they did not agree to his proposal to treat Śunaḥśepa (Devarāta) as his son, that they would associate with the lowest castes and that they became the Andhras, Puṇdras, Śābaras, 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 Manusmṛti¹¹⁹ (X. 43-45) is prepared to regard the Paundrakas, the Odras, Draviḍas, Kāmbojas, Yavanas, Śakas, Pāradas, Pahlavas, Cīnas, Kirātas, Daradas and Khasas as being originally kṣatriya castes, but later on reduced to the position of śūdras by the non-performance of Vedic saṃskāras (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 dharmasūtras 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 Śatapatha 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. तानुत्प्राजहारान्तान्वः प्रजा भक्षीष्टेति । त एतेन्द्राः पुष्पाः शचराः पुलिन्दा मृतिवा इत्युदत्त्या बहवो वैश्वामित्रा दस्यूनां भूयिष्ठाः । ऐ. ब्रा. 33.6.

119. शनकैस्तु क्रियालापोदिभाः क्षत्रियजातयः । वृषलत्वं गता लोके ब्राह्मणादर्शनेन च ॥ पौण्ड्रकाश्चौद्रविडाः काम्बोजा यवनाः शकाः । पारदा पल्लवाश्चीनाः किराताः दण्डाः खशाः ॥ सुषकाश्चैष्यजानां या लोके जातयो बहिः । म्लेच्छवाचश्चार्थवाचः सर्वे ते दस्यवः स्मृताः ॥ मनु X. 43-45.

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 *samhitā* period closed the *dasyus* had been conquered and were given a position subservient to the *āryas* ;

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

(4) that the spirit of exclusiveness and pride of superiority 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 priesthood), *ksatriyas* (kings, noblemen and some warriors) and *vaiśyas* (the artisans and common people) had become separated into groups more or less dependent on birth and that the *brāhmaṇa*¹²⁰ had come to be regarded as superior to the *ksatriya* by the fact of birth ;

(6) that even such low castes as *cāṇḍālas* and *pauṅkāsas* 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 occupations ;

(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 Tāndya 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)	Dāśa
Andhra	Dhanuṣkāra
Ayastāpa	or
Ayogū or Āyogū	Dhanvakāra
Avipāla (keeper of ewes)	or
Ānda (?)	Dhanvakṛt
Isukāra	Dhaivara
Ugra	Niśāda
Kaṇṭakakāra or Kaṇṭaki-	or
kāri (in Vāj. S.)	Naiṣāda
Karmāra	Pumścalu
Kāri (dancer?)	Puñjīṣṭa
Kitava	or
Kirāta	Pauñjīṣṭha
Kināśa (cultivator?)	Puṇḍra
Kulāla or Kaulāla	Pulinda
Kevarta	Paulkasa
Kośakāri (blower of bellows)	Bainda (catching fish in nets)
Kṣatr	Bhiṣak
Gopāla	Bhīmala (timid?)
Carmamna	Maṇikāra
Cāṇḍāla	Māgadha
Jambhaka (?)	Mārgāra
Jyākāra	Mūṭiba
Takṣan	Mṛgayu

Maināla (catcher of fish ?)	Vidalakārī or Bidala-
Rajayitrī (dyer)	Vrātya
Rajjusarga or-sarja	Śabara
Rathakāra	Śabalya (?)
Rājaputra	Śailūsa
Rebha (?)	Śvanin (or Śvanita)
Varṇānartin	Saṁgrahitr
Vapa (barber)	Surākāra
Vānija	Sūta
Vāsaḥ-palpūli (a washer- woman)	Selaga Hiranyakāra

Several centuries before the Christian era there were several castes. This follows not only from the dharmaśāstras 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 deducible therefrom. He states (pp. 40 ff) that the whole population of India was divided into seven castes, (1) philosophers, (2) husbandmen, (3) neatherds and shepherds, (4) artisans, (5) military, (6) overseers, (7) councillors and assessors. Out of these 1 and 5 correspond to brāhmanas and ksatriyas, 2-3 to vaiśyas, 4 to śūdras; 6th and 7th correspond to *adhyakṣas* and *amātyas* (as in Kauṭilya'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

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131.55

many) among the several smṛtikāras relate only to details. The smṛti writers had before them the hoary theory of four varṇas 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 smṛti view of the derivation of numerous castes from the mixture or confusion (*saṁkara*) of the four varṇas as purely hypothetical and imaginary, the criticism is true only partially. The smṛtis 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 smṛtis did exist at the time of the smṛtis, 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 varṇas or castes.¹²¹ 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 varṇas, brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya, vaiśya and śūdra, are arranged in a descending scale of social status; and (2) that marriage is or was permissible between a male of a higher varṇa with a woman of a lower varṇa, but the union of a woman of a higher varṇa with a male of varṇa 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 varṇa or jāti by birth only i. e. if born in lawful wedlock of parents both of whom belong to that varṇa

121. Śāntiparva (297. 7-9) says 'अनुष्मिन् वणिनामागमः पुरुषर्षभ ।
अतोऽन्ये त्वतिरिक्ता ये ते वै संकरजाः स्मृताः ॥ क्षत्रियातिरिक्त्याऽपि उभ्रा वैदेहकास्तथा ।
अपाकाः क्लृप्तास्तान् निषादाः क्षत्रमागमाः । अवीणाः कर्णा ब्राह्मणाऽऽढाणाश्च नराधिप ।
एते अनुष्मोर्जनेभ्यो जायन्ते वै परस्परम् ॥'

or jāti.¹²² 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 Sūtasamhitā). 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 Kausṭaki 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 Āp. Dh. S. (II. 6. 13. 1, 3-4) lays down¹²³ that a man must marry a virgin of his own varṇa with the rites prescribed by the *śāstras* 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. मनु. X. 5, विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 16. 1; या. I. 90. The mīmāṃsaka position is stated by the तन्त्रवार्तिक (on जै. I. 2. 1) 'न त्वान्तरिमित्तर्षविभागे मन्वा किञ्चित् । न तपआदीनां सखदायो ब्राह्मण्यं न तज्जनितः संस्कारः न तदभित्यंया जातिः, किं तर्हि मातापितृजातिज्ञानमित्यंया मत्त्यक्षसमधिगम्या ।'; the सूतसंहिता (शिवभाषाहत्यखण्ड 12. 51-52) says सर्वेषां जन्मना जातिर्नान्यथा कर्मकोटिभिः पञ्चादीनां यथा जातिर्जन्मैव न चान्यथा । सापि स्थूलस्य देहस्य भौतिकस्य न चात्मनः ॥; जन्मैव महाभागो ब्राह्मणो नाम जायते । शातातप quoted in आह्निकम. p. 452.

123. सर्वपापुर्वशास्त्रविहितायां यथर्तु गच्छतः पुत्रास्तेषां कर्मभिः सम्बन्धः । पूर्ववत्पाम-
संस्कृतायां धर्मान्तरे च मैथुने दोषः । तत्रापि दोषेवाप्य पुत्र एव । आप. ध. सू. 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 Āpastamba 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 varṇa but also allow the marriage of a person with a girl of another varṇa lower than his own. Yāj. (I. 92) expressly says that the six *anuloma* castes, mūrdhāvasikta, ambastha, niṣāda, māhiṣya, ugra, and karaṇa 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 *dvi*jas, but that the *pratiloma* castes are like *śūdras* (i. e. even when a *pratiloma* caste springs from a brāhmaṇa woman and a kṣatriya or vaiśya male they cannot have upanayana and other rites of *dvi*jas performed for them, though both parents are *dvi*jas). Kautilya¹²⁴ (III. 7) also says that all *pratilomas* except cāṇḍālas are like *śūdras*; Viṣṇu says that they are condemned by all Āryas. Devala¹²⁵ (quoted by Parāśara-mādhaviya I. 2. p. 122) says that *pratilomas* are outside the pale of the system of varṇas and are *patita*. The Smṛtyarthasāra p. 13 says that *anuloma* sons and those born of the mūrdhāvasikta and other *anuloma* castes are *dvi*jātis and are entitled to saṁskāras as *dvi*jātis. Commentators like Kullūka (on Manu X. 11) say that, as no marriage is legally possible between a woman of a higher varṇa 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 *dvi*jas 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. शुद्रसधर्मागो वा अन्यत्र चण्डालेभ्यः । कौटिल्य III. 7; प्रतिलोमास्तत्पार्व-
विगर्हिताः । विष्णु 16. 3.

125. तेषां सवर्णजाः श्रेष्ठारोऽप्योऽप्यगुल्लोमजाः । अन्तराला बहिर्वर्णाः पतिताः प्रतिलो-
मजाः ॥ देवल quoted in परा. मा. I part 2 p. 122; एतेऽगुल्लोमजाः पुनः संस्कारा
रुद्धिजातयः । तथा भूषावसि कावित्तिजातयश्च द्विजातयः ॥ रघुत्पर्वसार p. 13.

marriages or only of illegitimate and adulterous unions. But it will be seen from the list appended below that Uśanas and Vaikhānasa 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 says¹²⁶ 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 (Śivamahātmyakhanda chap. 12. 12-48) where a similar distinction is made between the children of marriages and clandestine unions. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 90 says that such progeny as kuṇḍa and golaka (Manu III. 174), kāmīna, 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 kṣetrajā 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 Yāj. I. 92 p. 118) does not accept this view and holds that even kāmīna and sahoḍha may be held to be brāhmaṇas (if the begetter can be proved to have been a brāhmaṇa); while Viśvarūpa on Yāj. II. 133 says that kāmīna and gūḍhaja 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. दृष्ट्वा मातृपुत्रकन्यायां विवाहेषु सम्प्रयात् । जातः सुतोऽत्र निर्दुष्टः पतिलोभ-
विधिर्हिजः ॥ मातृपुत्रां क्षत्रियाञ्चौर्ध्वकारः प्रकीर्तितः । उशनस् ११. २-५.

127. Vide Yāj. I. 95 which says that *pratilomajas* are *asat* (condemned) and *anulomajas* are *sat* (good) i. e. entitled to the *samskāras*.

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 Nirukta¹²⁸ (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 *kṛṣṇajātiyā* occurs with reference to a woman of the śūdra caste. Almost these very words occur in *Vasiṣṭha* (18. 17-18)¹²⁹ where for *kṛṣṇajātiyā* the word *kṛṣṇavarṇā* is substituted. *Viśvarūpa* on *Yāj.* I. 56 (*yad-ucyate* etc.)¹³⁰ quotes these words as a *brāhmaṇa* text, but there the word is *kṛṣṇavarṇīyā*. 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)¹³¹ teaches the formation of words like 'brāhmaṇajātiya' derived from words ending in 'jāti' (in the sense of caste). The expression 'jātidharma' (rules of castes) occurs in *Gautama* XI. 20, *Vasiṣṭha* I. 17 and XIX. 7, *Manu* I. 118 and VIII. 41 and the word *jāti* (caste) occurs also in *Āp. Dh. S.* II. 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* (*ṛṇādāna* 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 (*jāti*s). 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 'savarna').

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. अग्निं चित्वा न रामासुपेयात् । रामा रमणासुपेयते न धर्माय कृष्णजातीया ।
निबन्ध XII. 13; the words 'अग्निं चित्वा ... पेयात्' occur in काठकसंहिता 21. 7.

129. नाग्निं चित्वा रामासुपेयात् । कृष्णवर्णा या रामा रमणायैव न धर्माय ।
वसिष्ठ 18. 17-18.

130. कृष्णवर्णीया रामा रमणायैवोपेयत इति ब्राह्मणवाक्यः । विश्वरूप on *Yāj.* I. 56.

131. जात्यन्ताच्छ बन्धुनि । पाणिनि V. 4. 9.

of the father; e. g. Baud. Dh. S. ¹³² (I. 8. 6 and I. 9. 3) says that sons born to a person of a savarna wife or a wife of the varṇa next to his own are savarna i. e. the son of a brāhmaṇa from a wife of the kṣatriya varṇa is a brāhmaṇa. The Anuśāsana-parva 48. 4, Nārada (stripuṃsa 106) and Kauṭilya (III. 7) say the same. Gautama IV. 15 as interpreted by Haradatta appears to say that the off-spring of a brāhmaṇa from a kṣatriya wife is called savarna, but not the offspring of a kṣatriya male from a vaiśya wife or of a vaiśya 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. 2 ¹³³ and Śaṅkha (prose) quoted by the Mit. on Yāj I. 91 and Aparārka (p. 118). A classical echo of this view is found in the Śakuntala 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 savarna'. Medhātithi on Manu X. 6 says that Pāṇḍu, Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Vidura being kṣetrajā sons took the caste of their mothers. The Mit. explains the words of Śaṅkha by saying that the offspring of *anuloma* marriages such as mūrdhāvasikta are not really different from kṣatriyas, that they have the same *samskāras* 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 *pratilomas*, as said above, are lower in status than any of the two parents.

132. तासु पुत्राः सवर्णानन्तरास्तु सवर्णाः । ब्राह्मणात्क्षत्रियायां ब्राह्मणः..... औ. घ. I. 8. 6 and I. 9. 3; भार्याश्चतस्रो विमस्य द्वयोरात्मस्य जायते । अनुशासन 48. 4; सवर्णा ब्राह्मणीपुत्रः क्षत्रियायामन्तरः । नारद (श्रीपुंस 106); ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियपारानन्तरा-पुत्राः सवर्णा एकादरा असवर्णाः । कौटिल्य III. 7.

133. अनुलोमास्तु मातृसवर्णाः । विष्णु 16. 2; 'ब्राह्मणेन क्षत्रियायास्त्यादेतः क्षत्रिय एव भवति । क्षत्रियेण वैश्यायास्त्यादेतः वैश्य एव भवति । वैश्येन शूद्रायास्त्यादेतः शूद्र एव भवति' सङ्ग्रह in मित. on या. I. 91.

134. अपि नाम कुलपतेरियमसवर्णक्षेत्रजं भवत्येव । शकुन्तल I.

The ancient dharmaśūtras mention only a few mixed castes. Āp. Dh. S. mentions only cāṇḍāla, paulkasa and vaiṇa. 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, vaiṇa and kukkuṭa. 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). Uśanas 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. ambastha, niṣāda and ugra. The primary pratilomas also are six (vide Manu X. 11-12 and 16-17 and Yāj. I. 93-94) viz. sūta, vaidehaka, cāṇḍāla, 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 *pratiloma* caste. For example, Yāj. I. 95 defines rathakāra as the offspring of a māhiṣya male and a karāṇa female, i. e. it is a further mixture between two anuloma castes. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 95 says that upanayana and other *samskāras* are performed for the offspring of anuloma persons marrying among themselves. The Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 13) says the same¹³⁵. Similarly Manu X. 15 says that āvṛta and ābhira spring from the union of a brāhmaṇa with an ugra girl and an ambastha 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). A

135. एवं ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियोत्पन्न-मूर्धावसिक्तमाहिष्यादुल्लोमसङ्गरे जात्यन्तरता उप-
नयनाद्विधीयते चेदित्यत्र तयोर्द्विजातित्वात् । मितः on या. I. 95; एतेऽल्लोमजाः पुत्राः
संस्कार्याः स्युर्द्विजातियः । तथा मूर्धावसिक्ताद्विजातियश्च द्विजातयः ॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 13.

smṛti verse quoted¹³⁶ 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. 7¹³⁷ 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 mediatedly, 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 Mitākṣarā¹³⁸ 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 *prakīrṇaka* 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. 94¹³⁹ 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.

136. मातिलोभ्याद्यलोभ्येन वर्णैस्तज्जैश्च वर्णतः । षट्शेवान्ये प्रजायन्ते तत्प्रभूतेस्त्व-
नन्तरा ॥ quoted by विश्वरूप on या. I. 95. It is quoted also by परा. मा. I. part 2 p. 125 and both say that these are वर्णान्नासः ; the परा. मा. says that further *samkaras* are जात्यान्नासः.

137. संकरसंकराश्चासंकर्येवाः । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 16. 7.

138. संकीर्णसंकरजीतानामानन्त्याद्भक्तुमशक्यत्वात् । मिता० on या. I. 95

139. एतेषां च दृष्ट्वा औचित्ये मानवे च दृष्टव्याः । मिता० on या. I. 94.

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.¹⁴⁰ There is another difficulty. The same name given to a caste is differently derived by different writers (vide under *niśāda* and *pāraśava* 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), Vasiṣṭha¹⁴¹ (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 *varṇasamkara* (or only *samkara*). In Manu X. 12 and 24 the word *varṇasamkara* is used in the plural in the sense of mixed castes, while in Manu X. 40 (and in V. 89) the word *samkara* seems to be used in the sense of 'mixture or intermingling of varṇas'. Gautama (VIII. 3) employs the word *samkara* 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).'¹⁴² Nārada (*stripuṃsa* 102)¹⁴³ says 'to be born from a union in the inverse order of varṇas amounts to *varṇasamkara*;' while Bṛhaspati quoted in the *Kṛtyakalpataṛu* appears to apply the word *varṇasamkara* to both *anuloma* and *pratiloma* castes. Baud.¹⁴⁴ Dh. S. (I. 9. 16) says that those who are born of

140. अत एव स्मृत्यन्तरेष्वेकस्यैवार्थस्यानेकसंज्ञादर्शनापि देशभेदेन तथाविधप्रयोग-
सत्तामुपलभ्य । न पुनः पारिभाषिकत्वकल्पना वेदेष्वप्यनेकविधसंज्ञोपलब्धेः । विश्वरूप on या.
I. 92-93; vide also पराशरभाष्येय I. part 2 p. 120 'एकस्यामेव जातौ मूर्धावसिक्त-
सर्वर्णसंज्ञयोर्विकल्पेन प्रवृत्तत्वात् । न चैकत्र संज्ञाविकल्पे दृष्टान्ताभावः । एकत्र निषाद-
पाराशरविकल्पस्य मनुदेवलयज्ञवल्क्यैश्चदाहृतत्वात् ।'

141. छान्दोग्योक्त्या च ये केचित्प्रातिलोभ्यमुणाश्रिताः । मुणाचारपरिग्रहात्कर्मभित्तान्
विजानीयुरिति । वसिष्ठ 18.7.

142. मनुतिरेक्षणमसंकारो धर्मः । गौ. VIII. 3.

143. प्रातिलोभ्येन यजन्त स ज्ञेयो वर्णसंकरः । नारद (अपुंस 102); ब्राह्मणसत्रम्
विद्वद्भ्यः वर्णविचारत्याग्यो द्विजाः । प्रतिलोभात्तुलोभाच्च ते ज्ञात्वा (ज्ञेया?) वर्णसंकराः ॥
बृहस्पति in कृत्यकल्पतरु (109).

144. वर्णसंकरादुत्पन्नैर्वात्यानामुर्मनोविणः । बो. ध. सू. I. 9. 16.

varṇasamkara are called *vrātyas*. The Mīt. on Yāj I. 96 applies the word varṇasamkara to both anuloma and pratiloma progeny. Medhātithi¹⁴⁵ 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 *samkīrṇayoni* to them as seen above (Manu X. 25). Yama¹⁴⁶ quoted in the Kṛtyakalpataṛu says 'Varṇasamkara 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 sagotra girl) and by neglect of the duties peculiar to one's varṇa'. The Anuśāsanaparva 48. 1¹⁴⁷ remarks that 'varṇasamkara 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-gītā (I. 41-43), it is said 'when women become corrupt (or demoralised), intermingling of varṇas arises; *samkara* 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 *varṇasamkara*, the ancient caste observances and family observances are subverted.'

On account of the great emphasis laid on the prevention of *varṇasamkara* the smṛtis 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 *varṇasamkara*. 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. सकरजाता इतरेतरजातिव्यतिकरेण प्रतिलोमा आयोगवाद्यः । अनुलोमास्तु सत्यपि संकीर्णयोनित्वे मातृजातीयत्वाद्धिकारित्वाच्च नेह गृह्यन्ते । न चाखलोमेषु संकीर्णयोनित्वव्यवहारः संकीर्णयोनयस्त्वेताः प्रतिलोमाखलोमजा इति । मेघा० on मनु. V. 88.

146. मर्यादाया विलोपेन जायते वर्णसंकरः । अनुलोम्येन वर्णत्वं प्रतिलोम्येन पातकम् ॥ यम quoted in MS. of कृत्यकल्पतरु (व्यवहार, प्रकीर्णक).

147. अर्थलोमात्कामाद्वा वर्णानां चाप्यनिश्चयात् । अज्ञानाद्वापि वर्णानां जायते वर्णसंकरः ॥ अनुशासन 48. 1.

from them;’ Vasiṣṭha (19. 7-8) ‘the king paying attention to all these viz. the observances of countries, castes and families should make the four varṇas conform to their duties and should punish them when they go astray’; Viṣṇu Dh. S. III. 3 and Yāj. I. 361, Mārkaṇḍeyapuārṇa 27, Matsyapurāṇa 215. 63 say the same. Nārada (stripuṃsa 113)¹⁴⁸ says ‘when a brāhmaṇa woman goes astray a cāṇḍāla is born from a śūdra male (and the brāhmaṇa woman); therefore the king should specially protect women from samkara’. It is on account of this that so early as in the first centuries of the Christian era we see that king VasiṣṭhIputa Siri Puṣumāyī is extolled as having prevented the mixture of the four varṇas (E. I. vol. VIII pp. 60-61, ‘vinivāṭitacātuvāṇa-sakarasa’). That varṇasamkara had gone too far in the opinion of the author of the Mahābhārata (Vanaparva 180. 31-33) follows from the following words which are despairingly put in the mouth of Yudhiṣṭhira¹⁴⁹ “It appears to me that it is very difficult to ascertain the caste of human beings on account of the confusion of all varṇas; 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.” Śamkarācārya in his bhāṣya on Vedāntasūtra I. 3. 33 remarks that, though in his day varṇas and āśramas had become disorganised and unstable as to their dharmas, that was not the case in other ages, since otherwise the śāstras laying down regulations for them would have to be deemed purposeless or futile.¹⁵⁰

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

148. चाण्डालो जायते शुद्राद् ब्राह्मणी यत्र युध्यति । तस्मादाज्ञा विशेषेण स्त्रियो रक्ष्यास्तु संक्रात् ॥ नारद स्त्रीपुंस 113; vide also नारद (प्रकीर्णक 2-6).

149. जातिरत्र महासर्प मनुष्यत्वे महामते । संक्रात्सर्ववर्णानां दुष्परिक्षेपेति मे मतिः ॥ सर्वसर्वास्त्वपत्यानि जनयन्ति सदा नराः । वाङ्मयुनमयो जन्म मरणं च समं दृष्ट्वा ॥ इदमर्थं प्रमाणं च य यजामह इत्यपि । तस्मान्छीलं प्रधानेष्टं विदुर्द्योतवदशिनः ॥ वनपर्व 180. 31-33.

150. इदानीमिव च कालान्तरेपि अव्यवस्थितभाषावर्णधर्मान् प्रतिजानीत । व्रतश्च व्यवस्थानिवधायि शास्त्रमनर्थकं स्यात् । शाङ्करभाष्य on वेदान्तसूत्र I. 3. 33.

tion, but their general sense is clear. Gautama (IV. 18)¹⁵¹ says that according to the ācāryas 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 *varṇa* in the 7th or 5th generation (respectively). This is explained by Haradatta as follows: When a brāhmaṇa marries a kṣatriya woman the daughter born of this marriage is called *savarṇā*; if this latter is married to a brāhmaṇa and a daughter is born and this latter is again married by a brāhmaṇa and if this continues in the same way for seven generations, then when the 7th girl in descent marries a brāhmaṇa, whatever child is born of that union belongs to the brāhmaṇa *varṇa* (though in the preceding generations only the fathers were brāhmaṇas and the mothers were all not strictly brāhmaṇas, but only *savarṇās* if at all). This is called *jātyutkarṣa* (rise in status as a caste). On the other hand, when a brāhmaṇa marries a kṣatriya girl and a son is born who is called *savarṇa*, 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 *varṇa* (though in all the preceding generations the father was higher than kṣatriya and the mother only was a kṣatriya). This is *jātyapakarṣa* (fall in status as a caste). The same rule holds good as regards a kṣatriya marrying a vaiśya female and a vaiśya marrying a śūdra female. The same rule applies among *anulomas* also e. g. if a *savarṇa* (as defined by Gautama) marries an ambaṣṭha girl and a daughter is born who again marries a *savarṇa* and this continues for seven generations, then the child of the 7th girl (in descent) from a *savarṇa* male becomes a *savarṇa* (rises in status); on the other hand if a *savarṇa* (offspring of brāhmaṇa 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. वर्णांतरगमनमुत्कर्षापकर्षाभ्यां सप्तमे पञ्चमे वाचावर्षाः । सुब्रह्मन्तरजातानां च ।
गौतम IV. 18-19. In S. B. E. vol. II, pp. 196-197 the sūtras are arranged differently i. e. the first ends at 'saptame' and pañcame...ryāḥ is another sūtra. Though this method makes a good sense it is opposed to the explanation of Haradatta, who explains that the option allowed by the use of 'vā' in the sūtra applies only where there is pre-eminence of character and learning (i. e. in such a case rise is possible even in the 5th generation).

the 7th male (in descent) born of an ambasṭha wife becomes an ambasṭha (i. e. there is jātyapakarṣa as to anulomas).

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 jātyutkarṣa). 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 jātyutkarṣa 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 jātyutkarṣa, while according to Manu, the 7th secures it. Further Manu is silent about jātyutkarṣa 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 jātyutkarṣa ; 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 'janma'; Sarvajña-nārāyaṇa 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 Anuśāsanaparva (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 अमुनो नो हि जातस्य सद्गुणानुपतिष्ठतः । वैश्यत्वं लभते ब्रह्मण्य क्षत्रियत्वं तथैव च ॥ आर्यवे वर्तमानस्य ब्राह्मण्यसमिजायते । वनपर्व 212. 11-12.

a vaiśya female and this goes on, then in the fifth generation the son will be a vaiśya (i. e. there will be jātyapakarṣa). Similarly if a brāhmaṇa marries a kṣatriya woman then there is jātyutkarṣa or jātyapakarṣa in three generations.

Yājñavalkya (I. 96)¹⁵³ speaks of two kinds of *jātyutkarṣa* or *jātyapakarṣa* 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 Mitākṣarā 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 vaiśya woman and a girl is born, she is an ambaṣṭha; 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 mūrdhāvasiktā (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 jātyutkarṣa by marrying a higher male took place in the 6th generation. If a kṣatriya married a vaiśya woman, the daughter born was a māhiṣyā and jātyutkarṣa took place in the 5th generation. If a vaiśya married a śūdra woman, the daughter of the marriage is a karaṇī and if she marries a vaiśya, then in the fifth generation there would be jātyutkarṣa. 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; ¹⁵⁴ he must however revert to his proper avocation when the difficulty is

153. जात्युत्कर्षो युगे ज्ञेयः सप्तमे पञ्चमेपि वा । व्यत्यये कर्मणां साम्यं पूर्ववज्जाधरो-
त्तरम् ॥ या. I. 96.

154. अजीघन्तः स्वधर्मेणानन्तरं यवीयसीं वृत्तिमातिष्ठेत् । न तु कदाचिज्जयायसीत् ।
धसिष्ठ II 22-23.

over (vide Vasiṣṭha II. 13-23, Viṣṇu Dh. S. II. 15, Yaj. 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 jātyutkarṣa. He says 'if a niṣāda (the son of a brāhmaṇa from a śūdra wife) marries a niṣādī (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 niṣāda 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 jātyutkarṣa or jātyapakarṣa (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 smṛtikāras 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 jātyutkarṣa in the way set out by Manu or Yāj. occur in the literature on dharma-śāstra or in inscriptions. In the inscriptions we have authentic cases of intercaste marriages only, but hardly anything further ¹⁵⁶. From the Talgunda pillar inscription of king Kākusthavarmān of the Kadamba family we learn that the Kadambas were originally of brāhmaṇa lineage, that the founder of the family was a brāhmaṇa

155. निषादेन निषादाणां पञ्चमाज्जातोऽपहन्ति सुदताम् । तत्पुत्रयेन च याजयेत् ।
बौ. ध. सू. I. 8. 13-14.

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.

Mayūraśarman, who became exasperated with the Pallavas of Kāñcīpura 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 Kākustha-varman (4th in descent from Mayūraśarman) married his daughters to Gupta and other kings¹⁵⁷. 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 Ārṣṭiṣeṇa, Sindhudvīpa, Devāpi and Viśvāmitra as having become brāhmaṇas at a sacred spot on the Sarasvatī. In the Purāṇas also there are stories¹⁵⁸ of kings like Viśvāmitra, Māndhātā, Saṁkṛti, Kapi, Vadhryaśva, Purukutsa, Ārṣṭiṣeṇa, Ajamiḍha 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 jātyutkarṣa¹⁵⁹. 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 dharmaśāstra works and epigraphic records. In this connection the words śreni, pūga, gaṇa, vrāta and saṅgha deserve to be carefully studied. All these were called samūha (group) or varga according to Kātyāyana.¹⁶⁰ These

157. E. I. vol. 8 p. 24.

158. Vide Vāyupurāṇa (B. I. Ed.) vol. II chap. 29. 111-114.

159. Compare the following lucid note of the पराशरभाष्यीय I. part 2 p. 122 कूटस्थस्त्रीपुंसयुगमारभ्य परिगणनायां पञ्चमे षष्ठे सप्तमे वाचुलोभ्येन युग्मे जातिवत्कृष्यते । पुमान् विभः वधूः श्रद्धा तयोर्युग्मं कूटस्थम् । तस्मादुत्पन्ना निषादी सापि विप्रैर्गोदा तयोर्युग्मं द्वितीयम् । एवं तदुत्पन्नायां वध्वां विप्रैर्गोदायां पुर्तयादिषुग्मपरंपरा भवति । तत्र सप्तमे युगे जातमपत्यं ब्राह्मण्योयेतं भवति । एवं वैश्याविप्रयुगले कूटस्थम् । तस्मादुत्पन्ना अश्वत्था तस्याश्च विप्रस्य च युग्मं द्वितीयम् । एवं.....षष्ठे यद्वयुग्मं तस्मादुत्पन्नस्य ब्राह्मण्यं भवति । तथा क्षत्रियाविप्रयोर्युग्मं कूटस्थं तदुत्पन्ना मुर्धावसिक्ता तस्याश्च विप्रस्य च युग्मं द्वितीयम् । तत्परंपरायां पञ्चमाद्युग्मादुत्पन्नस्य ब्राह्मण्यं भवति । एतदुक्तं भवति पञ्चमे षष्ठे सप्तमे वेति ध्ववस्थितविकल्पाः कूटस्थद्वययोः समनन्तरैकान्तरद्वयन्तरजातियोगे पञ्चमादयोऽवगन्त्या इति । तथा च सति श्रद्धावैश्वयोः वैश्याक्षत्रिययोश्च समनन्तरत्वात्पञ्चमे, श्रद्धाक्षत्रिययोस्तु षष्ठे जातिवत्कृष्यते । यथा वर्णसांकर्यं प्रतिलोभ्यमधममाचुलोभ्यस्तुतमं तथा वृत्तिसांकर्येपि । तथा क्षत्रियस्यापद्यपि याजनादिब्राह्मणवृत्त्युपजीवनमधमम् ।

160. गणाः पाषण्डपूगाश्च प्राताश्च अगयस्तथा । समूहस्थाश्च ये चान्ये वर्गस्थास्ते वृद्धस्थितिः । कार्या० quoted in स्मृतिच. (on एव. p. 18), वि. र. p. 669.

words occur in the Vedic literature, but the sense is generally 'a group' and there is no special meaning attached. 'Śreṇi' occurs in the Rg. I. 163. 10¹⁶¹ (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 Kauṣītaki Br. 16. 7¹⁶² speaks of Rudra as *pūga* (as he is the head of the band of Maruts). Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 3. 26¹⁶³ quotes a Brāhmaṇa passage about a group (*saṅgha*) of brahmacārins going about for alms. Pāṇini teaches¹⁶⁴ 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 Pāṇini 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 Kāśika¹⁶⁵ explains *pūgas* as associations of men of different castes with no fixed professions, who are solely bent on making money or seeking pleasure. Kauṭilya in one place distinguishes between soldiers and *śreṇis* (guilds) and in another place says that the guilds of *kṣatriyas* in Kāmbhoja and Surāṣṭra subsist by the profession of arms and *vārtā* (agriculture).¹⁶⁶ 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 (*śreṇi*) when there is conflict of documentary evidence. Viṣṇu 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. हंस इव श्रेणिशो यतन्ते यदाशिषुर्दिश्यमञ्जमन्वाः । ऋ. I. 163. 10.

162. पूगो वै रुद्रः । तदेनं स्वेन पूगेन समर्थयति । कौषी० ब्रा. 16. 7.

163. तस्मादु ह वै ब्रह्मचारिसङ्घं चरन्तं न प्रत्याचक्षीतापि हैतेष्वेवंविध एवमन्तः स्यादिति हि ब्राह्मणम् । आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 3. 26.

164. मातेन जीवति । पा. V. 2. 21 (मातीन); बहुपूगगणसङ्घस्य तियुक् । पा. V. 2. 52.

165. नानाजातीया अनियतवृत्तय उत्सृष्टजीविनः सङ्घा माताः तेषां कर्म मातं तेन मातकर्मणा जीवतीति मातीनः । महाभाष्य vol. II. p. 374 (on पा. V. 2. 21); नाना-जातीया अनियतवृत्तयोऽर्थकामप्रधानाः सङ्घाः पूगाः । काशिका on पा. V. 2. 21.

166. आयुधीयमायः श्रेणीप्रायो वा मे जनयद् । अर्थशास्त्र VII. 1. p. 265; काम्भोज-सुराष्ट्रक्षत्रियश्रेण्यादयो वार्ताशस्त्रपजीविनः । अर्थशास्त्र XI. 1. p. 378; प्रत्यभिलेख्यविरोधं श्रामनगरवृद्धश्रेणीप्रत्ययः । वसिष्ठ 16. 15.

tators (vide my notes to the translation of Kātyāyana verses¹⁶⁷ 678-682 of that reconstructed smṛti). 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 Bauddhas or Jainas; and bands of cāṇḍālas and śvapacas are called gulma.' Yāj. (I. 361) directs the king to punish kulas, castes, śreṇis, gaṇas, if they transgress their rules (of conduct or business) and the Mit. explains śreṇi as a guild of sellers of betel leaves and the like and gaṇa as of 'helābukas' (horse-dealers); while Yāj. II. 192 and Nārada¹⁶⁸ (samayasānapākarma 2) require the king to prevent the breach of the conventions of śreṇi, naigama, pūga, vrāta, gaṇa and to confirm them in their traditional occupations. Yāj. II. 30 says that pūgas and śreṇis had authority to investigate disputes and that the pūga was a higher tribunal than the śreṇi. 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 śreṇi 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 śreṇis. In the Harsa stone of Chāhamāna Vighraharāja (E. I. vol. II. p. 124) there is a reference to one *dramma* 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 Ābhīra king Īśvarasena 1000 kārṣāpanas 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-śreṇi*) for medicines to be given to sick bhiksus. No. 9 and No. 12 of the inscriptions at Nasik also contain reference to deposits of money with the guild of weavers. The Mathurā Brāhmī inscription of Huvīṣka'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 (*śreṇi*) of bamboo-workers and of braziers (*kāśakāra*). The Indore copperplate of Skandagupta (of the Gupta samvat 146) speaks of the deposit with the guilds of the

167. These verses are quoted in the विवादरत्नाकर pp. 618-669, रघुविजय, श्रीरामचंद्र प. 426., परा. मा. (on स्व.) p. 352 &c.

168. पाचपञ्चनैगमश्रेणीपूगमातृगणादिषु । संरक्षेत्समर्थ राजा दुर्गे जनपदे तथा ॥ नारद (समयस्यानपाकर्म 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 (Dasor 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 *Dharmaśūtras*, *Manu*, *Yāj.*, *Vaik. smārta-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 *Kārāvara* mother and that *Andhras* were to live outside the village and to subsist (X. 48) by killing wild beasts. In the edicts of *Aśoka* the *Andhras* are associated with *Pulindas* (vide *Rock Edict No. 13*). The *Udyogaparva* (160. 103) mentions *Andhras* (probably as people of *Andhradeśa*) along with *Dravidas* and *Kāñcyas*. In the *Nālandā* plate of *Devapāladeva* (E. I. vol. 17 p. 321) *meda*, *andhraka* and *cāṇḍāla* 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*, *śreṇi*, *gaṇa* and *saṅgha*. Unfortunately some of the references (as printed) are wrong and not in point.

like the cāṇḍāla. Vide the chapter on 'untouchables'. The word 'bāhya' has the same sense. Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 9. 18 says that there is a cessation of Vedic study on the day on which *bāhya* senter a village; vide also Nārada (ṛṇādāna 155), Viṣṇu Dh. S. 16.14.

Antyaja. This word is applied to all lowest castes like the cāṇḍāla 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 antyajās are found in the smṛtis. Atri 199 enumerates¹⁷⁰ seven *antyajās* viz. rajaka (washerman), carmakāra (worker in hides), naṭa (dancer caste, represented in the Deccan by *Kolhātis*), buruḍa (worker in bamboos), kaivarta (fisherman), meda, bhilla. This verse is quoted as Āpastamba's by the Mit. on Yāj. III. 265, while Aparārka p. 1123 ascribes it to Atri. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 260 distinguishes between two groups of antyajās, viz. the one quoted above which it says is not so low as another group of seven, which are called *antyavasūyins*,¹⁷¹ viz. cāṇḍāla, śvapaca (eater of dog flesh), kṣatr, sūta, vaidehika, māgadha and āyogava. In the Mahābhārata (Śānti 101. 19) reference is made to *antya* soldiers and Nilakanṭha explains that they were the kaivartas and bhillas of the border regions. According to the Sarasvatī-vilāsa (p. 74) Pītāmaha speaks of the seven castes of rajaka and others as *prakṛtis*.¹⁷² Is it possible that the Prakṛta 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 Viramītrodaya (vyavahāra p. 12) explains that śreṇis 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. राजकश्चर्मकारश्च नटो बुरुड एव च । कैवर्तमेदमिल्लाश्च सत्ते चान्त्यजाः स्मृताः ॥ अत्रि 199, अङ्गिरस (Jiv. I. p. 554), यम 33 (Ānand. ed.). Some mss. read स्लेच्छ for मेद; vide note 202 below.

171. चाण्डालः श्वपचः सेतो सुतो वेदेहिकस्तथा । मागधायोगवौ चैव सत्तेऽन्त्यावसायिनः ॥ मत्स्यमाङ्गिरस acc. to mita on ya. III. 265; quoted by हेरदत्त on गौ. 20. 1 and परा. मा. II. part 1 p. 116.

172. शास्त्राणि वर्णधर्मस्तु प्रकृतीनां च भूपतिः । व्यवहारस्वरूपं च ज्ञात्वा कार्यं समाचरेत् ॥ प्रकृतयस्तु पितृमहेन दाशिता राजक-चर्मकार-नट बुरुड कैवर्तक-स्लेच्छामिल्लादयः । सरस्वतीविलास p. 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 *Antyāvasāyin*. Manu IV. 79 separately mentions 'antyās' and 'antyāvasāyins' and Manu X. 39 says that the *antyāvasāyin* is the offspring of a *cāṇḍāla* male from a *niṣāda* 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 *sūdra* from a *vaiśya* 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). Śānti (141. 29-32) gives a graphic description of a hamlet of *cāṇḍālas* and calls them 'antyāvasāya' (in verse 41). Nārada (ṛṇādāna 182) says that an *antyāvasāyin* is not eligible as a witness. Some modern works like the Jātiviveka (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 *Āmbaṣṭhya* is said to have performed an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice. In Pāṇ. VIII. 3. 97 the word *Ambaṣṭha* is derived and on Pāṇ. IV. 1. 170 *Āmbaṣṭhya* (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. Karpaparva (6. 11) mentions a king *Ambaṣṭha*. In Baud. Dh. S. I. 9. 3, Manu X. 8, Yāj. I. 91, Uśanas 31, Nārada (strīpuṁsa v. 107) *Ambaṣṭha* is an *anuloma* sprung from the marriage of a *brāhmaṇa* with a *vaiśya* woman, while according to Gautama 4. 14 as interpreted by Haradatta he is the offspring of a *ksatriya* from a *vaiśya* woman. Manu X. 47 prescribes the profession of medicine for him and Uśanas¹⁷⁴ (31-32) says that he may subsist by agriculture or may be a fire-dancer or he may be a herald (? banner proclaimer)

173. चर्मकारो मटो भिखो रजकः पुष्करो नटः । विराटो मेदचाण्डालौ दाशः स्वयच-
कोटिकाः ॥ एतेत्यजाः समाख्याता ये चान्ये च भवान्ताः । एषां संभाषणात्स्नानं दृष्ट्वादर्क-
दीक्षाम् ॥ वेदव्यास I. 12-13. 'अप्यो रजकाद्यष्टादशहीनजातयः' वीरभिमोदय
(व्यवहार p. 12).

174. कुट्टयाजीवो भवेत्तस्य तथैवाग्नेयनर्तकः । ध्वजविभ्रावका वापि अमृताः शस्त्र-
जीविनः (शस्त्रजीविनः ?) । उशनस 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 *ambasṭha* and *śalyakṛnta* are synonymous. The Baidyas of Bengal came to be the *ambasṭhas* of Manu (vide Risley's 'People of India' p. 114).

Ayaskāra (blacksmith). In the Vedic literature we have *ayastāpa* (heater of *ayas*, probably any metal). Vide under *karmakāra* and *karmāra*. Patañjali on *Pān. II. 4. 10* mentions him as a *sūdra* along with *takṣan* (*Mahābhāṣya*, vol. I. p. 475).

Avarīṭa. Devala 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 *sūdra*. The *Śūdra-kamalākara* ¹⁷⁵ (p. 247) cites from the *Smṛti-kaumudī* a verse of the *Ādityapurāṇa* to the same effect.

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

Āpīta. According to the *Sūtasamhitā* he is the offspring of *brāhmaṇa* from a *Dauṣyaṇtī*.

Ābhīra. According to Manu X. 15 he is the child of the union of a *brāhmaṇa* with an *ambasṭha* girl. The *Mahābhārata* (*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 *Vṛṣṇī* women. The *Sabhāparva* (51. 12) mentions *ābhīras* with *Pāradas* and the *Āśvamedhika* (29. 15-16) says (just as Manu X. 43-44 do) that the *Ābhīras*, the *Dravīdas* and others became *sūdras* by non-contact with *brāhmaṇas*. The *Mahābhāṣya* expressly states that the *ābhīras* are not a subcaste included under the genus *sūdra* but that they are a caste distinct from *sūdras*. ¹⁷⁶ The *Kāmasūtra* (V. 5. 30) names an *ābhīra* king *Koṭṭarāja*. Daṇḍin in his *Kāvyādarśa* (I. 36) says that *Apabhramśa* is the appellation of the speech of *ābhīras* and the like

175. द्वितीयेन तु यः पिना सवर्णायां प्रजायते । अवरीट इति ख्यातः शुद्धधर्मा स जातिः । देवल in अपरार्क p. 118 and in कुल्लूक on मनु X. 5 (अवचाट इति). सवर्णास्तु सवर्णैस्तु ये जायन्ते परैरपि । अवराटकसंज्ञास्ते मृतसंस्कारवजिताः ॥ शुद्ध-कमलाकर p. 247.

176. यदि सामान्यविशेषवाचिनोर्द्वन्द्वो न भवतीत्युच्यते शुद्धावीरं भोवलीचर्द्धं वृषोल-पमिति न सिध्यति । नैव दोषः । इह तावच्छुद्धाभीरमिति । आभीरा जात्यन्तराणि । महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 251 (on पा. I. 2. 72.).

in poetry. The Amarakośa says that they are cow-herds and that the ābhīra 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 Rudrasimha, 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 Mādhari (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.

Ayogava. Vide *Ayogū* above (p. 43) from Vedic literature. According to Gaut. IV. 15, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 16. 4, Manu X. 12, Kauṭ. III. 7, Anuśāsana 48. 13, Yāj. 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 Sahyādrikhaṇḍa says (26. 68-69) that he works in stones and bricks, makes pavements and whitewashes walls i. e. he is the modern Pātharvata (in the Deccan).

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

Āṭvika. 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.

Ahīṇḍika. According to Manu X. 37 he is the offspring of a niṣāda male from a vaidehī female i. e. he is a double pratiloma caste. Kullūka 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, Yāj. I. 92, Anuśāsana 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 vaiśya 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 Sahyādrīkhanda and Śūdrakamalākara (p. 255) he is called 'Rajpūta'. In the Jātiviveka (the D. C. collection of 1887-1891 No. 347) he is called *Rāvut*.

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

Upakruṣṭa. According to Āśv. śr. sūtra (II. 1) he does not belong to the dvijātis, but is authorised to perform the vedic rite of *agnyādheya* and the commentary explains that he is a vaiśya following the profession of a carpenter.

Oḍra. Vide Manu X. 43-44. Oḍra 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 Khaśa (p. 79) and see Sabhāparva 51. 23.

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

Karaṇa. According to Gaut. (IV. 17 the view of some ācāryas) and Yāj. I. 92, he is the child of the marriage of a vaiśya and a śūdra woman (i. e. he is an anuloma). Manu (X. 22) says that a kṣatriya 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 (Licchivi?), Naṭa, Karaṇa, Khaśa, Draviḍa. Ādiparva 115. 43 tells us that Dhṛtarāṣṭra had from a vaiśya female a karaṇa son named Yuyutsu. Kṣīrasvāmi on Amara says that karaṇa also denotes a group of officers like kāyasthas and adhyakṣas (superintendents). The Sahyādrīkhanda (26. 49-51) says he is the same as

cāraṇa or *vaitālika* and his business is to sing the praises of kings and *brāhmaṇas* and study the science of erotics.

Karmakāra. Viṣṇu Dh. S. (51. 14) mentions this caste. It is most probably the same as *karmāra*. But Śāṅkha (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 *gaṇa kulālādi* (Pāp. IV. 3. 118). Manu IV. 215 mentions it. In Bengal the Lohar is a scheduled caste (vide Sch. C. O. 1936).

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

Kākavaca. Mentioned in Uśanas (50) as doing the work of bringing grass for horses.

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

Kāyastha.¹⁷⁷ Heated controversies have raged in mediæval 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. Emperor*¹⁷⁸ 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 Mohan*¹⁷⁹ the Privy Council left open the question whether the *kāyasthas* of Bengal were *śūdras*. On the other hand in *Tulsi Ram v. Bihari Lal*¹⁸⁰ and in *Ishwari Prasad v. Rai Hari Prasad*¹⁸¹ 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 Vasiṣṭha 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.¹⁸² 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 cāṭas (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. Uśanas¹⁸³ (35) holds the kāyasthas to be a caste and gives an uncomplimentary derivation 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 smṛti¹⁸⁴ (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 brāhmaṇa¹⁸⁵. Lekhaka is obviously a caste here, but whether it is the kāyastha caste is doubtful. Brhaspati as quoted in the Smṛticandrikā (vyavahāra) speaks of the gaṇaka and lekhaka as two persons to be associated with a judge in a court of justice and says they were to be *dvijas*. Vide also Aparārka p. 600. Therefore both these were only officers and not members of a particular caste. In the Mṛcchakaṭika (Act IX) a śreṣṭhin 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 Uśanas and Veda-Vyāsa) the kāyasthas also had come to form a caste in medieval times.

182. राजाधिकरणे तेजियुक्तकायस्थकृतं तद्व्यक्षकरचिह्नितं राजसाक्षिकम् । विष्णु-धर्मसूत्र VII. 3.

183. काकाद्यौलभं यमात् क्रौर्धं स्थपतेरथ कृन्तनम् । आद्यक्षराणि संयुज्य कायस्थ इति निर्दिशेत् ॥ उशनसः ॥ 35.

184. बर्धकी नापितो गोप आक्षायः कुम्भकारकः । वणिक्-किरात-कायस्थमालाकार-कुडुम्बिनः ॥ एते चाप्येव च बहवः शूद्रा भिन्ना स्वकर्मभिः ॥ वेदव्यासस्मृति I. 10-11

185. अभिशस्तपतित पौनर्मेव पुंश्चल्यश्च अशिक्षकारतैलिन चाक्षिकश्च नि शुवर्णकारलेखक-लैक्षिकश्च कश्चिद्व्यवसायिकाणि चामोच्यन्ति । सुमन्तु in परा. मा. 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 Kāñcana 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 ' Sarvasāstravit ' 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 Hammīra (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 Rājatarāṅgiṇī (VIII. 131) kāyasthas and divīras are mentioned separately and in VIII. 2383 it is stated that the brāhmaṇa Śivaratha, who was a roguish kāyastha, was strangled in the reign of Jayasīṃha. So in the 12th century kāyasthas were only officers in Cashmir and brāhmaṇas held such offices. Vide Rājatarāṅgiṇī 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 niṣāda with a vaiḍehī 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.

Kāruṣa. 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).

Kirāta. 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. Anuśāsana (35.17-18) says the same about Mekalas, Draviḍas, Lāṭas, Paundras, Yavanas and others. Karpaparva 73. 20 speaks of kirātas as men of fiery valour. Āśvamedhika 73. 25 shows that Arjuna met kirātas, yavanas and Mlecchas when proceeding to the north with the Āśvamedha horse. The Amarakośa says that kirāta, śabara and pulinda are subdivisions of Mleccha castes.

Kukkūṭa. 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 śūdra with a niṣāda woman, while I. 8. 12 states that he is the offspring of a vaiśya from a niṣāda 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 niṣāda female. According to Ādityapurāṇa quoted in the Śūdrakamalākara he manufactures swords and other weapons and engages in cockfights for the king.

Kuṇḍa. 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 Sūtasamhitā he is the offspring of a māgadha from a śūdra female.

Kumbhakāra. This word occurs in the gaṇa kulālādi (Pāṇ. IV. 3. 118). Uśanas (32-33) says that he is the offspring of the clandestine union of a brāhmaṇa with a vaiśya female. Vaik. (X. 12) agrees with Uśanas 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 śūdras.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 Āśv. 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).

Kuśilava. According to Baudhāyana as quoted in the Kṛtyakalpataru he is the offspring of an ambaṣṭha from a vaidehaka female. According to Amara he is the same as a cārāṇa (a bard). According to Kauṭ. (III. 7) he is the offspring of a vaidehaka male from an ambaṣṭha female (i. e. exactly the reverse of Baudhāyana's view) and he gives the name vaiṇa to the offspring of an ambaṣṭha male from a vaidehaka female.

186. प्रतिलोमास्त्वायोगवमागधवैणक्षत्रयुल्लसत्कुवेकुटवेददकचण्डालाः । निषादास्तृतीयायां युल्लसः । विपर्यये कुवेकुटः । बौ. ध. सू. I. 8. 8, 11-12; सूत्राजिपायां कुवेकुटः । बौ. ध. सू. I. 9. 15.

187. स्वदासो नापितो गोपः कुम्भकारः कुर्वीतलः । नोक्ष्यैरपि भोक्तव्याः पश्यते सूत्र-भोनयः । देवल in परा. मा. II. 1. p. 431.

Kṛta. According to Gaut. IV. 15 he is the offspring of a vaiśya from a brāhmaṇa 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 niśāda from an āyogava woman, who is also called mārḡava and dāsa (dāsa?) and who subsists by plying boats. Śaṅkara 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 antyajās by Veda-Vyāsa. Vide note 173 under antyaja. Koli is a scheduled caste in the Central Provinces and Kol in United Provinces.

Kṣatr̥. 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 (*stri-puṃsa* 112), this is a pratiloma caste sprung from a śūdra father and kṣatriya mother. Manu (X. 49-50) prescribes for him the same avocation as for ugra and pulkasa. Vas. Dh. S. 18. 2 calls him vaiṇa. In the Amarakośa kṣatr̥ 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 Sahyādrīkhaṇḍa (26. 63-66) says that kṣatr̥ is also called niśāda 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 āyogava male and kṣatriya 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 khasas a kṣatriya caste originally but reduced to the status of śūdras by the absence of saṃskāras and the absence of contact with brāhmaṇas. Vide Sabhā. 52. 3, Udyoga 160. 103.

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

Goja (or *Goda*). According to Uśanas (28-29) he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a kṣatriya male and female.

Gopa. Vide note 184. He is the modern Gavli and a śūdra subcaste. Yāj. II. 48 says that debts contracted by gopa 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-Śātātapa 105, Sūtasamhitā (Śiva. 12. 12).

Cakri. According to Uśanas (22-23) he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a śūdra male and a vaiśya 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 vaiśya 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 Uśanas (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 carmāvakartin (cutter of hides). According to several smṛtis he is one of the seven antyajās. According to the Sūtasamhitā he is the offspring of an āyogava from a brāhmaṇa female. This name persists to this day as cāmbhār (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. Kṣīrasvāmī says that he announces the king's arrival by ringing bells and that some regard him as the same as vaitālika. According to Śāṅkha (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 vaiśya female and his avocation is the sale of salt, oil and oil cakes.

Cāṇḍāla (or *cāṇḍāla*). For Vedic references see above pp. 44-45. Acc. to Gaut. IV. 15-16, Vas. Dh. S. 18. 1, Baud. Dh. S. I. 9. 7, Manu X. 12, Yāj. I. 93, Anuśāsana 48. 11 he is a *pratiloma* caste sprung of a *śūdra* from a *brāhmaṇa* woman. He is the lowest among men (Manu X. 12), beyond the pale of religious observances prescribed for the four *varṇas* (*sarvadharmā-bahiskṛta*, 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).¹⁸⁸ The word occurs in the *kulālādi gaṇa* (Pāṇ. IV. 3. 118). *Veda-Vyāsa-smṛti* (I. 9-10) says that there are three kinds of *cāṇḍālas*, viz. the offspring of a *śūdra* 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 *śūdra* from a *brāhmaṇa* woman are all *cāṇḍālas*. *Laghu-Śātātapa* (59) has a similar verse. Manu (X. 51-56) says that *cāṇḍālas* and *śvapacas* 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. Uśanas (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 *cāṇḍālas* 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 *cāṇḍāla* hamlet is in the *Kādambarī* of Bāṇa. In *Anuśāsana* (29.17) *Matāṅga* is called a *cāṇḍāla* because he was born of a *brāhmaṇa* woman from a barber.

Fa Hien (405-411 A. D.) describes how *cāṇḍālas* had to live apart and give notice of their approach when entering a

188. व्यङ्ग्यैः पतितचण्डालाभ्यामप्युक्तैः । आ च नित्यं विवर्ज्याः स्युः जडेते
धर्मतः समाः ॥ देवल quoted in परा. मा. vol. II. part 1. p. 366.

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.

Cīna. According to Manu X. 43-44 the Cīnas 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.

Cuñcu. According to Manu X. 48 the avocation of Meda, Andhra, Cuñcu and Madgu is to kill forest (or wild) animals. Kullūka says that he is the offspring of a brāhmaṇa from a vaiḍehaka 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.

Cailanirṇejaka (or only nirṇejaka)-washerman. 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. Hārīta (quoted in Aparārka p. 279) also distinguishes between 'rajaka' (one who dyes clothes) from 'nirṇejaka' (one who washes clothes). Very often 'rajaka' means only 'a washerman' (as Amara says).

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

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

Ḍomba (or Doma) is the same as śvapaca according to Kṣīra-svāmī on Amara. Parāśara quoted by Aparārka (p. 1197) puts śvapāka, ḍomba and cāṇḍāla on the same level. In the Rājatar-aṅgiṇī (V. 354, VI. 182, VI. 192) ḍombas are spoken of as untouchables on the same level with cāṇḍālas and as following the profession of singers. In Rājatar-aṅgiṇī V. 389-394 ḍombas are spoken of as śvapacas. This caste is returned as a scheduled caste in Madras as Dombo, as Dom in Bengal, Bihar and U. P.

Takṣan or *Takṣaka* (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 āyaskāra (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). Uśanas 43 says that takṣaka is the offspring of a brāhmaṇa female from a sūcaka (i. e. he is a pratiloma). 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 *ādhāna* 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 takṣaka who is untouchable or a goldsmith or blacksmith or worker in bell-metal. Bṛhaspati names the takṣaka as one whose food a brāhmaṇa could not eat.

Tantuvāya (a weaver), also called kuvinda. He is mentioned in Viṣṇu Dh. S. (51. 13) and Śaṅkha quoted by Aparārka p. 1175. He is regarded as a śūdra by the Mahābhāṣya on Pāp. 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.

Tāmropajivin (coppersmith). According to Uśanas (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-kutṭaka.

Tunnavāya (a tailor). He occurs in Manu IV. 214. According to the Brahmapurāṇa quoted by Aparārka p. 1178 he is the same as sūci (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 kṣasa 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 mārḡava, dāśa (dāśa?) and kaivarta are the same and that he subsists by plying boats. Pāp. (III. 4. 73) derives the word. Vide under kaivarta.

189. चूचुकादिप्रायां तक्षकोऽस्त्यस्यो जलरीदस्तो दाशकारः सुवर्णकारीऽयस्कारः कांस्यकारी वा। वेत्त। X. 14; नन्दनर्तकतक्षाणश्चर्मकारः सुवर्णकृत्। स्थायुपाचण्डगणिका अभोज्यान्नाः मकीर्तितः ॥ बृहस्पति in परा. मा. II. 1. p. 380.

Divākīrtiya—occurs in *Mānavagr̥hya* II. 14. 11. According to Amara both *cāṇḍāla* and *nāpita* are called *divākīrti*.

Dauṣmanta. 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 *Dauṣyanta*.

Draviḍa. The same as *karāṇa*, 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 *khaśa*, and *Mahābhārata*, Udyoga 160. 103, Droṇa 93. 43.

Dhigvaṇa. 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 *Uśanas* that *Dhigvaṇas* subsist by working on hides and selling them and distinguishes them from *kārāvaras*. This passage is not found in the printed text of *Uśanas*. In the *Jātiviveka* he is styled *Mocikāra*.

Dhivara. 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 *śaundhika*.

Naṭa. He is one of the seven *antyajas* (vide note 170 above). *Naṭa* is a scheduled caste in Bengal, Bihar, U. P. and Punjab. *Hārīta* quoted by *Aparārka* (p. 279) distinguishes between *naṭa* and *śailūṣa* and *Aparārka* remarks that *naṭa* is a specific caste, while *śailūṣa* is one who though not a *naṭa* by caste makes a living by going on the stage. Manu X. 22 says that he is the same as *karāṇa*, *khaśa* (vide note on *khaśa* p. 79). *Pāṇini* knew of a *Naṭasūtra* composed by *Śilālin* and another by *Kṛśāśva* (IV. 3. 110 and 111), but whether the *naṭas* he meant were so by caste or whether he meant only actors in general is not clear. Vide under *raṅgāvatārin* for a quotation from *Maitrī Up*. Probably this caste is the same as the *Kolhātis* or *Bahurūpis* of modern times (in the Deccan) who are dancers, acrobats and jugglers by profession. Fick's work p. 299 speaks

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 Vaiśālī were attached to Buddha and also speaks of Ānanda (pupil of Buddha) and the Licchavis.

Niṣāda. For vedic references see above (pp. 43 and 46). The Nirukta¹⁹³ III. 8 while explaining the words 'pañcajanā mama hotram juṣadhyaṃ' in Rg. X. 53. 4 remarks that according to Aupamanyava the 'five people' are the four varnas with niṣāda 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 niṣāda is so called because 'sin (or evil) sits down in him'; from this it follows that in the times of Yāska the niṣādas 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 Niṣāda 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 niṣāda. 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.¹⁹⁴ (18. 9-10) the same derivation is accepted. Gaut. (IV. 14) distinguishes between niṣāda 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 (stripuṃsa v. 108) and Anuśāsana 48.12, niṣāda is the offspring of a kṣatriya male and a śūdra female and he subsists by fishing (according to the latter). Nārada (stripuṃsa 108) says that pāraśava is the offspring of a brāhmaṇa male and a śūdra female. Uśanas (36-38) 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 Bhadrakālī or by learning Śaiva āgamas or by playing on musical instruments, while niṣāda is the illegitimate offspring of a brāhmaṇa from a śūdra woman who subsists by killing wild beasts (such as elephants) and by

193. निषादः कस्माज्जिषद्वनो भवति निषण्णमास्मिन् पापकमिति नैषकाः । निषक्त III. 8.

194. अज्ञानां (अज्ञानां ?) पारशवः । पारशवो नैव (पारयजेव ?) जीवजेव शवो भवतीत्याहुः । वस्तुतः 18. 9-10, where जीवजेव is a paraphrase of the rather obscure words पारयजेव in Manu IX. 178.

selling flesh. The Vaik.¹⁹⁵ (X. 13) has practically the same remarks to make about pāraśava and niṣāda. Śāntiparva (59. 96-97) speaks of niṣādas as men with reddish eyes and with black hair. In the Rāmāyaṇa Guha, the king of niṣādas, helps Rāma to cross the river Ganges (Ayodhyā 50. 33). Here he is spoken of as belonging to the caste of niṣādas (niṣādajātyah). We have historical evidence for the name pāraśava in the Harṣacarita (I, towards end), where Bāṇa¹⁹⁶ tells us that he had with him two pāraśava brothers Candrasena and Mātṛseṇa 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 niṣāda (the anuloma offspring of a brāhmaṇa from a śūdra woman) is different from another caste called niṣāda, which is a pratiloma one and lives by catching fish. Medhātithi on Manu X. 8 does the same. Niṣāda occurs in the gaṇa kulālādi (Pan. IV. 3. 118). The Vāyupurāṇa (vol. II. chap. 1. 120-121) narrates that the niṣādas, dark and dwarfish, were produced from the left hand of king Vena and they dwelt on the Vindhya. In the Bhāgavata-purāṇa we have the same story¹⁹⁷ (IV. 14. 42 ff.) and we are told that niṣādas were dark like crows, of short stature, snubnosed, 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 cāṇḍala male from a vaidehaka woman, who maintains himself 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. विप्रचूडयां पारशवो भद्रकालीपूजन-चित्रकर्मज्ञविद्या (०भागमविद्या ?) तूर्यधोषणमर्दन (मर्दन ?) द्वाजिजिरोत्पन्नो निषादो व्यादादिभृगर्हिसाकारी । वैखा०

196. अभवंश्चास्य वयसा समानः सुहृदः सहायाश्च । तथा च भ्रातरौ पारशवौ, चन्द्र-
सेनमातृषेणौ । हर्षचरित, उच्छ्वास I (at end).

197. काककृष्णोऽतिह्रस्वाङ्गो ह्रस्वबाहुर्महाहनुः । द्रुस्वपाभिन्ननासाग्रो रकाक्षस्ताम्र-
मूर्धजः । निषादेत्यनुवंस्तात स निषादस्ततोऽभवत् । तस्य वंशास्तु नैषादा गिरिकानन-
गोचराः ॥ भागवत IV. 14. 44-46.

as Mlecchas and non-Aryan tribes (vide Sabhā 32, 16, 51. 12, 52. 3; Droṇa 93. 42 and 121. 13). Vide under Yavana.

Pāraśava. Vide niṣāda above. In the Ādiparva 109. 25 Vidura is called pāraśava and he is said (in Ādi. 114. 12) to have married the pāraśavi daughter of king Devaka. The Sahyādrikhaṇḍa (26. 43) says that he is called śūdra and is superior to a śūdra (in status) and that he was to live by the avocations prescribed for śūdras.

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

Puṇḍra or *Paṇḍraka*. Frequently mentioned in the Mahābhārata among non-Aryan tribes e. g. Droṇa 93. 44, Āśvamedhika 29. 15-16. Medhātithi on Manu X. 44 remarks that the Paṇḍrakas 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 Kirātas or Śabaras. In the Vana-parva 140. 25 Pulindas, Kirātas and Taṅgaṇas 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. Vaiḥ. (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 Vaiḥ.

Pulkasa (or paulkasa). The word is also written as pukasa. Śaṅkarācārya on Brhadāranyaka 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 niṣāda male from a śūdra female. According to Kauṭ. (III. 7) he is the offspring of a niṣāda male from an ugra female, while Vaiḥ. 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 selling¹⁹⁸ liquors 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 Viṣṇu Dh. S. (16. 5) he is the offspring of a vaiśya

¹⁹⁸ सुहास्यत्रियाणां पुल्कसः कृतकां वाक्षीं वा सुरां हत्वा पाचको विक्रीणीति ।
वेदान्त X. 14.

male from a kṣatriya female and the latter adds that he subsists by hunting. The Agnipurāṇa (151. 15) says that pukkāsas are hunters. Yama¹⁹⁹ and Hārīta quoted in the Kṛtya-kalpataru make him out as the offspring of a śūdra male from a vaiśya female. Manu X. 49 prescribes catching and killing animals that live in holes as the occupation of kṣatr, ugra and pukkasa. Kṣīrasvāmī (com. of Amara) says that pukkasa is the same as mṛtapa (which see below). Āp. 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 Cāṇḍāla, Paulkasa or Vaina.

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

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

Paundraka (or Paundra). Vide Puṇḍra above. Anuśāsana 35. 17 and Śānti 65. 13-14 have the form paundra. Vide Manu X. 44 for paundraka and note on khaśa.

Paulkasa. Vide pukkasa above.

Bandin. See under vandin below.

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

Bāhya. Vide under antya (p. 70).

Buruḍa (worker in bamboo). He is one of the seven antyajās (vide note 170 above). The word is also written as varuḍa (vide below). Varuḍa occurs in the Kulāladigāṇa (Pāṇini IV. 3. 118). Buruḍa is a scheduled caste in Orissa.

Bhaṭa. He is one of the antyajās according to Veda-Vyāsa (I. 12). Vide note 173 above and on raṅgavatārin below.

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

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

199. वैश्यायामेव शूद्रेण पुक्कसो नाम जायते । यम in कृत्यकल्पतरु (ms).

and he maintains himself by studying the Āyurveda in its eight parts, or astronomy, astrology and mathematics (verse 27). According to Brahmapurāṇa (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.

Bhūrjakantaka. 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, puspadhā or śaikha.

Bhrjjakanṭha (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 Sūta-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.

Maṇikāra. 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 Sūtasamhitā 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 takṣaka (carpenter) from a kṣatriya woman.

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

Māgadha. 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

Māgadhas; Anusāsana X. 48 says that they maintain themselves on speech (i. e. by praise) and are also called *bandin*. Sahyā-drikhaṇḍa (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. Uśanas (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 vaiśya. 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.

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

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

Mālūkāra or *Mālīka*. Vide Veda-Vyāsa (I. 10-11) quoted above in note 184.

Māhiṣya. 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 Sahyā-drikhaṇḍa (26. 45-46) he is entitled to upanayana and his avocations are astrology, augury, prognostications due to *svara*. 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 *abhiṣikta*. If crowned he becomes a king, otherwise he subsists by studying Āyurveda (Medicine) or the science of ghosts or astronomy, astrology and mathematics. In the Sahyā-drikhaṇḍa (chap. 26. 36-39) more details are added,

Mṛtapa. Vide pulkasa above. In the Mahābhāṣya²⁰⁰ on Pāṇ. II. 4. 10 this caste is mentioned as separate from cāṇḍāla, but both are included by the Mahābhāṣya 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 (vākpāruṣya, verse 11). Anuśāsana 22. 22 speaks of medas, pulkasas and antāvesāyins, and the com. Nilakanṭha²⁰¹ 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 niṣāda woman, that he dwells outside the village and Manu X. 48 says that his business along with that of Andhra, Cuñcu and Madgu is to kill wild beasts. Vide under Andhra above and see E. I. vol. XX. p. 130 where meda and cāṇḍāla are named as lowest castes in a grant of Paramardideva in samvat 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 āyogava 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 vaiśya male.

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

200. अनिरवसितानामित्युच्यते कुतोऽनिरवसितानाम् । आर्यावर्तानिरवसितानाम् । कः पुनरार्यावर्तः । यद्येवं किष्किन्धगादिकं शक्यवनं शौर्यकौश्रमिति न सिध्यति । एवं तर्हि आर्यनिवासादनिरवसितानाम् । कः पुनरार्यनिवासः । श्रोत्रो घोषो नगरं संवाह इति । तत्र चण्डालध्रुवपा इति न सिध्यति । एवं तर्हि पात्रादनिरवसितानाम् । यैश्चैके पात्रं संस्कारेण शुष्यति तेऽनिरवसिताः । यैश्चैके पात्रं संस्कारेणापि न शुष्यति ते निरवसिताः । महाभाष्ये on पा. II. 4. 10 (vol. I. p. 475).

201. मेदानां पुल्कसानां च तथैवान्तेवसाविनम् (० वास्तावर्त्ताविनान् ?) । अनुशासन 22. 22 ; धृतानां गोमहिष्यादीनां मांसमदनन्तः मेदाः । नीलकण्ठ.

always associated with Śakas and several other non-Aryan tribes; vide Sabhā. 32. 16-17, Vanaparva 254. 18 (as inhabiting the west), Udyoga 19. 21, Bhīṣma 20. 13, Droṇa 93. 42 and 121. 13, Karṇa 73. 19, Śānti 65. 13. From Strīparva 22. 11 it appears that Jayadratha (king of the countries of Sindhu and Sauvīra) 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 *lipi* (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 Kambojas 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.

Raṅgāvatārin (or-*tāraka*). According to Manu IV. 215 he is distinct from śailūṣa and gāyana. Śaṅkha (quoted by Aparārka p. 1175), Śaṅkha (17. 36) and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 51. 14 mention him. According to Brahmapurāṇa (quoted by Aparārka p. 1178) he is a naṭa who goes on the stage for livelihood and who introduces various changes in his appearance and dress. Raṅgāvatārin is mentioned in the Maitrī Up. along with naṭa and bhāṭa.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 Sūtasamhitā he is the offspring of a pulkasa (or vaideha) from a brāhmaṇa woman, while according to Uśanas (18) he is the offspring of a pulkasa 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 Sūdrakamalakāra mentioned another caste of rajaka (which is the offspring of an ugra male and vaidehaka female).

202. ये चान्ये ह चादजदगदमदमजितरङ्गावतारिणो राजकर्मणि पतिताद्वयः
तैः सह न संसेत् । मैत्रि उप. VII. 8.

Rañjaka (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 māhiṣya male from a karaṇa female and according to a prose passage of Śaṅkha quoted by the Mit. the rathakāra is entitled to have *upanayana* 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.

Lubdhaka (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*. Nārada²⁰³ (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 Jayacandradeva Gāhaḍavāla was engraved by 'Lohāra Someka' in samvat 1232 (E. I. IV. p. 127).

Vandin (a bard, written as *bandin* also). According to Hārīta quoted in Kṛtyakalpataru 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.

203. जात्यैव लोहकारो यः कुशलआग्निर्कर्मणि । नारद (नृणांदावन 288),

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

Varuḍa (worker in bamboo)—also written as *buruḍa* (vide above p. 89). The Mahābhāṣya on Pān. IV. 1. 97 (vol. II p. 253) gives the instance *vāruḍaki* (from *varuḍa*). *Bidalakāra* (splitter of bamboo) occurs in Tai. S. III. 4. 5. 1. and *bidalakāri* in Vāj. S. 30. 8.

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

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

Veṇa (or *Vaiṇa*). According to Manu X. 19 and Baud. Dh. S. (I. 9. 13) he is the offspring of a *vaidehaka* male from an *ambasṭha* female, while Kauṭ. (III. 7) makes the *vaiṇa* the offspring of an *ambasṭha* 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 *Veṇa* is one who maintains himself by splitting bamboos and that he is the same as *buruḍa* according to Viśvarūpa. For *Vaiṇa* see Āp. Dh. S. quoted under *pulkasa* (p. 89). Kauṭ. (III. 7) adds that a *vaiṇya* follows the same profession as a *rathakāra*. Śaṅkha (17. 38), Viṣṇu Dh. S. 51. 14, Yāj. III. 207 place the *veṇa* 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 *kṣatriya* female. Yāj. I. 161 has the form *vaiṇa* which the Mit. explains as meaning one who maintains himself by cutting and splitting bamboos. The Śūdrakamalākara notes that according to Ādipurāṇa *veṇa* 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 *kṣatriya* 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 (*stripuruṣa* 111), Yāj. I. 93, Anuśāsana 48. 10 he is a *pratiloma* sprung from a *vaiśya* male and a *brāhmaṇa* female; while according to Gaut. IV. 15 he is the offspring of a *śūdra* from a *kṣatriya* woman and according to Vaik. (X. 14), the view of some *ācāryas*

in Gaut. IV. 17 and Uśanas (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 Uśanas (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.

Vyādha (hunter) mentioned by Sumantu in Aparārka p. 1176 and Hārīta (quoted by Aparārka p. 279), Āpastamba (verse) 9. 32, Yāj. II. 48.

Vrātya. According to Āp. Dh. S. I. 1, 1. 22-I. 1. 2. 10, Pār. gr. II. 5 and other sūtra works a *vrātya* 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 *vrātya* is applied to all who are born of the mixture of varṇas.

Śaka. Manu (X. 43-44) mentions Śakas along with Yavanas 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), Droṇa (121. 13). Śaka occurs in the kambojādigaṇa (Pāṇ. IV. 1. 175). Vide note 200.

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

Śālika. According to the Sūtasamhitā he is the same as Māgadha.

Śūlika. According to Uśanas (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 Sūtasamhitā he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a kṣatriya male and a śūdra female.

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

Sailūṣa. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 51. 13, Manu IV. 214, Hārīta quoted by Aparārka p. 279 distinguish him from raṅgavatārī and the Brahmapurāṇa (quoted by Aparārka p. 1178) defines him as one who finds out employment for naṭas²⁰⁴. Āpastamba 9. 32 (verse) speaks of him in the same breath with rajaka and

204. वृत्त-वेदी नटानां तु स तु शैलूषकः स्मृतः । ब्रह्मपुराण q. by अपरार्क p. 1178.

vyādha. Yāj. II. 48 does the same and the Mit. thereon paraphrases the word by naṭa.

Śaundika (wine-seller). Viṣṇu Dh. S. 51. 15, Manu IV. 216, Yāj. II. 48, Śaṅkha (quoted by Aparārka p. 1175) and Brahmapurāṇa (quoted by Aparārka p. 1177) mention him.

Śvapaca or *Śvapāka*. He is one of the *antyajas* enumerated by Veda-Vyāsa (I. 12-13). Vide note 173 above. He occurs in the gaṇa kulālādi (Pāṇ. 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 kṣatr sub-caste, while according to Manu X. 19 he is the offspring of a kṣatr male from an ugra female. Vaik. (X. 15) and Sūtasamhitā say that he is the offspring of a cāṇḍāla male and a brāhmaṇa female, while Uśanas (11) holds that he is the offspring of a cāṇḍāla male from a vaiśya woman. According to Manu X. 51-56 cāṇḍālas and śvapacas follow the same avocation and are governed by the same rules (vide p. 81 under cāṇḍāla). Uśanas (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 cāṇḍālas 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 cāṇḍāla 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.

Sātvata. According to Manu X. 23 he is the same as kārūṣa above.

Sudhanvācārya. According to Manu X. 23 he is the same as kārūṣa above.

Suvarṇa. According to Uśanas (vv. 24-25) he is the offspring of the legal union with Vedic mantras of a brāhmaṇa male and a kṣatriya 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 (ṛṇādāna 274) a goldsmith or a dealer in bronze or a bania was to examine the balance in the balance ordeal. Manu IV. 215, Yāj. I. 163, Śaṅkha and Sumantu quoted by Aparārka (pp. 1175, 1176) treat him on a level with *karmakāra* (blacksmith) and *niṣāda*. Manu IX. 292 condemns him as the worst of all rogues (*sarvakāṇṭhakapāpiṣṭha*). For the view of Vaik. and Br̥haspati vide under *takṣan* 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

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

Sūcika or *saucika* or *sūcī*—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 *tunnāvāya* (for which see above p. 83) and the *Brahmapurāṇa* quoted by Aparārka (p. 1178) also equates *sūcī* with *tunnāvāya*.

Sūta. 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 (*strīpūṃsa* 110), Viṣṇu Dh. S. (16. 6), Yāj. (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 *sūtaputrī*.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 *Kaṇva-parva* (32. 48) *sūtas*

205. ओकारहेमकारादिजाते नित्यं समाश्रिताः । शान्तिपर्व 49. 84. ओकार is probably for व्योकार (an iron-smith), while another reading is ज्याकार (maker of bowstrings) also.

206. The 9th *vārtika* on Pāṇ. VI. 3. 70 is स्तोत्रराजभोजकुलमेव यो दुहितुः पुनर्द्वौ । The examples given by the महाभाष्य are स्तपुत्री, स्तदुहिता, उग्रपुत्री, उग्रदुहिता.

are the attendants of brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas and the latter need not carry out what the sūta says. According to the Vāyupurāṇa (vol. I. 1. 33-33 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 Sūta-saṁhitā 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 kṣatriya male with a brāhmaṇa woman. The Sahyādrīkhaṇḍa (26. 53-54) says that he is inferior to kṣatriyas, but is entitled to do all the work of a kṣatriya 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 kṣatriya 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'. Sumantu²⁰⁷ quoted by Par. M. makes his food unfit for brāhmaṇas. He is the same as 'khāṭika' according to the Jātiviveka.

Sairindhra. According to Manu X. 32 he is the offspring of a *dasyu* (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 gaṇa kulālādi (Pāṇ. IV. 3. 118). From the Mahābhārata we see what duties Draupadī disguised as *sairandhrī* had to do for the queen of Virāṭa (Virāṭa-parva 9. 18-19), viz. combing and arranging the hair, pounding unguents, making garlands. Similarly Damayantī became a *sairandhrī* 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 Sūdrakamalākara he lives by hunting deer and guarding royal harems and women after delivery.

207. सौनिककृत्यादनियाम्बुद्धचर्मकारा अभोज्यान्ना अमतिग्राह्याश्च । सुमन्तु in परा. मा. II. 1. p. 383.

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

Sadūhanvana. Vide note on 'rathakāra' above (p. 45). Vide Kāmasūtra I. 5. 37.

It will have been noticed that some of the castes mentioned in the smṛtis such as ambasṭha, māgadha, malla and vaiḍeḥaka are connected with countries (Amba, Magadha, Videha etc.), that some others are based upon race such as Ābhira, Kirāta and Śaka. Manu (X. 43-45) and the Mahābhārata (Anuśāsana-parva 33. 21-23 and 35. 17-18) were prepared to admit that several foreign races like the Śakas, Yavanas, Kambojas, Draviḍas, Daradas, Śabarās, Kirātas etc. were originally kṣatriyas, but had been reduced to the status of śūdras by losing contact with brāhmaṇas or by not liking the idea of being subject to the brahmanical system. The Viṣṇupurāṇa (IV. 4. 47-48) says the same. Numerous names of castes arise from the professions they follow, e. g. ayaskāra, kumbhakāra, carmakāra, takṣan, tailika, naṭa, 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 *pañktipāvana* 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 Mahābhāṣya²⁰⁸ 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 Pāṇ. IV. 1. 44). Though in the Mahābhārata

208. तपः श्रुतं च योनिश्च एतद् ब्राह्मणकारणम् । तपःश्रुतान्यां यो हीनो जाति-
ब्राह्मण एव सः ॥ महाभाष्य on पा. II. 2. 6 (vol. I, p. 411 and II, p. 363). In
the अनुशासनपर्व 121. 7 we have a similar verse तपः ब्राह्मण्यकारणम् ।
त्रिभिर्गुणैः सञ्चिदितो ततो भवति वै द्विजः । The महाभाष्य has another verse (vol.
II, p. 220) नीतिं यस्यावदातानि विद्या योनिश्च कर्म च । एतच्छिबं विजानीहि ब्राह्मण-
संयस्य लक्षणम् ॥

it is often said that a brāhmaṇa is so by birth alone and that he deserves respect from all, still we meet several times with passages²⁰⁹ 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 Vanaparva (181. 42-43) we are told²¹⁰ '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 Śāntiparva²¹¹ (189. 4 and 8) 'Truthfulness, generosity, freedom from hatred and wickedness, humility, kindness, and *tapas*—he is known as a brāhmaṇa where these are seen. If these signs are seen in a śūdra and they do not exist in a brāhmaṇa, then the śūdra would not be a śūdra and the brāhmaṇa would not be a brāhmaṇa'. In another place we are told²¹² 'there is no difference between the varṇas; the whole world is brāhma (the creation of Brahmā), since it was created by Brahmā in former ages and was evolved into varṇas by actions (or occupations).' Udyogaparva²¹³ (43. 49) remarks 'Do not regard a person as brāhmaṇa by his talk; he who does not depart from truth is a brāhmaṇa'; Vanaparva (216. 14-15) 'that śūdra who is always struggling for self-restraint, truthfulness and *dharma* is a brāhmaṇa in my opinion, for a brāhmaṇa is so by his character.' Vide Vanaparva (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. जन्मनैव महामागे ब्राह्मणो नाम जायते । नमस्यः सर्वभूतानामतिथिः प्रसूतान्-
प्रयुञ्ज ॥ अमुशासनपर्व 35. 1 ; vide also 143. 6.

210. सत्यं दमस्तपो दानमहिंसा धर्मनित्यता । साधकानि सदा पुंसां न जातिर्न
कुलं क्षुप ॥ वनपर्व 181. 42-43.

211. सत्यं दानमथाद्रोह आचरंस्व त्रया घृणा । तपश्च दूरयते यत्र स ब्राह्मण इति
सूतः ॥ शूद्रो चैतद्भवेत्तुदम द्विजे तच्च न विद्यते । न वै शूद्रो भवेत्तद्भूद्रो ब्राह्मणो न च ब्राह्मणः ॥
शान्ति० 189. 4 and 8 ; vide also वनपर्व 180. 21.

212. न विशेषोस्ति वर्णानां सर्वं ब्राह्ममिदं जगत् । ब्राह्मणा पूर्वसृष्टं हि कर्मभिर्वर्णतां
गतम् ॥ शान्ति० 188. 10.

213. तस्मात्क्षत्रिय मा मंस्था जल्पितेनैव वै द्विजम् । य एव सत्याजापैति स ज्ञेयो
ब्राह्मणस्तथा ॥ उद्योगपर्व 43. 49 ; यस्तु शूद्रो दमे सत्ये धर्मे च सततैर्लित्यतः । तं ब्राह्मणमहं मन्ये
वृत्तेन हि भवेद् द्विजः ॥ वनपर्व 216. 14-15 ; न जातिः पूज्यते राजन्युणाः कल्याणकारकाः ।
अण्डालमपि वृत्तस्थं तं देवा ब्राह्मणं विदुः ॥ वृद्धशैतम p. 632 ; but the परा. मा. II
part 1 p. 228 says 'जातिशीलयोर्मध्ये जात्युत्कर्ष एव प्राधान्येनोपादेयः । शीलं
तु यथासंभवम् ।'.

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 Jātiviveka 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.

Aghūsika or *Āndhasika*—from a vaidehika male and a śūdra female; sells cooked food; also called *Rāndhavaṇu*.

Āvartaka—from a bhrjjakaṇṭha and a brāhmaṇa woman.

Ahituṇḍika—from a niśāda and a vaideha female; called *Gāruḍi* in Marathi.

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

Kaṭadhūnaka—from *āvartaka* and a brāhmaṇa woman.

Kuntalaka—the same as *nāpita*.

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

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

Durbhara—from an āyogava and a dhigvaṇa woman; called *Dohor* (or *Dhor*) in modern times.

Pauṣṭika—from a brāhmaṇa and a niśāda female; called in modern times *Kahāra* or *Bhoi* (palanquin-bearer).

Plava—from a cāṇḍāla and an andhra woman; called 'hāḍi' in modern times.

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

Bhasmāṅkura—from a Śaiva fallen ascetic and a śūdra prostitute; called *Gurava* by the *Jātiviveka*.

Manyu—from a vaiśya and a kṣatriya female; called *Tāvaḍia* (thief catcher).

Romika—from *malla* and an *āvartaka* woman; called *Loṇār* in modern times (manufacturer of salt).

Śālākya or *Śākalya* from a *mālākāra* and *kāyastha* woman ; called *Maniar*.

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

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

In modern times each of the principal varṇas 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 Gaudas²¹⁴ and five Drāviḍas. Among the Drāviḍa brāhmaṇas, the Mahārāṣṭra brāhmaṇas are again subdivided into numerous sub-castes such as the Cītpāvana (or Koṅkaṇastha), Karhāḍe, Deśastha, Devarukhe etc. It is said that in Gujerat there are 84 subcastes of brāhmaṇas,²¹⁵ 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 other²¹⁶ 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 Mleccha countries, in Trisāṅku, Barbarā, Odra (Orissa), Andhra (Teliṅgaṇa), Takka, Draviḍa and Koṅkaṇa are not to be invited at śrāddhas.²¹⁷

214. द्राविडाश्चैव तैलङ्गाः कर्नाटा मध्यदेशगाः । गुर्जराश्चैव पञ्चैते द्राविडाः पञ्च कथ्यन्ते ॥ सारस्वताः कान्यकुब्जा उत्कला मैथिलाश्च ये । गौडाश्च पञ्चधा चैव दश विभाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ सहास्रिष्वपि । (section of the स्कन्दपुराण) उत्तरार्ध X. 2-3 (ed. by Dr. Da Cunha); vide Wilson's ' Indian castes ' vol. II. p. 17 where the names slightly differ.

215. Sherring, 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 Sārasvatas of Panjab having 470 subdivisions). Wilson (' Indian castes ' vol. II. p. 126) was informed that there were 469 subcastes of Sārasvata brāhmaṇas and he enumerates these at pp. 127-133.

217. कृतवन्तास्तस्मात्तद्वन्लेच्छदेशनिवासिनः । त्रिशङ्कुवन्निरोद्धाघ्नान् एकद्रविड-कोङ्कणान् ॥ मत्स्यपुराण 16. 16.

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-kalpalatā, 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 VARṆAS

The duties and privileges of *varṇas* 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, kṣatriya and vaiśya,²¹⁸ while each of these three varṇas 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 kṣatriyas; 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 *jivikā* (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.²¹⁹ 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), Bālāki Gārgya from

218. द्विजातीनामध्ययनमिज्या दानम् । ब्राह्मणस्याधिकः प्रवचनयाजनमतिग्रहाः ।
पूर्वेषु नियमस्तु । राजोधिकं रक्षणं सर्वभूतानाम् । वैश्यस्याधिकं कृषिवणिजपाशुपाल्यकुसीदम् ।
गौतम X. 1-3, 7, 50; vide also Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 10. 5-8, Baud. Dh. S. I. 10. 2-5, Vas. II. 13-19, Manu I. 88-90, X. 75-79, Yāj. I. 118-119, Viṣṇu Dh. S. II. 10-15, Atri 13-15, Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa 28. 3-8.

219. पूर्वोप्यध्ययनादीनि अवश्यकर्तव्यानि । अकुर्वन्मत्स्यवैति कुर्वन्श्चाभ्युदेति । प्रवचनादीनि तु वृत्त्यर्थानि । अतोऽकरणे न मत्स्यवायः । करणे नाभ्युदयः । हरदत्त on गौ. X. 3; अत इज्यादीन्यवश्यं कर्तव्यानि न मतिग्रहादीनि । मित्ता on यौ. I. 118.

Ajātaśatru, king of Kāśī (Br. Up. II. 1 and Kauṣītaki Up. IV), Śvetaketu Āruṇeya from Pravāhaṇa²²⁰ 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.²²¹ 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 conclusion²²² that is sometimes

220. प्रवाहण जैवलि says in छान्दोग्य V. 3. 7 that ब्रह्मविद्या was not known to ब्राह्मणसु till he imparted it to गौतम ' यथा मा त्वं गौतमावदो यथेयं न भ्रातृ त्वत्तः पुरा विद्या ब्राह्मणान्गच्छति तस्मात् सर्वेषु लोकेषु क्षत्रस्यैव प्रशासनमभूदिति ' ; vide बृह. उप. VI. 2. 8. where similar words occur about the same विद्या.

221. एवं वृत्तात् आद्यः सत्त्वधीतवेद उक्तोपनिषत्क इतो विशुच्यमानः क्व गमिष्य-सीति नार्हं तद्भगवन्वेद यत्र गमिष्यामीति । बृह. 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 Kauṣītaki Up. I. 1 and IV. 1). Vide also ' Philosophy of the Upanishads ' (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 Kauṣītaki Up. IV. there is no statement that brahmavidyā was known only to kṣatriyas; on the contrary Ajātaśatru expresses surprise that a brāhmaṇa should approach a kṣatriya for the expounding of brahmavidyā and says that this is opposed to the natural (or usual) order of affairs. This shows that Ajātaśatru was an exception and that brāhmaṇas usually taught brahmavidyā. In Kauṣītaki I. 1. and Ch. Up. V. 11 all that is narrated is that Gautama Śvetaketu learnt from Citra Gārgyāyaṇi and certain śrotriyaas like Aupamanyava learnt Vaid-vānaravidyā from Aśvapati Kaikeya. But nothing is said here about brahmavidyā being first known to kṣatriyas only. In Br. Up. VI. 2 and Ch. Up. V. 11 it is no doubt stated that ' this Vidyā ' was not known to any brāhmaṇa till then; but ' this vidyā ' does not mean the whole of the philosophy of brahma, but only that particular doctrine which bears the name of pañcāgnividyā. This vidyā no doubt propounds the doctrine of transmigration 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 transmigration was not at all known before the Upaniṣads. The same views are echoed by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in ' Verhandlungen des VII

drawn by certain writers that ksatriyas or kings were the pioneers in brahmavidyā cannot be accepted as correct. The germs 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 Kāthaka-Samhitā²²³ (IX. 16) indicates that all varnas 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 four²²⁴ verses (which are called Vidyāsūkta), the first of which says that *vidyā* came to the brāhmaṇa and requested him to guard her as his treasure. The Mahābhāṣya²²⁵ 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

(Continued from last page)

Internationalen Orientalisten Congresses zu Wien (Arische Sec. pp. 108-109) and in 'Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism' p. 9 'Ksatriyas 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. षोऽब्राह्मणो विद्यामन्त्र्य नेव रोचेत स एतांश्चतुर्होतृवरण्यं परेत्य दर्भस्तम्ब-
सुद्वयं ब्राह्मणं दक्षिणतो निषाद्य व्याचक्षीत । काठकसं. IX. 16.

224. The same four verses occur in Vas. Dh.S.II. 8-11, three of them except 'adhyāpitā 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. ब्राह्मणेन निष्कारणो धर्मः षडङ्गो वेदोऽध्येयो ज्ञेय इति । महामाष्य (vol. I. p. 15).

gods and pitrs, for the safeguarding of dharma.' Atri (25) contains the same idea. Other²²⁶ sages say that he in whose family Veda (Vedic study) and vedi (consecration of fires for śrauta rites) are given up for three generations becomes a durbrāhmaṇa (an unworthy or bad brāhmaṇa). The Tai. S. (II. 1. 10. 1) prescribes a rite for a durbrāhmaṇa 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 Āruṇeya (Chāndogya 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.²²⁷ Rg. VII. 103. 5 shows that instruction was oral and consisted in the pupil repeating the words uttered by the teacher.²²⁸ Whatever may have been the case in very remote times, from the times of the Brāhmaṇa literature and in the times of the dharmaśāstras teaching Vedic literature was almost universally in the hands of brāhmaṇas. Some kṣatriya teachers or philosophers are referred to in the Śatapatha (VIII. 1. 4. 10 and XI. 6. 2) and elsewhere, but they are generally held in low esteem. The Āp. Dh. S.²²⁹ (II. 2. 4. 25-28) lays down that the brāhmaṇa alone can be the teacher (of a brāhmaṇa), but in distress (i. e. in the absence of a brāhmaṇa teacher), a brāhmaṇa may learn from a kṣatriya or vaiśya, but the only service (which as a pupil) he should render to a kṣatriya or vaiśya teacher is to go after him (and not shampooing his feet etc.) and after the brāhmaṇa finishes his study, the brāhmaṇa may go in front

226. अथाप्युदाहरन्ति-यस्य वेदश्च वेदी च पिच्छियेते त्रिषुषम् । स वै दुर्ब्राह्मणो नाम यश्चैव वृषलीपतिः । बौधायनश्रुत्यपरिभाषा I. 10. 5-6. This is quoted as Yama's by Aparārka pp. 286, 449. Auśanasa (chap. IV p. 524, Jiv.) has the verse, but the last pāda is आह्लादी न केदाचन. Vide for दुर्ब्राह्मण the following आश्विनं धूम्रललाममालमेत यो दुर्ब्राह्मणः सोमं पिपासेत् । आश्विनो वै देवानामसोमपावास्तां तो पश्चात्सोमपीयं प्राप्नुताम् । ते. सं. II. 1. 10. 1; vide also ते. सं. II. 1. 5. 5 ऐन्द्राग्रं पुनश्चक्षुष्टमालमेत य आ वृतीयात्युषवात् सोमं न पिबेत् ।

227. त्रयः प्राजापत्याः प्राजापतौ पितरि ब्रह्मचर्यमूषुर्देवा मनुष्या असुरा उषित्वा ब्रह्मचर्यं देवा ऊचुः । बृ. उ. V. 2. 1.

228. यदेवामन्यो अन्यस्य वाचं शाकश्येव वदति शिक्षमाणः । ऋ. VII. 103. 5.

229. ब्राह्मण आचार्यः स्मर्यते तु । आपाद् ब्राह्मणेन राजान्ये वैश्ये वाच्ययनम् । अनुगमनं च पश्चात् । तत ऊर्ध्वं ब्राह्मण एवाग्रे गतौ स्यात् । आप. ध. सू. II. 2. 4. 25-28.

(of his kṣatriya teacher). Gaut. (VII. 1-3) and Manu (X. 1, II. 241) lay down the same rules. Manu (II. 242) adds that a perpetual student (naiṣṭhika brahmacārī) should not stay as a pupil with a teacher who is not a brāhmaṇa and that a brāhmaṇa may learn even from a śūdra a useful or efficacious craft (II. 238). The profession of teaching the Veda could not have brought much money or wealth to brāhmaṇas, 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 brāhmaṇa alone to officiate as a priest. Jaimini²³⁰ says that, as the kṣatriya and vaiśya cannot be priests (ṛtviks), the sattra (a sacrifice extending over many days or years) could be performed only by brāhmaṇas. The Kātyāyana Śrauta-sūtra uses a similar argument. When Viśvāmitra agreed to perform a sacrifice for Triśanku who had been cursed to be a cāṇḍāla, the Rāmāyaṇa²³¹ 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 Śantanu and the Nirukta (II. 10) adds that Devāpi and Śantanu were brothers and descendants of Kuru. So, according to the Nirukta at least, a kṣatriya 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 brāhmaṇas as the priestly caste or as priests. But this is not a very accurate statement. All brāhmaṇas never were nor are priests; besides even in modern times when caste is so rigid all priests in all temples and shrines are not brāhmaṇas. Some brāhmaṇas 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.²³² Manu (III. 152) says that a devalaka i. e. a brāhmaṇa who took

230. ब्राह्मणानां वेतरथोरात्विज्याभावात् । जैमिनि VI. 6. 18 ; ब्राह्मणः ऋत्विजो भक्षप्रतिषेधादितरयोः । कात्या. श्रौ I. 2. 28.

231. क्षत्रियो याजको यस्य चण्डालस्य विशेषतः । कथं स दत्ति भोकारो हविस्तस्य सुरर्षयः ॥ बालकाण्ड 59. 13-14.

232. देवार्चनपरो विप्रो वितार्थी वत्सरत्रयम् । असौ देवलको नाम हव्यकण्ठेषु गर्हितः ॥ देवकोशोपजीवी च नाम्ना देवलको भवेत् । अपांक्षेयः स विज्ञेयः सर्वकर्मसु सर्वदा ॥ देवल quoted in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका II p. 396, the first verse being quoted by अपरार्क also pp. 450, 923.

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 Yama²³³ 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) says²³⁴ that a brāhmaṇa householder may

233. प्रतिग्रहाद्यापनयाजनानां प्रतिग्रहं श्रेष्ठतमं वदन्ति । प्रतिग्रहाच्छुभ्यति जल्प-
होमैर्वाप्य तु पापेन पुनरिति वेदः ॥ यम quoted in स्मृतिच. I. p. 179.

234. The words 'kusūla' and 'kumbhī' have been variously explained by the commentators ; vide Kullūka on Manu IV. 7. According to Kullūka 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 Govindarāja, 'kusūladhānya' and 'kumbhīdhānya' are respectively those who have corn for 12 and 6 days. The Mit. on Yaj. I. 128 accepts Govindarāja's explanation.

either accumulate so much grain (but not more) as would fill a kusūla (a granary), or a *kumbhi*²³⁵ 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 (X. 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 ṛta 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.²³⁶ 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.²³⁷

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 'kumbhīdhānya' is very ancient is shown by the use of the word kumbhīdhānya in the Mahābhāṣya where it is explained as follows (on Pāp. I. 3. 7, vol. I. p. 264)
'कुम्भीधान्यः श्रोत्रिय उच्यते । यस्य कुम्भ्यामेव धान्यं स कुम्भीधान्यः । ईदृश पुनः कुम्भ्या चान्यत्र च नास्ती कुम्भीधान्यः ।'

236. वृत्तिसङ्कोचमन्विच्छेदहेतुर्धनविस्तारम् । धनलाभे प्रवृत्तस्तु ब्राह्मण्योपादेयं हीयते ॥
व्यास quoted in परा. मा. I. 1. p. 199 and स्मृतिच. I. p. 173.

237. त्रैतार्षिकाद्यद्वा भकादधिकं स्याद्द्विजस्य तु । यजेत तेन द्रव्येण न वृथा साधयेद् धनम् ॥ अदुशासन 47. 22 ; अनर्थो ब्राह्मणस्यैव यद् वित्तनिचयो महात् । अदुशासन 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 *dvijāli*.²³⁸ When even that is not possible and the brāhmaṇa is in difficulties he was allowed to take a gift from anybody including a śūdra (Manu X. 102-103, Yāj. III. 41); but a brāhmaṇa should not seek gifts from a śūdra for the performance of a sacrifice or for *agnihotra*, as thereby he becomes a cāṇḍāla 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, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 57. 13, Yāj. I. 216). Yāj., however, allowed this even for one's own livelihood. Gaut.²³⁹ (18. 24-25) allows a brāhmaṇa to receive even from a śūdra 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 śūdra 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 kṣatriya 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*²⁴⁰ (Yāj. I. 140, Manu IV. 87). The Smṛtis lay down

238. भक्षस्तानां स्वकर्मसु द्विजातीनां ब्राह्मणो भुञ्जति। प्रतिशृङ्गीयाच्च। गौतम 17.1-2.

239. द्रव्यादानं विवाहसिद्धयर्थं धर्मतन्त्रसंयोगे च शूद्रात्। गौतम 18. 24.

240. Vide Par. M. I. 1. p. 199 for quotations from Sainvarta, the Skandapurāṇa, the Viṣṇu-dharmottara condemning the receipt of gifts from irreligious kings. In Anusāsana 93. 94 the sages say to king Viṣṇudarbhī 'राजन् प्रतिग्रहो राज्ञां मध्वास्वादो विधोपमः। तज्जानमानः कस्मात्त्वं कुर्वते नः प्रलोभनम् ॥'. यस्य राजास्तु विषये औत्रियः सीदति क्षुधा। तस्यापि तत्क्षुधा राजमन्त्रिणैव सीदति ॥ मनु 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 śrotriya 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 Usavadāta (Rṣabhādatta) proclaims that he gave one lakh of cows and 16 villages to brāhmaṇas at Prabhāsa 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 Sarsavni plate of Buddhārāja in E. I. vol. 6 p. 298 dated in Kaṭacchuri Samvat 361 i. e. 609-10 A. D., Damodarpur plates in E. I. vol. XV. p. 113 dated 443-44 A. D.).

242. अभिगम्योत्तमं दानमाह्वयेव तु मध्यमम् । अथमे वाचमानाय सेवादानं तु निम्न-
लम् ॥ पराशर I. 29; गत्वा यद्दीयते दानं तदुत्तमफलं स्मृतम् । सहस्रश्रुणमाह्वे वाचिदे
तु तदुत्तमम् ॥ quoted by the Mit. and Aparārka (p. 291) on Yāj. I. 203. Vide
लङ्कातारव quoted by Aparārka p. 291 and Śāntiparva 294, 18-19.

To the same effect are Yāj. (I. 200-202), Vas. Dh. S. (VI. 32), Auśanasa (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 dakṣiṇā 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.'²⁴³ To the same effect are Vas. Dh. S. III, 8 and VI. 30, Manu (III. 128, 132 and IV. 31), Yāj. (I. 201), Dakṣa III. 26 and 31.²⁴⁴ 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, Dakṣa III. 29). Manu (XI. 1-3) says that nine kinds of *snātaka* 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 *patita* (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), Viṣṇu 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. शुचिर्म्मन्त्रकृतः सर्वकृत्येषु भोजयेत् । देशतः कालतः शौचतः सत्यकर्मविशुद्धीष्टुव इति दानानि प्रतिपादयति । आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 15. 9-10.

244. यथादिष्टतमं लोके यच्चारय दयितं भवेत् । तत्तद्व्ययवते देयं तदेवाक्षयमिच्छता ॥ इति III. 31. This is also सर्वतः 44-45, अनुशासनपर्व 59. 7, माकण्डेय 35. 52-53, भक्त्यध्याय 72. 39.

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 *mūṣa* for this), Veda-Vyāsa-smṛti IV. 35-38, Bṛhaspati-smṛti 60 and Laghu-Śātātapa 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 śrotriyas (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. ब्राह्मणातिक्रमो नास्ति मूर्खे मन्त्रविवर्जिते । ज्वलन्तमाग्निस्तृप्त्य नहि भस्मानि हृषते ॥ गो. ध. सू. I. 5. 98, वेदव्यास IV. 37 (reads विप्र वेदविवर्जिते), वसिष्ठ III. 10, गोमिलस्मृति II. 68-69. The मत्स्यपुराण 227. 7 also prescribes a fine for ब्राह्मणातिक्रम 'द्विजभोज्ये तु संभ्राते प्रतिवेशमभोजयत् । हिरण्यमाचकं दण्ड्यः पापे नास्ति पातिक्रमः ॥'

246. समद्विष्टुणसाहस्रानन्त्यानि फलान्यब्राह्मणब्राह्मणभोजनियवेदपारमेभ्यः । गो. V. 18; समभन्नाह्मणे दानं द्विष्टुं ब्राह्मणकुवे । प्राधीते शतसाहस्रमनन्तं वेदपारमे ॥ मनु VII. 85; वेदव्यास IV. 42 and Dakṣa read सहस्रष्टुणमाचार्ये which reading is noted by Kullūka also and Vedavyāsa (IV. 43-47) explains the words ब्राह्मणकुव, आचार्य and वेदपारमे.

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. Gautama²⁴⁷ (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 veda-pārāga when they seek help for giving a dakṣiṇā 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 vedapārāga). Manu (XI. 1-3) gives practically the same rule. In the Vaiśvadeva the householder was enjoined to give food to every one including even dogs and cāṇḍālas, as we shall see later on (under²⁴⁸ Vaiśvadeva). 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 benefitted by the advice is, so a gift made through compassion is made irrespective of caste; and that when non-brāhmaṇas 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. सुर्वर्णनिवेशौषधार्थ-वृत्तिक्षीण-यदयमाणाव्ययनाच्चसंयोगैश्चजितेषु द्रव्यसंविभागो बहिर्वेदि । निशमाणेषु कृतात्मनितरेषु ॥ गौतम V. 19. 20; चौ. घ. सू. II. 3. 24 reads सुनाम्नामभोजिपवेदपारगेभ्यः before सुर्वर्णं and यथाशक्ति कार्यः before बहिर्वेदि. Vide उच्यते V. 24 ' सुर्वर्णमर्थी श्रुतपारदत्त्वा रघोः सकाशादनवाप्य कामम् । '.

248. सर्वान्वैश्वदेवे भागिनः कुर्वीता श्वचण्डालेभ्यः । आप. घ. सू. II. 4. 9. 5.

249. ननु च कश्चनया दानमदृष्टायैव । नेति ब्रूमः । न तत्र दानधर्मः । किं तर्हि कश्चनान्या-
सात्परोपकाराद्वा । तत्र यथा । दितोपदेशादावनुग्रहाद्यस्य विधिर्जात्यादि नापेक्षते तद्वत्कश्चनया
दाने । तथा च शिक्षा नैवविधे दाने वेदतत्त्वार्थविदुषे ब्राह्मणायैत्येतदनुवृत्त्यन्ते । अत एवा-
ब्राह्मणा अपि दैन्यमापन्नाः परेण दत्तं गृह्णानां न ब्राह्मणवृत्तिं प्रतिग्रहमाश्रिता भवन्ति । मेधा-
दित्येव मनु IV. 5. The words वेदतत्त्वार्थं quoted here are from मनु III. 96.
The Par. M. (I part I p. 189) quotes a verse from the Mahābhārata,
पङ्कजवचनधिरा भूका व्याधिनोपहृताश्च ये । भर्तृभ्यास्ते महारत्नं न तु द्वेषः प्रतिग्रहः ॥.
The idea is that प्रतिग्रह is a privilege, while charity to the poor and the
diseased is due to *dayā* (compassion).

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 inroad²⁵⁰ 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*²⁵¹ as quoted by *Aparārka* (p. 455) makes *Śiva* say to *Pārvatī* '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 pitṛs 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.'²⁵² 'The wise should not despise brāhmaṇas, whether they be squint-eyed, humpbacked, dwarfs, indigent or diseased, since they are

250. नाङ्गणान् परिक्षेत क्षत्रियो दानधर्मावेत् । देवे कर्मणि पिबेत् त्वं व्याप्यमाहुः परिक्षणम् ॥ अनुशासन 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. आहुं परिदय दातव्यमित्येषा वैदिकी श्रुतिः । परिक्षणान् रम्भोऽर्जुनं सुगन्ध-
चारम् । अपरिदय तु यो दद्याच्छ्राद्धमार्जवमास्थितः । तस्य तुष्यन्ति पितरो देवतान् न संशयः
quoted by अपरार्क p. 455.

252. दुर्बुद्धा वा सुबुद्धा वा माक्रुता वा सुसंस्कृताः । नाङ्गणा नावमन्तव्या भस्मच्छर्मा
हवाग्रयः ॥ काणाः कुञ्जा वामनाश्च द्रिद्रा व्याधितास्तथा । नावमान्या द्विजाः प्राज्ञैर्मम
त्वा हि ते द्विजाः ॥ वृद्धगौतम (chap. III. pp. 512, 513) ; vide वनपर्व 200. 88 89
बुधदा वा सुवेदा वा माक्रुताः संस्कृतास्तथा । ग्रयः ॥ यथा रमशाने दीप्तौजाः पावको
नेव दुष्यति । एवं विद्वानविद्वान्वा नाङ्गणो देवतं महत् ॥

my forms (i. e. of Kṛṣṇa)'. The Anuśāsanaparva (152. 19)²⁵³ says 'a brāhmaṇa who is not learned is a god and he is a worthy object for gifts and is a great purifier; a learned brāhmaṇa 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 brāhmaṇas 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).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 brāhmaṇas should not be invited.²⁵⁵ Besides all brāhmaṇas 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 brāhmaṇas 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 dharmasāstra works. Gaut. (VII. 6 and 7) says that if a brāhmaṇa 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

253. अविद्वान् ब्राह्मणो देवः पानं चै पावनं महत् । विद्वान् भूपरस्तरो देवः पूर्णसागर-
संनिभः । एवं यद्यप्यनिष्टेषु वर्तते सर्वकर्मसु । सर्वथा ब्राह्मणो भाग्यो देवतं विद्धि तत्परम् ॥
अनुशासन 152. 19 and 23.

254. 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.

255. Vide Manu III. 125-126, Gaut. 15. 7-8, Yāj. 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 vaiśya. 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, Śāṅkha-Likhita say the same ²⁵⁶ 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 avocation ²⁵⁷ 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 Uttararāmacarita of Bhavabhūti echoes the same sentiments. A śūdra ²⁵⁸ 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 vaiśya, if unable to maintain himself by the pursuits peculiar to his varṇa, to live by means of the

256. आपत्काले मातापितृमतो बहुभृत्यपर्याप्तान्तरका वृत्तिरिति कल्पः । तस्यान्तरका वृत्तिः कात्रोऽभिनिवेशः । एवमप्यजीवन्वेत्युपजीयेत् । शङ्खलिखित quoted by अपराक p. 930.

257. न कथंचन कुर्वति नाह्मणः कर्म चार्चलम् । वृषलः कर्म वा नाह्मं पतनीये हि ते तयोः ॥ नारद (कथादान 57)

258. वश्यो राज्ञा स वै शूद्रो जपहोमपरश्च यः । ततो राज्ञस्य हन्तासौ यथा पक्षेभ्य वैज-
स्रज ॥ जपस्तपस्तीर्थयात्रा मन्त्रयो मन्त्रसाधनम् । देवताराधनं चैव श्रीशूद्रपतनानि वद् ॥
आत्रे 19. 136-137 (Ānan. ed.) ; vide वनपर्व 150. 36

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).

According²⁵⁹ 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 śūdra²⁶⁰ was unable to maintain himself and his family by serving *dvijas*, 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 *dvijas*, the śūdra may carry on the profession of a vaiśya or may take to the various crafts. The Mahābhārata allowed a śūdra²⁶¹ who could not maintain

259. शूद्राया शूद्रस्येतरेषां वर्णानाम् । पूर्वस्मिन् पूर्वस्मिन्वर्णे निश्चेषसं शूद्रः । आप. ध. I. 1. 1. 7-8 ; परिचर्या चोत्तरेषाम् । तेषां वृत्तिं लिप्सेत् । तत्र पूर्वं परिचरेत् । गोतम X. 57-59 ; प्रजापतिर्हि वर्णानां दासं शूद्रमकल्पयत् । शान्तिपर्व 60. 28 ; vide also Vas. Dh. S. II. 20, Manu X. 121-123, Yāj. I. 120, बौ. ध. सू. I. 10. 5, वनपर्व 150. 36.

260. शिल्पाजीवं श्रुतिं चैव शूद्राणां व्यवसायस्तुः । वायुपुराण 8. 171 ; शूद्रस्य द्विज-शूद्राया सर्वशिल्पानि चाप्यथ । शक्रश्रुति I. 5 ; मनु X. 99-100.

261. वागिज्यं पाशुपाल्यं च तथा शिल्पोपजीवनम् । शूद्रस्यापि विधीयन्ते यदा वृत्तिर्न जायते ॥ शान्तिपर्व 295. 4 ; शूद्रस्य द्विजशूद्राया सर्वशिल्पानि चाप्यथ । विक्रयः सर्वपशूनां शूद्रकर्म उदाहृतम् ॥ उशनसः quoted in the स्मृतिच. I. p. 171 ; vide लघुशिल्प-लाघन 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-Hārta (VII. 189, 192) allowed agriculture to the śūdra. The Kālikāpurāṇa quoted in the Gr. R. (p. 479) allowed the śūdra to sell all commodities except honey, skins, lākṣā (lac), wines and flesh, while Bṛhat-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 kṣatriyas 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 *amiravasita śūdras* (such as carpenters and blacksmiths) and the other *niravasita śūdras* (like cāṇḍālas); 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 *abhoyjāṇna*. In the first were included one's

262. शुद्रधर्मो द्विजातिशुश्रूषा पापवर्जनं कलत्रादिपौष्यं कर्षणपशुपालनमारोहहन-
पण्यव्यवहार-चित्रकर्म-सूत्य-गीत-वेणु-वशिष्टाश्वजम्बुद्वयवाचनादीनि । देवल in भित्ति on
या. I. 120.

263. Compare आप. घ. सू. I. 11. 32. 18 (शुद्रान् शुद्राचरितान् च देशात् सेवेत) with मनु 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 kṣatriya kings and only śūdras will be kings.

slave, one's cowherd, barber, family friend and one who shared with one the crop reared on one's land (vide Yāj. I. 166). It is worthy of note that even the Mit. adds the potter to the above list. All the other śūdras 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 śūdras who followed good occupations or trade, served *dvijas* and had given up meat and drinking or selling liquor.²⁶⁴ The Śūdrakamalakāra (p. 60) says that *asat-śūdras* 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 śūdra that drinks liquor.

A few words may now be said about brāhmaṇas being allowed to follow the occupations of kṣatriyas and vaiśyas. From very ancient times brāhmaṇas appear to have followed the profession of arms. Pāṇ. (V. 2. 71) teaches²⁶⁵ the formation of the word 'brāhmaṇaka' as applied to a country, which means 'in which Brāhmaṇas follow the profession of arms.' Kaut.²⁶⁶ (IX. 2) quotes the view of the ācāryas that when there are armies composed of brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas, vaiśyas and śūdras 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)²⁶⁷ 'a brāhmaṇa should not catch hold of a weapon even for examining it (much

264. न सुरां सन्धयेद्यस्तु आपणेषु ग्रहेषु च । न विक्रीणाति च तथा सच्छूद्रो हि स उच्यते । भविष्यपुराण (ब्राह्मण section) chap. 44. 32.

265. Pāṇ. V. 2. 71 is not commented on by Patañjali and the Kāśikā 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 Pāṇ. IV 2. 104, Vārtika 30, ' ब्राह्मणको नाम जनपदस्तस्माद्भूयं प्राप्नोति । ब्राह्मणकीयः । ').

266. ब्राह्मणकानि यवैर्यज्ञस्यैव नानां तेजःप्राधान्यात् पूर्वं पूर्वं श्रेयः संनाहयितुमिच्छन्त्याचार्याः । नेति कौटिल्यः । श्रमिपतेन ब्राह्मणं परोऽभिहारयेत् । कौटिल्य IX. 2.

267. परीक्षार्थेऽपि ब्राह्मण आयुधं नावृद्धीत् । अथ. घ. I. 10. 29. 7 ; भागसंशये ब्राह्मणेति सन्नमावृद्धीत् । गौ. VII. 25 ; अथायुद्धाहरन्ति । गवार्थे ब्राह्मणार्थे वा वर्णानां नापि संकरे । श्रुतीयातां विप्रविशो सन्नं धर्मव्यपेक्षया ॥ जौ. घ. II. 2. 80 ; आत्मनाये वर्णसंशये ब्राह्मणवैश्यौ सन्नमावृद्धीयताम् । वसिष्ठ III. 24.

less for attacking others with it)'. Gaut. (VII. 6) allowed a brāhmaṇa to follow kṣatriya's profession in case of distress (āpad) and adds (in VII. 25) that even a brāhmaṇa while still following the peculiar avocation of a brāhmaṇa may wield weapons when his life is in danger. The Baud. Dh. S. (II. 2. 80) quotes a verse 'for saving cows and brāhmaṇas, for preventing the mixture of varṇas, the brāhmaṇa and vaiśya may take to arms from their concern for dharma.' The Vas. Dh. S. (III. 24) allows a brāhmaṇa to wield a weapon for protecting himself and for preventing confusion or mingling of varṇas. Manu (VIII. 348-349) allows all *dvijātis* to resort to weapons where the observance of dharma (or of the duties of varṇas 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 brāhmaṇas 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 Āśvatthāman, Kṛpa (the maternal uncle of Āśvatthāman) who were brāhmaṇas. The Mahābhārata says that a brāhmaṇa should fight at the order of the king.²⁶⁸ The Śāntiparva (78. 18) calls upon persons of all varṇas 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 brāhmaṇas 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 brāhmaṇa, who killed the last Śuṅga about 72 B. C. We learn from the Talagūṇḍa pillar inscription of Kakusthavarman (E. I. Vol. VIII. p. 24) that the founder of the Kadambas, Mayūrasarman, was a brāhmaṇa. In Maratha history there were the Peshwas and other brāhmaṇa warriors and commanders.

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

268. राज्ञो नियोगाद् योद्धव्यं ब्राह्मणेन विशेषतः । वर्तता स तत्र धर्मेण ह्येवं धर्मविदो विदुः । शतपथर्ष 65. 42.

As to money-lending, Gaut.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 userer 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 *prāyaścitta*²⁷⁰ for a brāhmaṇa lending money at usurious rates. Bṛhaspati as quoted²⁷¹ 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

269. वृषिवाणिज्ये वाऽस्वयंकृते । कुसीदं च । गौ. X. 5-6 ; ब्राह्मणराजन्धौ वार्युषी न दद्याताम् । अथाप्युदाहरन्ति । समर्थं धान्यमुद्धृत्य महार्थं यः प्रयच्छति । स वै वार्युषिको नाम ब्रह्मवादिषु गणितः । ब्रह्महत्यां च वृद्धिं च तुलया समतोलयत् । अतिष्ठद् भ्रूणहृत् कोट्यां वार्युषिः समकम्पत । वसिष्ठ II. 40. Vide गौ. ध. सू. I. 5. 93-94 for these two verses ; आपत्स्वपि हि कदास ब्राह्मणस्य न वार्युषम् । नारद (ऋणादान V. 111)

270. अनार्या शयने बिभ्रद् ददद्वाङ्मि कषायपः । अनाह्मण इव बन्धित्वा पुण्येवासीत् पृथक् । आप. ध. सू. I. 9. 27. 10.

271. बहवो वर्तनोपाया ऋषिभिः परिकीर्तिताः । सर्वेषामपि चैतेषां कुसीदंभयिकं विदुः । अनावृष्ट्या राजभयाद् सुषिकाद्यैरपम्रवैः । कृष्यादिके भवेद्दानिः कुसीदे सा न विद्यते ॥ बृहस्पति in गृह. र. p. 488

brāhmaṇas. The Vedic Literature does not condemn agriculture in the case of brāhmaṇas. The gambler's song²⁷² (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). Baudhāyana²⁷³ 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 quoted²⁷⁴ in Gr. 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. अक्षौर्मदीव्यः कृषिभित्कृषरव विरो रमस्व बहु मन्यमानः । तत्र गावः कितव तत्र जाया तन्मे विचष्टे सवितायभयः ॥ ऋ. X. 34. 13.

273. वेदः कृषिविनाशाय कृषिवेदविनाशिनी । शक्तिमाशुभयं कुर्यादशक्तस्तु कृषिं त्यजेत् । बौ. ध. सू. I. 5. 101; भास्व यातराशात्कर्षी स्यात् । अस्तूतनासिकाभ्यां सधुष्काभ्यां सधुद्वारायां सुदुर्धुदुरभुच्छन्दयन् । बौ. ध. सू. II. 2. 82-83.

274. सहस्रं लालं तद्व्राह्मणे न विद्यते । आपद्याचरित्वाद्यदि कुर्याद्यथार्थम् । हारीत in शुद्ध. र. p. 429.

distress) is accomplished'. Parāśara²⁷⁵ (II. 2-4, 7, 14) allows a brāhmana 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 mahāyajñas 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 $\frac{1}{8}$ of the corn to the king, offer $\frac{1}{11}$ to gods and $\frac{1}{10}$ to brāhmanas 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 brāhmanas and also Vṛddha-Gautama (Jiv. part 2 p. 571). Vṛddha-Hārīta²⁷⁶ (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 brāhmana 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 brāhmana. According to Gaut. (VII. 8-14) a brāhmana 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 brāhmana could not sell land, rice, *yava*, goats and sheep, horses, bulls, freshly delivered cows and

275. पद्धर्कमनिरतो विप्रः कृषिकर्माणि कारयेत् । हलमष्टगवं धर्म्यं षड्गवं मध्यमं स्मृतम् । चतुर्गवं दूशेसानां द्विगवं वृषपालिनाम् ॥ पराशर II. 2; ब्राह्मणस्तु कृषिं कृत्वा महादायकमवामुयात् । राज्ञे दत्त्वा तु षड्भागं देवानां चैकविंशकम् । विषाणां त्रिंशकं भागं कृषिकर्ता न लिप्यते ॥ पराशर II. 12-13. This last is ascribed to बृहस्पति by अपरार्क p. 936, शुद्ध. r. p. 431. The verse अष्टागवं धर्म्यं हलं occurs in Atri 222-223, Āpastamba (in verse) I. 22-23, Hārīta in Gr. R. p. 431.

276. कृषिस्तु सर्ववर्णानां सामान्यो धर्म उच्यते । कृषिर्भूतिः पाशुपाल्यं सर्वेषां निधिर्भूते । बृहदारण्यक VII. 179, 182.

oxen that are yoked to carts. These restrictions did not apply to a kṣatriya engaging in trade. Āp. Dh. S. I. 7. 20. 12-13²⁷⁷ has a similar list but adds among forbidden articles of sale 'weapons, sticky things (śleṣma, like lac), young stalks (tokma), fermented liquids (kinva), the expectation of merit (sukṛtāśa) and says that among corns 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 respectively his *pitr̥s* (dead ancestors) and his *prāṇas*. This arose probably from the close connection of sesame with *śrāddha* 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.²⁷⁸ (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 *pitr̥s* in the ordure of a dog'. But it appears that Vasiṣṭha²⁷⁹ (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 *camarī* deer) and oilcakes (*pinṇāka*) to things forbidden to

277. आपदि व्यवहरेत् पश्यानामपश्यानि व्युदस्यन् । मनुष्यान् रसान्वायान् गन्धानञ्च
चर्म गवां वशां श्लेष्मोदके तोकमकिण्वे पिप्पलीमरीचैश्चान्यं मांसमाधुयं सुकृतासां च । तिल-
तण्डुलास्त्रैव धान्यस्य विशेषेण न विक्रीणीयात् । आप. ध. सू. I. 7. 20. 11-13.

278. भोजनान्यजनाङ्गानाद् यदन्यत्कुर्वते तिलैः । कुमिश्रतः श्वविट्वायां पितृभिः सह
भजति ॥ मनु X. 91 ; यम् quoted in स्मृतिच. I. 180 has a similar verse.

279. कामं वा स्वयं कुर्यात्पाय तिलाच्च विक्रीणीयम् । वसिष्ठ II. 31.

be sold. Śāṅkha-Likhita,²⁸⁰ Udyoga-parva 38. 5, Śāntiparva 78. 4-6, Hārta (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 (ṛṇādāna 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'. Śāṅkha-Likhita also (as quoted by Aparārka p. 933) have the same rules as Nārada and further enjoin upon the brāhmaṇa not to higggle 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 dvijātis) and the sale of milk, curds and liquor reduces him to the status of a low class (i. e. of a śūdra). 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 cāndrāyana and other prāyaścittas for it. Hārta (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) cāndrāyana for the sale of honey, meat, wine, soma, lac, salt.²⁸³ Nārada (ṛṇādāna 67) calls upon

280. न विक्रीणीयादविक्रेयाणि । तिलतैलदधिसौम्यलवणलाक्षाभयमांसकृताश्चक्षी-
पुष्यदस्त्र्यश्चक्षुषमगन्धरसकृष्णाजिनसोमोदकनीलीविक्रेयास्तथः पतति ब्राह्मणः ॥ शङ्ख-
लिखितं quoted by अपरार्क p. 1113 and स्मृतिच. I. 180; अविक्रेयं लवणं पक्वमन्नं
दधिसीरं मधु तैलं घृतं च । तिला मांसफलमूलानि शाकं रक्तं वासः सर्वगन्धां शुद्धाश्च ॥
उद्योगपर्व 38. 5.

281. गुणकाष्ठमविकृतं विक्रेयम् । अथाप्युदाहरन्ति । पशवश्चैकतोदन्ता अश्वा च
लवणाद्भूतः । एतद् ब्राह्मणं ते पण्यं तत्तुश्चरजनीकृतः ॥ बौ. ध. सू. II. 1. 81-82; sale
of minerals would be opposed to Vasiṣṭha II. 24.

282. ब्राह्मणस्य तु विक्रेयं श्रुतं दास्य गुणानि च । गन्धद्रव्यैरकावेनं तुल्यतुली-
कृताहते (?) । स्वयं शीर्षं च विदलं फलानां च दरेजुदे । रज्जुः कार्पासिकं सूत्रं तन्नेदविकृतं
भवेत् । नारद (ऋणादान 64-55); श्रुतकाष्ठवदरेजुदविल्वरज्जुकार्पासिकसूत्रैर्विकृतैर्द्रव्यमा-
हरेत् । शङ्खलिखितं quoted by अपरार्क p. 934; सकृदेवाकं मूल्यमिच्छेत् । शङ्खलिखितं
quoted in अपरार्क p. 934.

283. मधुमांससुरासोमं लाक्षां लवणमेव च । एतेषां विक्रेयेणैव द्विजश्चान्द्रायणं चरेत् ॥
लघुशातातप 87.

the king to inflict a heavy fine upon a brāhmaṇa who engages in the sale of articles forbidden to be sold and strays from the path (proper for brāhmaṇas) in the absence of distress.

Āp. Dh. S. (I. 7. 20. 14-15)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.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 Āp.²⁸⁶

Manu (X. 116)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 brāhmaṇa or a kṣatriya when there is no distress (e. g. a brāhmaṇa 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. 449²⁸⁸

284. अवहितश्चैवो मिथो विनिमयः । अनेन चाक्षर्य मनुष्याणां च मनुष्यै रसानां च रसैर्गन्धानां च गन्धैर्विद्यया च विद्यानाम् । आप. ध. सू. I. 7. 20. 14-15.

285. नियमस्तु । रसानां रसैः । पशूनां च । न लवणकृताजयोः । तिलानां च । समेना-
मेन तु पक्षर्य संमत्यर्थे । गौतम VII. 16-21.

286. रसा रसैर्महतो हीनतो वा विभातव्याः । न त्वेव लवणं रसैः । तिलतण्डुलपकाजं
विद्या माधुष्याश्च विहिताः परिवर्तकेन । वासिष्ठ II. 37-39.

287. विद्या शिल्पं श्रुतिः सेवा गोरक्षं विपणिः कृषिः । धृतिर्मैदं कुसीदं च दश जीव-
नहेतवः ॥ मनु X. 116 ; कृषिः शिल्पं श्रुतिर्विद्या कुसीदं शकदं गिरिः । सेवानूपं द्रुपो मेक्ष-
मापत्तौ जीवनाग्निं तु ॥ या. III. 42.

288. शकदं शाकिनी गावो जालभर्यन्दनं वनम् । अनूपं पर्वतो राजा दुर्मिक्षे नव
वृत्तयः । छायेलय in ग्रह. र. p. 449. The बृहद्देवता VI. 138 has the first half and
reads the 2nd half as ससुन्नः पर्वतो राजा एवं जीवामहे वयम्. In some Mss. of the
निबन्ध this verse occurs in VI. 5 where the readings are °आर्यन्दनं वनम् ।
चदृषिः पर्वतो राजा दुर्मिक्षे नव वृत्तयः ॥ आर्यन्दन may be the same as र्यन्दन (रथ).

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 kṣatriyas; 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. chap. 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. Baud. 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. ṛta (i. e. subsisting on grains left in the fields), amṛta (what comes without begging), mṛta (alms obtained by begging), pramṛta (agriculture), satyāṇṛta (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, saṁdhyā, japa, homa, worship of gods and honouring of guests and vaiśvadeva), muni-br. (who is given up to staying in a forest, subsists on roots, fruits and vegetables and performs daily śrāddhas), dvija-br. (who studies the Vedānta, gives up all attachments and is engaged in reflecting over Sāṁkhya and Yoga), kṣatra-br. (who fights), vaiśya-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 caṇḍālā-br. (who is a fool, devoid of prescribed rites, beyond the pale of all dharma and cruel). Atri (384) rather²⁸⁹ humorously adds 'those who are devoid of Vedic lore, study the śāstras (like grammar, logic &c.), those devoid of śāstric 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 'buvā').' Devala quoted²⁹⁰ by Aparārka (pp. 284-285) speaks of eight kinds of brāhmaṇas (of whom each succeeding one is superior to each preceding one) viz. mātṛa (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), śrotriya (who has studied one vedic śākhā with the six āṅgas 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. वेदैर्विहीनाश्च पठन्ति शास्त्रं शास्त्रेण हीनाश्च पुराणपाठाः । पुराणहीनाः कृत्रिणो भवन्ति अष्टात्ततो भागवता भवन्ति ॥ अत्रि 384.

290. These verses about the eight kinds of ब्राह्मण्य are quoted in the दामरत्नाकर also (MS.). The वैखानससूत्र I. 1 also gives brief definitions of these eight kinds of ब्राह्मण्य 'संस्कृतायां ब्राह्मण्यां ब्राह्मण्यजात-
मात्रः पुत्रमात्रः (पुत्रः मात्रः ?) । उपनीतः सावित्र्यश्च यनाद् ब्राह्मणः । वेदमधीत्य शारीरैः
पाणिग्रहणात्संस्कृतः पाकयज्ञैरेषि यजन् ओत्रियः । स्वाध्यायपर आहिताग्निर्विषयज्ञैरप्यनू-
चानः । सोमयज्ञैरेषि भ्रूणः । संस्कारैरेतैरुपेतो नियमयमान्यामुषिकल्पः । साङ्गचतुर्वेदतपो-
योगादेषिः । नारायणपरायणो निर्द्वन्द्वो मुनिरिति । संस्कारविशेषात्पूर्वात्पूर्वार्थो वरीयानिति
विज्ञायते ।'

under control), ṛṣi (one who is celibate, 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.). Śātātapa²⁹¹ quoted by Aparārka (pp. 286-287) 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 yajamānas, 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 saṁdhyā adoration in the morning and evening at the proper time. The Anuśāsanaparva (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 śūdras. For example, Baud.²⁹² Dh. S. (II. 4. 20) requires a religious king to employ brāhmaṇas who do not perform the morning and evening adoration (saṁdhyā) in doing work appropriate to śūdras. Vas.²⁹³ Dh. S. (III. 1-2) says that brāhmaṇas who are not śrotriya (learned in the Veda), who do not teach the veda or who do not kindle the sacred fires become reduced to the status of śūdras and quotes a Mānava śloka (Manu II. 168) '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 śūdra together with his family.' Manu (VIII. 102=Baud. Dh. S. I.

291. अजाह्नणाश्च षट् शोकाः ऋषिः शाततपोनवीत । आद्यो राजाश्रयस्तेषां द्वितीयः क्रयविक्रयी । तृतीयो बहुयाज्यः स्वात् चतुर्थो ग्रामयाजकः । पञ्चमस्तु श्रुतस्तेषां ग्रामस्य नगरस्य च । अनागतं तु यः पूर्वा सादित्यां चैव पञ्चिमाय । नोपसीत द्विजः संख्यां स षडोऽजाह्नयः स्मृतः ॥ अपरार्क pp. 286-287 ; सायण in his भाष्य on ऐ. ब्रा. chap. III. khanda 5 quotes with variations these very verses (viz. चतुर्थोऽर्थाययाजकः । पञ्चमो ग्रामयाजी च षडोऽजाह्नयः स्मृतः ॥).

292. सायं शतः सदा संख्यां ये विप्रो नो उपासते । कामं तान् धार्मिको राजा शूद्र-कर्मसु योजयेत् ॥ बौ. ध. सू. II. 4. 20 (this and the preceding verse are cited as प्रजापति's by some writers.)

293. अश्रोत्रिया अननुवाक्या अनग्नयो वा शूद्रसंघर्माणो भवन्ति । मानवं चात्र श्लोक-सुदाहरन्ति । योनधीत्य द्विजो वेदमन्यत्र कुर्वते श्रमम् । स जीवसेव शूद्रत्वमाप्नु गच्छति सान्वयः ॥ वसिष्ठ III. 1-2; this verse is also लघ्वाचलभाष्येन 22. 23 ; vide also वसिष्ठ V. 10 and लघ्वाचल 22. 21-22 ; गायत्रीरहितो विप्रः शूद्रादप्यशुचिर्भवेत् । पराशर VIII. 24; but the very next verse is दुःशीलोपि द्विजः पूज्यो न शूद्रो विजितेन्द्रियः ॥

5. 95) asks the king to treat as sūdras 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) says²⁹⁴ that a brāhmaṇa who does not repeat the Gāyatrī mantra is more impure than even a sūdra and that brāhmaṇas who do not offer oblations to sacred fires, who are bereft of saṁdhyā adoration and who do not study the veda are all sūdras 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 Kekaya²⁹⁶ 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). Āp. 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 such²⁹⁷

294. अग्निकार्यात्परिभ्रष्टाः संध्योपासनवर्जिताः । वेदं चैवानधीयानाः सर्वे ते वृषलाः स्मृताः ॥ अध्येतव्योप्येकदेशो यदि सर्वं न शक्यते । पराशर XII. 32-33.

295. अनन्यासाञ्च वेदानामाचारस्य च वर्जनात् । आलस्योद्वेगदोषाश्च भुत्तुर्विभक्तिर्भासते ॥ मनु V. 4

296. नागद्वारा भिक्षावान् भिक्षुर्वाङ्मन्त्रार्थवान् । ज्ञान्तिपर्व 77. 22.

297. भिक्षणे निमित्तमाचार्यो विवाहो यज्ञो मातापित्रोर्भुषणार्थं च नियमविलोपः । तत्र ह्यपान् समीक्ष्य यथाशक्ति देयम् । इन्द्रियभीत्यर्थस्य तु भिक्षणमनिमित्तम् । तस्मात्तद्विज्ञेयम् । आप. ध. II. 5. 10. 1-4; compare Manu IV. 251, XI. 1-2, Yāj. I. 216, Gaut. V. 19-20. ज्ञान्तिपर्व 165. 1-2 are 'इत्याचार्यो यद्यप्यपानश्च सर्ववेदान्त-मश्नः यः । आचार्यपितृकार्यार्थं स्वाध्यायार्थमथापि च । एते वै साधवो ब्रह्मा नाह्वयान् भिक्षवः ॥'

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. Baud 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. Āṅgīras²⁹⁸ 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. Śāṅkha-Likhita²⁹⁹ 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 Parāśara³⁰⁰ (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. The

298. व्याधितस्य दरिद्रस्य कुटुम्बान्धच्युतस्य च । अश्वानं प्रतिपन्नस्य भिक्षाचर्या विधीयते । अङ्गिरस्य in गृह. र. p. 450.

299. भिक्षमाणो वा निमित्तान्तरं भूयात् । न स्त्रीं नामास्त्यवहारान् । अपर्याप्तो संनिधानान् । अशुद्धिर्याजं भिक्षेत । यदर्थं भिक्षेत तमेवार्थं कुर्यात् । शेषश्रुत्विभ्यो निवेदयेत् । यो वान्यः साधुतमस्तस्मै दद्यात् । राज्ञलिखित in गृह. र. p. 457.

300. अन्नता क्षान्धीयाना यत्र भैक्षचरा द्विजाः । तं ग्रामं दण्डयेद्वाजा चोरभक्षयो हि सः ॥ वासिष्ठ III. 4 and पराशर I. 60.

Tai. Br. III. 7. 3 says 'One should sacrifice in the right hand of a brāhmaṇa; the brāhmaṇa indeed is Agni-vaiśvānara'. 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 hyperbolic 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.³⁰¹ (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 'whatever³⁰² 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 hyperbolic 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 *vratas*, 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.'³⁰³ The Mahābhārata indulges in very

301. देवाः परोक्षदेवाः प्रत्यक्षदेवा ब्राह्मणाः । ब्राह्मणैर्लोकं धार्यन्ते । ब्राह्मणानां प्रसादेन दिवि तिष्ठन्ति देवताः । ब्राह्मणमिहितं वाक्यं न मिथ्या जायते कश्चित् ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 19. 20-22. With the first sūtra note 85 above may be compared.

302. This is a mere *arthavāda*. 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. अतच्छिद्दं तपश्छिद्दं यच्छिद्दं यज्ञकर्मणि । सर्वं भवति निश्छिद्दं ब्राह्मणैरुपपादितम् ॥ ब्राह्मणा यानि भाषन्ते भाषन्ते तानि देवताः । सर्वदेवमया विद्या न तद्वचनमन्यथा । पराशर VI. 52-53. Śaṭatapa (I. 30-31) has the same two verses with slight variations.

frequent eulogies of brāhmaṇas. Ādiparva (28. 3-4) says³⁰⁴ 'a brāhmaṇa, when provoked, becomes fire, the sun, poison, and weapon; a brāhmaṇa is declared to be the *guru* of all beings.' Vanaparva³⁰⁵ (303. 16) says 'a brāhmaṇa is the highest light, he is the highest *tapas*; the sun shines in heaven on account of the salutations made by the brāhmaṇas'. This and similar dicta closely follow what was expressed in the Vedic period long before e. g. 'the sun would not rise if the brāhmaṇa did not make sacrifice' (Śatapatha 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-parva³⁰⁶ (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.' Śānti (56. 22) declares 'In this world brāhmaṇa is the highest being'.

It should not be supposed that the brāhmaṇas 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 brāhmaṇas 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 brāhmaṇas had no military force behind them. They could only succeed in influencing the other varṇas by persuasion and their own worth. The brāhmaṇas 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. अग्निर्को विषं सखं विप्रो भवति कोपितः । शुद्धिं सर्वभूतानां ब्राह्मणः परिकीर्तितः ॥
आदिपर्व 28. 3-4; vide आदि० 81. 23 and 25 and मत्स्यपुराण 30. 23 and 25 for a similar idea.

305. ब्राह्मणो हि परं तेजो ब्राह्मणो हि परं तपः । ब्राह्मणानां नमस्कारैः सूर्यो दिवि विराजते ॥ वनपर्व 303. 16.

306. अद्वैतं देवतं कुर्बुदेवतं चाप्यद्वैतम् । यमिच्छेयुः स राजा स्याद्यो नेष्टः स पराभवेत् ॥ अनुशासनपर्व 33. 17 and 152. 16.

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) propounds³⁰⁷ 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. महती देवता ह्येष नररूपेण तिष्ठति ॥ मनु VII. 8.

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 brāhmana 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 brāhmanas 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 brāhmanas 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 brāhmanas (though not always conceded as the sequel will show) should be set out once for all.

(1) The brāhmana was to be *guru* (object of reverence)³⁸⁸ to all varnas 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 varnas 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 varnas respectively from his mouth, arms, thighs and feet, that (I. 93) the brāhmana 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 Vasīṣṭha ' the brāhmana is the master of the varnas on account of the peculiar excellence

308. चत्वारो वर्णा ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियवैश्यसूद्राः । तेषां पूर्वः पूर्वो जन्मतः श्रेयान् । आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 1. 5; प्रकृतिविशिष्टं चातुर्वर्ण्यं संस्कारविशेषाच्च । ब्राह्मणोऽस्य सुखमासीद्वाह्यराज्यः कृतः इत्यापि नियमो भवति । वसिष्ठ IV. 1-2; जातीनां ब्राह्मणः श्रेष्ठः । भीष्म 121. 35.

(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 (samskāras) in his case'. Bhīṣma-parva (121. 35) says that the brāhmaṇa is superior among all castes. This sense of superiority was carried so far that Āpastamba³⁰⁹ (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 Kāthakasaṃhitā³¹⁰ (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 heroes³¹¹ &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'-Gautama³¹² 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 Vāj. S. (IX. 40) and the Śat.³¹³ Br. (V. 4. 2. 3 and IX. 4. 3. 16), where it is said

309. दशवर्षश्च ब्राह्मणः शतवर्षश्च क्षत्रियः । पितापुत्रौ स्म तौ विद्धि तयोस्तु ब्राह्मणः पिता । आप. घ. सू. I. 4. 14. 23.

310. ब्राह्मणो वै मजानाश्रयद्रष्टा ॥ तै. ब्रा. II. 2. 1 and काठकसंहिता IX. 16.

311. तद्यत्र वै ब्रह्मणः क्षत्रं वशमेति तद्राष्ट्रं समृद्धं तद्दीर्घवृद्धास्मिन्वीरो जायते । ऐ. ब्रा. 37. 5.

312. राजा सर्वस्येष्टे ब्राह्मणवर्जम् । गौ. XI. 1; न च राजा सर्वस्येष्टे ब्राह्मणवर्जमिति गौतमवचनात् ब्राह्मणो दुष्पृष्ठ इति मन्तव्यम् । तस्य प्रसार्थत्वात् । मिता० on या. II. 4.

313. सोमोऽस्माकं ब्राह्मणानां राजा । शतपथ V. 4. 2. 3; तस्माद् ब्राह्मणोऽनाथाः सोमराजा हि भवति । शतपथ IX. 4. 3. 16.

'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 *Somapas*. 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.³¹⁴ 12-13. The Mit. on Yāj. 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 pre-meditation 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 (= Matsyapurāṇa 227. 163-164), Viṣṇu Dh. S. V. 4-7 prescribe the

314. यत्तु षड्भिः परिहायौ राज्ञाऽवध्यश्चानन्ध्यश्चादुष्यश्चावहिष्कारश्चापविद्यश्चापरिहारश्चेति (गौ. 8. 12-13) तदपि स एष बहुश्रुतो भवति... विनीत इति (गौतम 8. 4-11) प्रतिपादितमद्वैतविषयं न ब्राह्मणमात्रविषयम् ॥ भित्तौ on या. II. 4; न शारीरो ब्राह्मणदण्डः । गौतम 12. 43; अवध्यो वै ब्राह्मणः सर्वापराधेषु । ब्राह्मणस्य ब्रह्महत्या-श्रुतत्पगमनमुपवर्तितेयमुपापानेषु कुसिन्धु-भगसुगालमुपाध्वजास्तसेनायसः ललाटेऽङ्कयित्वा निषयन्तिर्धमेनम् । बौ. ध. सू. I. 10. 18-19; the verse in the शुक्लकण्डिका (IX) 'अयं हि पातको विप्रो न वध्यो मनुजैर्वीतु । राज्ञादस्मात्तु निर्धार्यो विभवेक्षतेः सह ॥' pointedly refers to मनु 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 of 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 Śaṅkha³¹⁵ 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. on³¹⁶ Yāj. II. 302 quotes a verse of Manu (not found in the extant Manusmṛiti) 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. also³¹⁷ (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. Kātyāyana³¹⁸ (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. त्रयाणां वर्णानां धनापहरवधवन्धक्रिया विवासनाङ्ककरणं ब्राह्मणस्य । शङ्ख
quoted by the Mit. on ya. II. 270.

316. ब्राह्मणस्य पुनः 'न शरीरो ब्राह्मणे दण्डः' इति निषेधादधस्थाने शिरोमुण्डनादिकं
कर्तव्यम् । ब्राह्मणस्य वधो मोक्षं पुराजिर्वासनाङ्कने । ललाटे चाभिगस्ताङ्कः प्रयाणं गर्दभेन
वृ ॥' इति मनुस्मृत्यात् । मितो on ya II. 302; the latter half is नारद (साहस 10),
the first half being शिरसो मुण्डनं दण्डस्तस्य निर्वासनं पुरात् ।

317. सर्वापराधेष्वपि द्वितीयो ब्राह्मणः । तस्याभिगस्ताङ्को ललाटे स्याद्व्यवहारपतनाय ।
स्तेये श्वा सुरापाने मद्यस्त्रजः । ब्राह्मणं पापकर्माणमुद्धृत्य दण्डकृतमणय । कुर्याज्जिविषयं
राजा वासयेदाकरेषु वा ॥ कौटिल्य's अर्थशास्त्र IV. 8

318. तथा च कात्यायनः । गर्भस्य पतने स्तेनो ब्राह्मण्यो शस्त्रपातने । अशुभं योषितं
हत्वा हन्तव्यो ब्राह्मणोऽपि हि ॥ कात्या. quoted by विश्वरूप on ya. II. 281.

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 *Mṛcchakatika* (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.³¹⁹ 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

319. Vide Pollock and Maitland's 'History of English Law' (1895) vol. I. pp. 424-440 and Holdsworth's History of English Law 4th Ed.) vol. I. pp. 615-616, vol. III. pp. 294-302 for the history of the doctrine.

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 prāyaścittas 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 prāyaścittas (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. तस्य "चेष्टाञ्जमतिप्रवर्तेन । राजानं गमयेत् । राजा पुरोहितं धर्मार्थकुरालम् । स ब्राह्मणास्त्रियुक्त्यात् । बलविशेषेण वधदास्यवर्जं नियमैरपशीषयेत् ॥ आप. ध. सू. II. 5. 10 14-18.

321. अथातो दक्षिणानाम् । मध्यं प्रति राज्ञस्य यद्वन्यभूमेञ्च ब्राह्मणस्य च वितात् । शतपथ XIII. 6. 2. 18.

322. अकरः श्रोत्रियः । आप. ध. सू. II. 10 26. 10. ; राजा तु धर्मेणाहुशसत् षष्ठं धनस्य हरेत् । अन्यत्र ब्राह्मणात् । वसिष्ठ I. 42-43 ; ब्राह्मणेभ्यः करादानं न कुर्यात् । ते हि राज्ञो धर्मकारकाः । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र III. 26-27.

not recover taxes from brāhmaṇas'. Kaut.³²³ (II. 1) requires the king to make gifts of *brahmadeya* lands to *ṛatriks* (who officiate at solemn sacrifices), teachers, purohitas, śrotriyas, 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.³²⁴ (I. 44-46) explains '(freedom from taxation is there) because he (the king) secures the sixth part of the iṣṭāpūrta (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 śrotriya 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 Kālidāsa³²⁵ '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 śrotriyas, 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 śūdra 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.)³²⁶ exempts from taxation the king's servants, helpless

323. ऋत्विगाचार्य-पुरोहित-ओत्रियेभ्यो ब्रह्मदेयान्यदण्डकराण्याभिर्हृदयकानि प्रयच्छेत् । कौटिल्य II. 1.

324. इष्टापूरतस्य तु षष्ठमंशं भजतीति ह । ब्राह्मणो वेदमाह्वं करोति ब्राह्मण आपदंश्चरति तस्माद् ब्राह्मणोनाथः । सोमोस्य राजा भवतीति ह । प्रत्य चाशुद्धयिकमिति ह विज्ञायते । वसिष्ठ I. 44-46; compare the passage from the Śatapatha quoted above in note 313.

325. यदुत्तिष्ठति वर्णेभ्यो द्रुपाणां क्षयितत्फलम् । तपःषड्भागमक्षयं ददत्यारण्या हि नः ॥ शाकुन्तल II. 13

326. अकरः ओत्रियो राजपुमानर्थायमजितबालवृद्धतृणमजाताः । वसिष्ठ 19. 23

persons, ascetics, minors, senile men (above 70), young men, and women who are recently delivered. Manu VIII. 394 contains a similar provision. Bṛhat-Parāśara³²⁷ (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 $\frac{1}{8}$ th of the produce just as others did. An inscription of Vikramāditya V. found near Gadag dated śake 934 (1012 A. D.) refers to taxes levied even on upanayana, marriages and vedic sacrifices (E. I. vol. XX, pp. 64 and 70). The Śāntiparva (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 brahmasama. Those brāhmaṇas who have studied the Rgveda, 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 śrotriya 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 brahmasama 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. ब्राह्मणस्तु कृषिं कुर्वन्वाहयेद्विड्या धराम् । न किञ्चित्कारय चिद्देवास्त सर्वस्य प्रभुर्यतः ॥ बृहत्पराशर III.

328. विद्यालक्षणसंपन्नाः सर्वत्र समदर्शिनः । एते ब्रह्मसमा राजन् ब्राह्मणाः परिकीर्तिताः ॥ कर्मयुक्तसामसंपन्नाः स्वेष्टे कर्मस्ववस्थिताः । एते देवसमा अश्रोत्रियाः सर्वे एव सर्वे चानाहिताश्रयः । तान् सर्वान् धार्मिको राजा बलिं विष्टिं च कारयेत् ॥ एतेभ्यो बलिमादद्याद्भूतकोशो भवीष्यति । ऋते ब्रह्मसमेभ्यश्च देवकल्पेभ्य एव च ॥ शान्तिपर्व 76. 2-3, 5, 9.

enumerate the other exactions of the same kind—the Tithes, Annates, Procurations, Subsidies and Dispensations.³²⁹

(6) In the matter of treasure trove 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 śrotṛiyas or brāhmaṇas. Vide Gautama³³⁰ 28. 39-40, Vas. Dh. S. 17. 84-87, Baud. 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 śrotṛiya—Gaut. VI. 21-22. Āp. adds that one carrying³³² a burden should be given precedence and all who desire their own welfare should

329. Vide Dean Inge in 'Christian Ethics' chap. IV pp. 160-161 for the enormous greed of the Romish Church.

330. ओत्रिया ब्राह्मणस्यानपत्यस्य रिक्तं भजेरन् । राजतरेषाम् । गौतम 28. 39-40 ; न तु ब्राह्मणस्य राजा हरेत् । ब्रह्मस्वं तु विषं योरम् । न विषं विषमित्याहुर्ब्रह्मस्वं विषमुच्यते । विषमेकाकिनं हन्ति ब्रह्मस्वं पुत्रपौत्रकमिति । त्रैविद्यसाधुस्यः संयच्छेत् । वसिष्ठ 17. 84-87.

331. परिवर्द्धाणि वा ओत्रियद्वयं न राजगामि । राज्ञः quoted in वि. र. p. 598.

332. चक्रिदशमीस्थोऽष्टग्राह्यवधूस्नातकराजस्यः पथो दानम् । राजा तु ओत्रियाय । गौतम VI. 21-22; राजाः पन्था ब्राह्मणेनासमेत्य । समेत्य तु ब्राह्मणस्यैव पन्थाः । यानस्य भाराम्नि-निहितस्यातुरस्य श्रिया इति सर्वेर्दातव्यः । धर्ज्यायसां चेतैरेवर्जैः । अशिष्टपतितमत्तोन्म-तानामात्मिस्वस्त्यधनार्थेन सर्वैरेव दातव्यः । आप. ध. सू. II. 5. 11. 5-9 ; अन्धस्य पन्था बधिरस्य पन्थाः श्रियः पन्था भारवाहस्य पन्थाः । राज्ञः पन्था ब्राह्मणेनासमेत्य समेत्य तु ब्राह्मणस्यैव पन्थाः ॥ वनपर्व 133. 1 ; पन्था देवो ब्राह्मणाय गोम्यो राजस्य एव च । वृद्धाय भारतसाय गमिष्ये दुर्बलस्य च । अलुशासन 104. 25-26. This is almost the same as चौ. ध. सू. II. 3. 57 (which reads गवे राज्ञे ह्यचक्षुषे); the latter half of Vana-parva 133. 1 is the same as Āp. Dh. S. II. 11. 5. 5-6. Vide राज्ञः 'अथ ब्राह्मणायाश्च पन्था देवो राजा इत्येके । तच्चागिदं शुभस्यैव ब्रह्मणो राजानमतिशेते तस्मै पन्थाः ।' quoted by the mita. on या. I. 117.

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 (Vanaparva 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. Śāṅkha (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 Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa (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 kārṣāpaṇas 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 *brahmahatyā* (killing a brāhmaṇa) was looked upon as the greatest sin. The Tai. S.³²² (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 *brahmahatyā* by killing Viśvarūpa and how all beings ran him down as ' brahmahan '. 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

323. अपि वैतेन ब्रह्महत्यामन्तर्यं सर्वं पाप्मानं तरति तरति ब्रह्महत्यां योष्वमेधेन यजते ॥ तै. सं. V. 3. 12. 1-2. The words सर्वं यजते are quoted by Gaut. 19. 9. 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 *bhrūṇahatyā*.³³⁴ 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 digests³³⁵ 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 *himsā* (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=Matsyapurāṇa 227. 115-117=Vṛddha-Hārīta IX. 349-350) says 'one may surely kill without hesitation a man who comes down upon one as an *ātātāyin*³³⁶ (a desperate character or violent man), whether he be a teacher, a child or an old man or a learned brāhmaṇa. In killing an *ātātāyin*, 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 *ātātāyin* 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 *ātātāyin*. 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 śākhā up to sūtra and *pravacana* (bhāṣya?); 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. 23 gives two meanings to it.

335. Vide Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 222 and the Mit. on Yāj II. 21, Aparārka pp. 1042-44, Sm. C. (Vyavahāra pp. 313-15.).

336. 'Ātātāyin' literally means 'one who goes with his bow strung (i. e. ready to kill or fight). Śiva is called *ātātāyin* in Vāj. S. 16. 18 and Kāṭhaka-saṃhitā 17. 12.

an ātatāyin comēs (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 brāhmaṇa-murderer. If a person kills one who has studied the Veda and who is born of a good family, because the latter is an ātatāyin, he does not thereby become a brāhmaṇa-murderer as in that case fury meets fury.³³⁷ In the Śāntiparva (34. 17 and 19)³³⁸ we have similar verses 'If a brāhmaṇa 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 brāhmaṇa ātatāyin 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 brāhmaṇa who fights like a kṣatriya, it is a settled rule that he does not incur the sin of brāhmaṇa-murder. Śānti (22. 5-6) is to the same effect. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (V. 191-192) speaks of seven persons as ātatāyin 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 back-biter and informs the king, one who violates or assaults another's wife.' The Matsyapurāṇa (227. 117-119) is practically to the same effect. Sumantu as quoted by the Mīt. (on Yāj. II. 21) and by Aparārka (p. 1043) 'says 'there is no sin in killing an ātatāyin except a cow or a brāhmaṇa'.³³⁹ This implies that a brāhmaṇa even if an ātatāyin should not be killed, but if he be killed sin is incurred. Kātyāyana³⁴⁰ (quoted in the Sm. C. and other digests) declares that one should not kill a brāhmaṇa who is eminent by reason of his *tapas*, Vedic study and birth, even though he be an ātatāyin; Bhṛgu allows killing when the offender is of a lower caste than that of brāhmaṇa'. Bṛhaspati³⁴¹ also says that he who would not kill a brāhmaṇa ātatāyin

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. मयुष्मन् शस्त्रमायान्तमपि वेदान्तं रणे । जिघांसन्तं जिघांसीयाञ्च तेन न हृदा भवेत् ॥ शान्ति 34. 17.

339. नाततायिवन्ने दोषोऽन्यत्र गोजाह्मणात् । सुमन्तु in मित्ता. on या. II. 21.

340. आततायिनि चोत्कृष्टे तपःस्वाध्यायजन्मतः । वधस्तत्र तु नैव स्यात्पि हीने यधो मयुः ॥ कात्यायन in स्मृतिच० (व्यवहार P. 315)

341. आततायिनमुत्कृष्टं वृत्तस्वाध्यायसंयुतम् । यो न हृद्यादधमासं सोऽप्यनेकफलं लभेत् । बृहस्पति quoted in स्मृतिच० (व्य. p. 315)

deserving to be killed for his violence would obtain the merit of an *Aśvamedha* 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 *ātatāyin*, or who kills a *brāhmaṇa* (not an *ātatāyin* 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 *ātatāyin*, 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 *ātatāyins* (then what of others?). The final conclusion of the *Mit.* is that if a *brāhmaṇa* who is an *ātatāyin* 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 *ātatāyin* *brāhmaṇa* and verses like *Manu* VIII. 351 refer to an *ātatāyin* 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 *ātatāyins* may be killed when it is impossible to save oneself even by fleeing from them'. *Aparārka* is of opinion³⁴⁴

342. आततायिसंश्रामस्यतिरेकेण यो ब्राह्मणमन्येनाप्रयुक्तः स्वातन्त्र्येण हन्वाद्, अन्यं वा द्रव्यदानादिना वशीकृत्य धातयति स प्रत्येतस्यः । यस्तु धनक्रीतः परप्रयुक्तो हन्वात् तस्य स्वाभिगामित्वात्क्रियाफलानामृत्विजामिव ब्रह्महत्याजन्यफलसंभवो नास्त्येव । विश्वरूप on *या.* III. 222.

343. नाततायिवधे दोषो हन्तुर्भवति कश्चनत्येतदपि ब्राह्मणादित्यतिरिक्तविषयमेव । अतश्च ब्राह्मणाद्य आततायिनश्च आत्मादित्राणार्थं हिंसानभिसंधिना निवार्यमाणाः प्रमादाद्यदि विपक्षस्तत्र लघु प्रायश्चित्तं राजदण्डाभावश्चेति निश्चयः । मिता० on *या.* II. 21.

344. तद्व्यापारनिवारणं च यत्र वधप्रकारेण न संभवति तत्रैव तद्व्याख्या । यत्र तु दण्डशस्त्रादिप्रहारमात्रेणैव शक्यो निवारयितुं तत्र तु तद्वधो दोषनिमित्तमेव । अपारर्क on *या.* III. 227 p. 1043.

that where an ātatāyin 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 ātatāyin 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 ātatāyin (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 ātatāyin may be killed outright. The Vyavahāra-Mayūkha³⁴⁵ adds a rider that, on account of the prescription contained in the section on kalivarjya (actions forbidden in the Kali age) viz. 'the killing in a properly conducted fight of brāhmaṇas that are ātatāyin' (is forbidden in Kali), an ātatāyin 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 ātatāyin brāhmaṇa other than one bent upon killing another was not be killed in all ages. The Viramitrodaya (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.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 pitṛs 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

345. किं च 'आततायिद्विजागन्त्यानां धर्मयुद्धेन हितं नम्' इति कलौ वधोद्यतस्याततायिनो निमर्य हननं निषिद्धम्। व्यवहारमयूख p. 242; for कलिवर्ज्य texts vide Appendix.

346. योऽप्यशुरैः शतेन यातयाद्यो निहन्तु सहस्रेण यातयाद्यो लोहितं कारवद्यावतः प्रसक्त्य पांचश्रु संश्रुद्धीयात् तावतः संवत्सरात् पितृलोकं न प्रजानादिति। तस्मात् नाह्मणाय नापशुरेन न निहन्त्या लोहितं कुर्यात्। तै. सं. II. 6. 10. 1-2.

similar³⁴⁷ 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 puruṣārtha.

(11) For certain offences a brāhmaṇa received lesser punishment than members of other classes. For example, Gaut. says³⁴⁸ 'if a kṣatriya reviled a brāhmaṇa the fine was one hundred (kārṣāpaṇas), if a vaiśya did so it was 150; but if a brāhmaṇa reviled a kṣatriya 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 (vākparuṣya 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 fined³⁴⁹ eight, a vaiśya 16 and a kṣatriya 32, a brāhmaṇa was fined 64, 100 or 128. Vide Gaut. 21. 12-14 and Manu VIII. 337-338.

(12) According to Gaut.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 (ṛṇādāna verse 158) lays down that³⁵¹ 'śrotriya, 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, Viṣṇu Dh. S. VIII. 2 also forbid citing a śrotriya as a witness.

347. अभिकुद्धावगोरणं ब्राह्मणस्य वर्षशतमस्ववर्गम् । निधाते सहस्रम् । लोहितदशने यावत्तत्त्वस्वकथ पाँसुर संयुक्तीयात् । गौतम 22. 20-22.

348. शतं क्षत्रियो ब्राह्मणाकोशे । अर्धवर्षं वैश्यः । ब्राह्मणस्तु क्षत्रिये पञ्चाशत् । तदर्थं वैश्ये । न शूद्रे किञ्चित् । गौतम 21. 6-10.

349. अष्टापाद्यं स्तेयकिलिषं शूद्रस्य । द्विगुणोत्तराणीतिरेषां प्रतिवर्णम् । विदुषोऽतिक्रमे दण्डसूयस्त्वम् । गौतम 21. 12-14

350. ब्राह्मणस्त्वब्राह्मणवचनादनुवरोध्योऽनिश्चयश्चेत् । गौ. XIII. 4.

351. ओत्रियास्तापसा वृद्धा ये च भ्रजिता नराः । असाक्षिणस्ते वचनान्न हेतुवद्वदन्तः ॥ नारद (ऋणादान 158).

(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.³⁵² But it has to be noted that the Rājasūya sacrifice could be performed only by kṣatriyas and that according to Jaimini VI. 6. 24-26 even brāhmaṇas of Bhṛgu, Śunaka and Vasistha 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 kṣatriyas, 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.³⁵³

Several other lesser privileges are enumerated by Nārada (prakīrṇaka, 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 pass³⁵⁴ 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 theft³⁵⁵ 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. सत्राणि ब्राह्मणानामुत्तिष्ठन्ते । कात्या. श्रौ. I. 6. 13 ; so also Jaimini VI. 6. 16-23 for सत्रस and VI. 6. 24-26 for the proposition that ब्राह्मणस of भृगु, शुनक and वसिष्ठ gotras were not entitled to perform सत्रस.

353. सर्वेषामेव वर्णानां मृतके मृतके तथा । दशाहो-च्छिरेतयामिति शाततपोऽ-मवीत् ॥ अङ्गिरसू in मितान् on या. III. 22.

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

355. Vide आप. घ. सू. I. 10. 23. 3, मनु VIII. 339, या. II. 166.

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 śūdra :

(1) He was not allowed to study the Veda. Many of the smṛtikāras and writers of digests³⁵⁶ quote several Vedic passages on this point. A śruti text reads '(The Creator) created the brāhmaṇa with Gāyatrī (metre), the rājanya with Triṣṭubh, the vaiśya with Jagatī, but he did not create the śūdra with any metre; therefore the śūdra 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 classes³⁵⁷ '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 śūdra not to study the Veda, but Veda study was not to be carried on in his presence (vide note 75 above).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.

356. गायत्र्या ब्राह्मणमसृजत त्रिष्टुभा राजन्यं जगत्या वैश्यं न केनचिच्छन्दसा शूद्र-
मित्यसंस्कार्यो विज्ञायते । वसिष्ठ IV. 3, quoted by अपरार्क p. 23 who quotes
यम 'न केनचित्समसृजच्छन्दसा तं प्रजापतिः ।'

357. वसन्ते ब्राह्मणमुपनयीत ग्रीष्मे राजन्यं शरदि वैश्यमिति । This is the basis
of Jaimini VI. 1. 33 and is relied on by Śabara. Vide Āp. Dh. S. I. 1.1.6.

358. अथापि यमगीताऽश्लोकास्तदाहरन्ति । इमंशानमेतत्पत्यक्षं ये शूद्राः पादचरिणः ।
तस्माच्छूद्रसमीपे तु नाश्नेतव्यं कदाचन ॥ वसिष्ठ 18. 13. Vide गौ. 16. 18-19, आप.
ध. सू. I. 3. 9. 9 (इमंशानवच्छूद्रपतितौ), या. I. 148, आदिपर्व 64. 20.

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 Pautrāyaṇa and Raikva where the latter addresses Jānaśruti as *śūdra* and imparts to him the *Samvarga* (absorption) *vidyā*.³⁵⁹ 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 *Vedāntasūtra*³⁶⁰ (I. 3. 34) the word *śūdra* is explained not as referring to the class, but as meaning that sorrow (*śuc*) 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 *śuc* and *dru*). But this far-fetched explanation had to be given because of the practice current in the times of the *Vedāntasūtras* 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 ' ³⁶¹.

Though the *śūdra* could not study the Veda, he was not debarred from hearing the *itihāsas* (like the *Mahābhārata*) and the *Purāṇas*. The ³⁶² *Mahābhārata* (Śānti 328. 49) expressly says that the four *varṇas* should hear the *Mahābhārata* through a *brāhmaṇa* as reader. The *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*³⁶³ says that as the three *Vedas* cannot be learnt by women, *śūdras* and *brāhmaṇas* (who are so only by birth), the sage (*Vyāsa*) composed the story of the *Bhārata* out of compassion for them. The *Śūdrakamalakāra*³⁶⁴ (pp. 13-14) cites several passages from the *purāṇas*

359. तस्य ह परः प्रत्युवाचाह हारेत्वा श्रुतं तत्रैव सह गोभिरारित्वाति । *छान्दोग्य* IV. 2. 3.

360. श्रुतस्य तदनादरवशात्तदोद्भवणात्सूच्यते हि । *वेदान्तसूत्र* I. 3. 34 ; vide *श्रुतपुराण* vol. I. 8. 158 where this derivation is followed.

361. अथ हार्य वेदमुपलप्यतश्च पुनस्तुभ्यां श्रोत्रपुराणमुदाहरणे जिह्वाच्छेदो धारणे शरीरभेदः । गौतम 12. 4 ; vide *मुच्छकटिक* IX. 21. ' वेदार्थान् माकृतस्त्वं वदसि न च ते जिह्वा निपतिता । '

362. आवयेच्छतुरो वर्णां कृत्वा ब्राह्मणमग्रतः । शान्तिपर्व 328. 49 ; vide also *आदिपर्व* 62. 22, and 95. 87.

363. श्रीश्रुतद्विजयन्धूनां त्रयी न श्रुतिगोचरा । इति भारतमाख्यानं सुनिना कृपया कृतम् ॥ भागवत I. 4. 25 ; vide *त्रिकाण्डमथन* IV. 28 ब्रह्मव्याकरणे कृत्वा कृत्वा वै पाचके हविः । शालग्रामशिलां स्पृष्ट्वा श्रुदो गच्छत्यधोगतिम् ॥

364. तस्मिन् श्रुतस्य विमहारा पुराणश्रवणेन ज्ञानमिति । श्रुतकाम. p. 17 ; *पुराण-अवर्ण विभा.* रसिहरेषु पूजयन् । *सुसिद्धपुराण* I. 58. 13.

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 Manusmṛti (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 is³⁶⁵ explained as meaning that the śūdra should follow the procedure prescribed in the gṛhyasūtra of the Vājasaneyi Śākhā and a brāhmaṇa should repeat the mantra for him. This is probably based on the Harivaṁśa (Bhaviṣyat-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 ' bhoḥ ' in address " (sarve brahma vadisyanti sarve Vājasaneyinaḥ).

(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 *sāmans* to be sung, about the food to be taken when observing vrata.³⁶⁶ It is however interesting to note that at least one ancient teacher (Bādari)³⁶⁷ was found who advocated that

365. तेन ब्राह्मणेन तत्र मन्त्रः पठनीय इति तात्पर्यम् । तत्र यजुर्वेदिको मन्त्रः । तथा स्मृतिः । आर्षक्रमेण सर्वत्र शूद्रा वाजसनेयिनः । अस्मान्छूद्रः स्वयं कर्म यजुर्वेदीन कारयेत् ॥ आर्षक्रमेण शुश्रूक्षक्रमेण यजुर्वेदिसंचरन्त्यगृह्यादिना । शूद्रकृत्यतत्त्व (p. 634). The वर्षाक्रियाकौमुदी (p. 575) quotes the words शूद्रा वाजसनेयिनः as from कूर्मपुराण; while शूद्रकर्म. p. 51 says शूद्रा वाजसनेयिन इति गौडनिषधे दक्षोक्तेः ।

366. वसन्ते ब्राह्मणोऽग्नीनादधीत ऋग्ने राजन्यः शरदि वैश्यः । पयो व्रतं ब्राह्मणस्य यवाश्च राजन्यस्य आमिक्षा वैश्यस्य । These are the vedic texts relied upon by Jaimini (I. 3. 25-38) and Śabara.

367. निमित्तार्थेन वादरिस्तस्मात्सर्वाधिकारं स्यात् । जै I. 3. 27.

even sūdras could perform Vedic sacrifices. The Bhāradvāja Śrauta sūtra³⁶⁸ (V. 2.8) states the opinion of some that the sūdra can consecrate the three sacred Vedic fires. The Kātyāyana-śrautasūtra (I. 4. 5) prescribes that all can perform Vedic rites except those who are deficient in a limb, who are not learned in the³⁶⁹ Veda, who are impotent and sūdras; but the commentary thereon states by way of pūrvapakṣa that there are certain Vedic texts which lead to the inference that the Sūdra 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 Haviṣkṛt call "Now there are four different forms of this call, viz. 'Come hither' (ehi) in the case of a brāhmaṇa; 'approach' (āgahi) and 'hasten hither' (ādrava) in the case of a vaiśya and a member of the military caste and 'run hither' (ādhāva) in that of a sūdra." Similarly in the Somayāga in place of the payovrata (vow to drink milk only) *mastu* (whey) is prescribed for sūdra (indicating thereby that the sūdra 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 vaiśya up to the thighs, for a sūdra up to the knee'. The commentary on the Kātyāyana Śrauta I. 1.6 says that the word sūdra here stands for rathakāra because (acc. to Yāj, I. 91) his mother's mother is a sūdra woman.

Though the sūdra 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

368. विद्यते चतुर्थस्य वर्णस्याग्न्याधेयमित्येके न विद्यत इत्यपरम् । भारद्वाजश्रौतसूत्र V. 2. 8. (Journal of Vedic studies, Lahore, vol I for Sep. 1934).

369. अङ्गहीनाश्रितयथपण्डसूद्रवर्जम् । कात्या. श्रौ. सू. I. 4. 5; com. आधावेति सूद्रस्य मस्तु सूद्रस्येति सोमे पयोव्रतस्थाने । अष्टीवद्द्रव्यं सूद्रस्येति पितृमेवे । The first is śat. p. I. 1. 4. 12 and the last is śat. p. XIII. 8. 3. 11.

370. इष्टापूर्वो द्विजातीनां सामान्यौ धर्मसाधनौ । अधिकारी भवेच्छूद्रः पूतधर्मे न वैदिके ॥ अत्रि verse 46; लघुशङ्ख verse 6; अपरार्क p. 24 'वापिकृपतडागादि देवता-यतनानि च । अजप्रदानभारामः पूतमित्यभिधीयते ॥ ग्रहोपरामे यद्दानं सूर्यसंक्रमणेण च । द्वावपरादौ च यद्दानं पूतमित्यभिधीयते ॥ The first verse is quoted from the महाभारत and the second from जातुकार्य.

in the ordinary fire, he could perform śrāddha, he was to think of the devatās and utter loudly the word 'namaḥ' which was to be the only mantra in his case (i. e. he was not to say 'Agnaye svāhā' but to think of Agni and say³⁷¹ 'namaḥ'). Manu X. 127 prescribes that all religious rites for the śūdra are without (Vedic) mantras. According to some the śūdra could also have what is called Vaivāhika fire (i. e. fire kindled at the time of marriage) in Manu III 67 and Yāj. I. 97, but M. nātithi (on the same verse), the Mit. (on Yāj. I. 121), the Madanapārijāta (p. 231) and other works say that he should offer oblations in the ordinary fire and that there is no Vaivāhika fire for the śūdra. All persons including the śūdras and even cāṇḍālas were authorized to repeat the Rāmamantra of 13 letters (Śrī Rāma jaya Rāma jaya jaya Rāma) and the Śiva mantra of five letters (namaḥ Śivāya), while dvijātis could repeat the Śiva mantra of six letters (Om namaḥ 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 Pāñcarātra texts and of Śiva, the Sun, Śakti and Vināyaka. The Varāhapurāṇa (128. 22-31) describes the initiation (dikṣā) 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

371. अशुद्धातोऽस्य नमस्कारो मन्त्रः । पाकयज्ञैः स्वयं यजेतेत्येके । गौ. 10. 66-67 ; पञ्चयज्ञविधानं तु श्रुत्स्वयं विधीयते । तस्य ओक्तो नमस्कारः कुर्वन्निष्यं न हीयते ॥ लघुब्रिह्म V. 9 ; दानं च दद्याच्छुद्धोपि पाकयज्ञैर्यजेत च । पित्र्यादिकं च वै सर्वं शुद्धः कुर्वीत तेन वै ॥ विष्णुपुराण III. 8. 33. ; स्वाहाकारवचनकारौ मन्त्रः शुद्धे न विद्यते । तस्माच्छुद्धः पाकयज्ञैर्यजेततवान् स्वयम् ॥ शान्तिपर्व 60. 37-38; या. I. 121 'भार्यारतिः शुचिर्भूय-मर्ता आर्द्धक्रियारतः । नमस्कारेण मन्त्रेण पञ्च यज्ञान् हापयेत् ॥' on which the *mita* gives the view of some that the namaskāra mantra is 'देवताभ्यः पितृभ्यश्च महायोगिभ्य एव च । नमः स्वहायै स्वाहायै नित्यमेव नमो नमः ॥' मेधा. (on मनु III. 121 सायं त्वक्षस्य सिद्धस्य पत्न्यमन्त्रं बलिं हरेत् ।) remarks यथा शुद्धो नमस्कारश्चक्षारयति अशुद्धातो मन्त्र इति (गौ. X. 66) इति नमस्कारेण प्रत्याम्नातः शुद्धस्य मन्त्र इति नमस्कारोऽशुद्धातोऽस्य न देवतापदम् ॥. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. 21. 20 says about sapindī-kāraṇa śrāddha that it may be performed for śūdras on the 12th day (from death) without mantras 'मन्त्रवर्जं हि शुद्धार्णं द्वादशोऽङ्गि ।'

should not impart religious instruction to him nor ask him to perform *vratas*. Laghuviṣṇu³⁷² (I. 15) contains the dictum that the *śūdra* is devoid of any *samskāra*. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 262 explains the words of Manu IV. 80 about *vratas* in the case of *śūdras* as applicable only to those *śūdras* who are not attendance upon members of the three higher castes and establishes that *śūdras* can perform *vratas* (but without *homa* muttering of *mantras*). Aparārka on the same verse (Manu IV. 80) explains that the *śūdra* cannot perform *vratas* in person, but only through the medium of a *brāhmaṇa*. The *Śūdrakamalākara* (p. 38) holds that *śūdras* are entitled to perform *vratas*, *fasts*, *mahādānas* and *prāyaścittas*, but without *homa* and *japa*. Manu X. 127 allows religious *śūdras* 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 *samskāras* may be performed for *śūdras* but without Vedic *mantras*. Yama quoted in Sm. C. (I. p. 14) says the same. Veda-Vyāsa (I. 17) prescribes that ten *samskāras* (viz. *garbhādhāna*, *pūṃsavana*, *śimantonnayana*, *jātakarma*, *nāmakaraṇa*, *niṣkramaṇa*, *annaprāśana*, *caula*, *kārṇavedha* and *vivāha*) can be performed in the case of *śūdras*, but without Vedic *mantras*. Haradatta (on Gautama X. 51) quotes a *grhyakāra* to the effect that even in the case of the *śūdra* the rites of *niṣeka*, *pūṃsavana*, *śimantonnayana*, *jātakarma*, *nāmakaraṇa*, *annaprāśana* and *caula* are allowed but without Vedic *mantras*. When Manu prescribes (II. 32) that the *śūdra* should be given a name connected with service, he indicates that the *śūdra* could perform the ceremony of *nāmakaraṇa*. So when Manu (IV. 80) states that he deserves no *samskāra*, what he means is that no *samskāra* 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 *śūdra* is a friend of the family of a *brāhmaṇa* friendly advice or instruction can be given. Vide *Śūdrakamalākara* p. 47 for several views about the *samskāras* allowed to *śūdras*.

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

372. अथर्ववेदो वर्णस्तु सर्वसंस्कारवर्जितः । उक्तस्तस्य तु संस्कारो द्विजेष्वारभनिवेदनम् ॥ लघुविष्णु I. 15.

higher castes, Gaut.³⁷³ (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. Vaṣ. Dh. S. 21. 1. Manu VIII. 366 prescribe death in the case of a śūdra having intercourse with a brāhmaṇa woman whether she was willing or unwilling. On the other hand, if a brāhmaṇa committed rape 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 śūdra woman, who was not guarded, he was fined five hundred (Manu VIII. 385). Similarly in the case of *Vākpuruṣya* (slander and libel) if a śūdra 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 śūdra, the brāhmaṇa was fined only 12 (Manu VIII. 268) or nothing (acc. to Gaut. XII. 10). In the case of theft, however, the śūdra 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 śūdra 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 śūdra 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 śūdra. Kātyāyana (as quoted

373. आर्यस्यमिममने लिङ्गोद्धारः स्वरूपं च । गोता चेद्वयोधिकः । गौतम 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—*uterque 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 Mīt. 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 śūdra as judge.

(7) A brāhmaṇa was not allowed to receive gifts from a śūdra 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 śūdra except when the śūdra 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 (= Viṣṇu 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 śūdra should not be eaten by a brāhmaṇa;' but Āpastamba allows śūdras 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 śūdra to a brāhmaṇa and by IV. 223 he laid down that a learned brāhmaṇa should not take cooked food from a śūdra who did not perform śrāddha and other daily rites (mahāyajñas) but that he may take from such a śūdra 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 (śūdras). Gradually rules about taking food from śūdras became stricter. The Śaṅkhaśmṛti (13. 4) remarks that brāhmaṇas fattened on the food given by śūdras are *Paṅktidūṣaka*. Parāśara ³⁷⁷ XI. 13 ordains that a brāhmaṇa may take from a śūdra ghee, oil, milk, molasses and food fried in oil or ghee, but should eat it on a river bank and not in the śūdra's house and the Par. M. adds

374. ब्राह्मणो यत्र न स्यात् क्षत्रियं तत्र योजयेत् । वैश्यं वा धर्मशास्त्रज्ञं शूद्रं यत्नेन धर्जयेत् ॥ कार्यायन (quoted by मिता० on या. I. 3)

375. अशस्तानां स्वकर्मक्षु द्विजातीनां ब्राह्मणो भुञ्जीत । ...पशुपोलक्षेत्रकर्षककुलसंगत-कारिविदुपरिचारका भोजयाक्षाः । यौतम 17. 1 and 6.

376. अमयतेन तु शूद्रेणोपहृतमभोज्यम् । आप. घ. सू. I. 5. 16. 23; आर्याचिह्नितो वा शूद्रोः संस्कारः स्युः । आप. घ. सू. II. 2. 3. 4.

377. घृतं तैलं तथा क्षीरं छटं तैलेन पाचितम् । गत्वा नदीं तत्रे विभो शुभ्रावाहू-भोजनम् ॥ पराशर XI. 13 and 'एतच्च क्षत्रियादिवर्णत्रयभोजनस्याप्युद्गमनं मार्गात्प्राप्त्यादौ पूर्ववर्णसिंभवे वेदितव्यम् । आपादि यावत् विना प्राणरक्षणं न भवति तावच्चक्षम्यउद्गमयेत् न तु ततोऽवि- ॥' एत. मा. II. part 1 pp. 411-12.

(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 kali-varjya (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 Anuśāsanaparva (59.33) it is said³⁷⁹ '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 smṛti texts 'a brāhmaṇa on touching a śūdra or niṣāda 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 Grhyasūtras³⁸⁰ 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. 'शूद्रेषु दासगोपालकुलनिर्धारसंनिभाय । भोज्याकामा युद्धैवेत्य' quoted in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका (I. p. 12), परा. मा. I. part 1 pp. 134-137 and the उद्गाहतेत्येव of रघुवंशेन.

379. दूतच्छूद्रेषोपचर्यो मातृणोश्चरित् जनलब्धः । संस्पृश्य परिचर्यस्य वैश्येन कनियेन च ॥ मातृणांस्तन 59. 33.

380. ०. ४. द्विष्ट्यकेतिशुद्धा I. 12. 18-20 'अथारौ पाचामिति माह । ते... भूयः शूद्रा वा पादौ शैवाल्यति सत्यमग्ने मातृणश्च वृत्तिः ॥ १२. १८-२०'.

himself says that one śūdra should wash the guest's feet and another should sprinkle him with water.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 read³⁸² 'I am a śūdra and so I have no right to resort to the four āśramas'. In the Śāntiparva³⁸³ (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.' Medhātithi 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. Yāj. III. 236 and Manu XI. 66 include the killing of a woman, a śūdra, a vaiśya and a kṣatriya among upapātakas; but the prāyaścittas and gifts prescribed for killing these show that the life of the śūdra was not worth much. On killing a kṣatriya, the prāyaścitta prescribed was brahmacarya for six years, gift of 1000 cows and a bull; for killing a vaiśya, brahmacarya for three years and gift of 100 cows and a bull; for killing a śūdra brahmacarya for one year, gift of 10 cows and a bull. Gaut. XXII. 14-16, Manu XI, 126-130, Yāj III. 266-267 say practically the same thing. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 9. 25. 14-I. 9. 26. 1) says that on killing a crow, a chameleon, a peacock, a cakravāka, flamingo, bhāsa, a frog, ichneumon, musk-rat, a dog, a cow and draught ox the prāyaścitta is the same as that for killing a śūdra. Manu (XI. 131) says 'on killing a cat, an ichneumon,

381. तस्य पादौ प्रक्षालयेच्छूद्रमिथुनावित्येको। अन्यतरोऽभिषेचने स्यात्। आप. घ. सू. II. 3. 6. 9-10.

382. शूद्रोऽहं नाधिकारो मे चातुराग्र्यसेवने। अनुशासनपर्व 165. 10.

383. शूद्रोः कृतकार्यस्य कृतसंतानकर्मणः। अथ्यनुज्ञातराजस्य शूद्रस्य जगतीपदे। अल्पान्तरगतस्यापि द्वादशमर्गतस्य वा। आश्रमा विहिताः सर्वे वर्जयित्वा निराभिषम्। सान्ति० 63. 12-14; सर्वे आश्रमोक्तं न कर्तव्याः किं तर्हि शूद्रव्यापत्तौत्यादयेन च सर्वाश्रमफलं लभते हि जगतीव शूद्रव्यापत्तौ बाह्यस्त्रयेण सर्वाश्रमफलं लभते परित्याजकफलं मोक्षं वर्जयित्वा। मेधा-तिथि on मनु. VI. 97.

cāsa, 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 *ksatriyas*. Even as to the latter many *śūdras* became kings and Kauṭṣ, 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

UNTOUCHABILITY

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,³⁸⁵ 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 *satyāgraha* 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 *carmamṇa* (a tanner of hides?) in the *Ṛgveda* (VIII. 5. 38), the *Cāṇḍāla* and *Paulkasa* occur in the *Vāj. S.*, the *Vapa* or *Vaptā* (barber) even in the *Rg.*, the *Vidalakāra* or *Bidalakāra* (corresponding to the *buruḍa* of the *smṛtis*) occurs in the *Vāj. S.* and the *Tai. Br.*, *Vāsahpalpūli* (washerwoman) corresponding to the *Rajaka* of the *smṛtis* in the *Vāj. S.* But there is no

385. Vide Westermarck's 'The Origin and Development of the moral ideas' vol. I. pp. 370-371 for the treatment of Bushmen in Africa and Australia and of Negroes in America. Vide 'Satyagraha in South Africa' by Mahatma Gandhi translated by Mr. Valji Govindji Desai (published by S. Ganesan, 1928).

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 *bībhatsā* (in Vaj. S. 30. 17) and Cāṇḍāla to Vāyu (in the Puruṣamedha), the Paulkasa lived in such a way as to cause disgust and the Cāṇḍāla 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 cāṇḍālas is in the Chāndogya Up.³⁸⁶ 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 brāhmaṇa, a kṣatriya or vaiśya, while those whose actions were low (reprehensible) quickly acquire birth in a low condition i. e. as a dog, or a boar or a cāṇḍāla. ' This occurs in Pañcāgnividya, the purpose of which is to teach *vairāgya* 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 varṇas were commended and that cāṇḍālas were looked upon as the lowest in the social scale. It is to be noticed that the śūdra varṇa does not occur in this passage at all. So probably even in the times of the Chāndogya the cāṇḍāla was looked upon as a śūdra, though lowest among the several śūdra subcastes. The cāṇḍāla is equated with the dog and the boar in this passage, but this leads hardly anywhere. It is no doubt stated in the Śat. Br. XII. 4. 1. 4³⁸⁷ 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 Pitṛs when offered in śrāddha (vide Manu III. 270 and Yāj. I. 259). Therefore this Upaniṣad passage does not say anything on the point whether the Cāṇḍāla was in its day untouchable. This passage may be compared with another in which the śūdra is said to be a walking

386. तद्य इह रमणीयचरणा अभ्याशो ह यत्ते रमणीयां योनिमापद्येरन् जाह्नवयोनिं वा क्षत्रिययोनिं वा वैश्ययोनिं वाथ य इह कपूयचरणा अभ्याशो ह यत्ते कपूयां योनिमापद्येरन् श्वयोनिं वा सुकरयोनिं वा चण्डालयोनिं वा । छान्दोग्य V. 10. 7. The Vedāntasūtra III. 1. 8-11 deals with this passage.

387. त्रयो ह त्वाव पशवोऽमेध्याः । दुर्वराह एतकः श्वा । तेषां यद्यधिभित्तेऽग्निहोत्रेऽन्वरेण कश्चित्सञ्चरेत्किं तत्र कर्म का तत्र भावश्चित्तिरिति । शतपथ XII. 4. 1. 4.

cemetery. If the śūdra 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 cāṇḍāla was untouchable in the remote ages. Another passage is relied upon by orthodox writers to support the theory that untouchability of cāṇḍālas 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 passage³⁸⁸ '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. Śaṅkara 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 *mlecchas* and not to cāṇḍālas who are not opposed to Vedic knowledge (but who have no *adhikāra* to learn it). Besides cāṇḍālas might stay outside the village, but they do not stay at the end of the quarters³⁸⁹ (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 एषा देवतैतासां देवतानां पाप्मानं सृष्टुमपद्यत्य यत्रासां विशामन्तस्तद्वन्-
यांचकार । तदासां पाप्मानो विन्यदयात्तस्माच्च जनिष्यान्नास्तमिषाज्ज्ञेत् पाप्मानं सृष्टुमन्ववा-
यान्ति । बृह. उ. I. 3. 10.

389. The *Mlecchas* were known to the Śat. Br. (III. 2. 1. 24 'tasmān na brāhmaṇo mlecchet). Vide Ait. Br. 33. 6 'antān vah. prajābhakṣiṣṭa' quoted above in note 118 for the meaning of 'disām antah'.

390. चतुर्थं एकजातिरेषु सूत्रे नस्ति तु पञ्चमः । मनु 10. 4 ; स्मृताश्च वर्णाश्चत्वारः
पञ्चमो नास्तिगम्यते । अनुशासन 47. 18.

to as the *pañcamas*,³⁹¹ that is something against the *smṛti* tradition. Pāṇ. II. 4. 10 and Patañjali³⁹² say that a *Samāhāradvandva* compound can be formed from several subdivisions of *sūdras* that are not *niravasita* e. g. we can have the compound 'takṣāyaskāram' meaning carpenters and blacksmiths, but not 'cāṇḍāla-mṛtapam', because *cāṇḍālas* and *mṛtapas* are *niravasita sūdras* (and so the compound will be 'cāṇḍālamṛtapāh'). Therefore it follows that Pāṇ. and Patañjali included *cāṇḍālas* and *mṛtapas* among *sūdras*. When Āṅgiras (note 171 above) includes *kṣatr*, *sūta*, *vaidehika*, *māgadha* and *āyogava* (that are *pratiloma* castes) among *antyāvasāyins* along with *cāṇḍāla* and *śvapaca*, he makes it clear that he regarded *cāṇḍālas* as included among *sūdras*, for Manu X. 41 declares that all *pratiloma* castes are similar to *sūdras* in their *dharma* and because the *Sāntiparva* 297.28³⁹³ expressly says that the *vaidehika* is called *sūdra* by learned *dvijas*. Gradually however, a distinction was made between *sūdras* and castes like *cāṇḍālas*. 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 *brāhmaṇa*-murder, theft of *brāhmaṇa*'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 *dharma*s. 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*

391. N. P. Dutt in 'Origin and growth of caste in India' vol. I. p. 105, (1931) speaks of 'Nishadas, chandalas and paulkasas as the fifth varṇa'.

392. Vide note 200 above for the quotation from the *Mahābhāṣya*.

393. अद्विजां तु सधर्माणाः सर्वेष्वप्यसजाः स्मृताः ॥ मनु X. 41; पैदेहिकं अमृष्टवा-
येति द्विजा मेघराज कुतोपपन्नाः । साहित्य 297. 28.

(p. 923) and Sm. C.³⁹⁴ (I. p. 118) quote verses from the *Ṣaṭ-triṃśan-mata* and *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* that 'on touching Baudddhas, Pāsupatas, Jainas, Lokāyatikas, Kāpilas (Sāṃkhyas) 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 Aparārka³⁹⁵ p. 923 quotes a verse of Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya that on touching cāṇḍālas, pukkasas, 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 disapproved avocations were untouchable e. g. Samvarta³⁹⁷ quoted

394. षड्विंशन्मतात् । बौद्धान् पाशुपतांश्चैव लोकायतिकानास्तिकान् । विकर्मस्थान् द्विजान् सृष्ट्वा सचेलो जलमाविशेत् ॥ अपरार्क p. 923, स्मृतिच. I. p. 118; मितान् on या. III. 30 quotes it as from ब्रह्माण्डपुराण (reading शैवान् for बौद्धान् and सृष्ट्वान् for सृष्ट्वा); vide वृद्धहारीत IX. 359, 363, 364 for bath on touching शैव and entering Baudddha or Śaiva temples; सृष्ट्वा देवलकं चैव सवासो जलमाविशेत् । quoted by मितान् on या. III. 30 and अपरार्क p. 923; शान्तिपर्व 76. 6 has 'आह्वयका देवलका नाक्षत्रा ग्रामयाजकाः । एते ब्राह्मणचाण्डाला महापायकपञ्चमाः ।'

395. चण्डालमुक्कसम्लेच्छमिष्टपारासिकादिकम् । महापातकिनश्चैव सृष्ट्वा स्नायात्सचैलकम् ॥ वृद्धपाज्ञवल्क्य quoted by अपरार्क p. 923.

396. च्यवनः । श्वानं श्वपाकं मेषधूमं देवद्वयोपजीविनं ग्रामयाजकं सोमविकपिणं यूपं चित्तिं चितिकांष्ट्रं शवसृष्टं रजस्वलां महापातकिनं शवं सृष्ट्वा सचेलमम्भोवगाह्योत्थीयौ द्विमुपसृष्ट्य गात्रपृष्ठशतं जयेष्टं घृतं मारय पुनः स्नात्वा त्रिराचमेत् । मितान् on या. III. 30 and अपरार्क p. 922.

397. कैवर्त-धृगयु-व्याघ-सौमिशाकुनिकानपि । रजकं च तथा सृष्ट्वा स्नात्वैवाशनं नाचरेत् ॥ संवर्त quoted by अपरार्क p. 1196.

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. Āp. 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. Āp. Dh. S. (II. 4. 9. 5) requires every house-holder to give food after Vaiśvadeva to all including cāṇḍālas, dogs and crows. And this practice is followed even now by those who perform Vaiśvadeva. 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 avocations 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 Dharma-sūtras 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 śūdra from a brāhmaṇa woman and that he is the most reprehensible among the pratilomas. Āp. Dh. S. II. 1. 2. 8-9³⁹⁸ 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 lumināries (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. Hārīta³⁹⁹ 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 (naṭa), 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 antyajās are included and it is expressly said that their touch is not so impure as to require a bath. Āṅgīras (verse 17) states that a *dvija* when he comes in contact with a washerman, a shoemaker, a dancer (naṭa), a fisherman or a worker in bamboo becomes pure by merely *ūcamana* (by

398. यथा चाण्डालोपस्पर्शने संभाषायां दर्शने च दोषस्तत्र भाष्यश्चित् । अवगाहनमपाद्युपस्पर्शने संभाषायां ब्राह्मणसंभाषणं दर्शने ज्योतिषां दर्शनम् । आप. ध. सू. II. 1. 2. 8-9.

399. हारितः । रजकश्चर्मकुञ्चैर्न व्यावजालोपजीविनौ । निर्गोजकः सौनिकश्च नदः शैल्यक्षस्तथा ॥ चक्री वज्जी वक्ष्यान्ती ग्राम्यकुक्कुदक्षकरो । एभिर्वदङ्गं स्पर्शं स्याच्छिरोवर्जं द्विजादिषु । तोयेन क्षालनं कृत्वा आचान्तिः मयता मताः । अपरार्क p. 279; the same verses are quoted as शांतिपर्व by स्मृतिच० I p. 119.

sipping water). The Nityācārapaddhati (p. 130) quotes a verse⁴⁰⁰ to the effect that even on coming in contact with cāṇḍālas 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 Bhadatau. 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 Bhadatau is not clear. Medhātithi⁴⁰¹ in his commentary on Manu X. 13 is positive that the only pratiloma who is untouchable is the cāṇḍāla and no bath is necessary on coming in contact with the other pratilomas (viz. sūta, māgadha, āyogava, vaidehika and ksatr). 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 cāṇḍālas, such authoritative and comparatively early commentators as Medhātithi (about 900 A. D.) were firmly of opinion that they were not untouchable. Manu⁴⁰² V. 85 and Āṅgīras 152 prescribe a bath for coming in bodily contact with a *divākīrti* (a cāṇḍāla), 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 *asprśya* according to Manu was the cāṇḍāla. 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 *dvijāti* had to bathe.⁴⁰³ Among the

400. विष्णुवालयसमापस्थान् विष्णुसेवार्थमागतान् । चाण्डालपुक्कसान्वापि स्थुष्टा न जानमाचरेत् ॥ quoted by नित्याचारपद्धति p. 130.

401. चाण्डाल एकः प्रतिलोमोऽसृश्यः । मेघा० on मनु X. 13. ; अतश्चाण्डाल एवैकः प्रतिलोमतः स्पर्शादौ निरस्यते । कुल्लूकः.

402. दिवाकीर्तिशुद्ध्यं च पतितं क्षतिकां तथा । श्वतत्स्थितिं चैव स्थुष्टा जानेन शुष्यति ॥ मनु V. 85 on which मेघा० says दिवाकीर्तिश्चाण्डालः न नापितस्तस्य स्थूष्यत्वाद्धोषाज्जवाच्च ।'

403. एकं कुक्कुदं काकं श्वशूदान्वावसायिनः । दृष्ट्वैतान् नाचरेत्कर्म स्थुष्टैतान्जानमान् चरेत् ॥ quoted by अपरार्क p. 1196.

earliest occurrences of the word *asprśya* (as meaning untouchables in general) is that in *Viṣṇu Dh. S. V. 104*; *Kātyāyana* also uses the word in that sense⁴⁰⁴. It will have been seen from the quotations above that *cāṇḍālas*, *mlecchas* and *Pārasikas* are placed on the same level as regards being *asprśya*. *Atri*⁴⁰⁵ (267-269) says 'if a *dvija* comes in contact with a *cāṇḍāla*, *patita*, *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 *Viṣṇu Dh. S. 22. 76* about talking with *mlecchas* and *cāṇḍālas*. But so far as *mlecchas* 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 *naṭa*, among the seven well-known *antyajas*, 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 *cāṇḍāla* was deemed to be polluting. *Manu V. 133* (which is nearly the same as *Viṣṇu 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 (*Mārķ. 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 *snātaka*, 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 *cāṇḍāla*. *Medhātithi* on *Manu V. 133* expressly says that 'shadow' means 'shadow of a *cāṇḍāla* and the like'. *Kullūka*, however, adds on *Manu IV. 130* that on account of the word 'ca' in that verse the shadow of *cāṇḍālas* 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

404. Vide *कात्यायनस्मृतिसारोद्धार* (ed. by me) verses 433, 783 that are quoted by the *भित्ति*. on *या. II. 99* and by *अपरार्क* p. 813.

405. चाण्डालं पतितं म्लेच्छं मद्यमाण्डं रजस्वलाम् । द्विजः स्पृष्ट्वा न शुचीत शुचानो यदि संस्पृशेत् । अतः परं न शुचीत त्यक्त्वा च ज्ञानमाचरेत् । अत्रि (आ-नृक्षाम ed.) verses 267-269.

a cāṇḍāla was impure and caused pollution. Not only so, Aparārka⁴⁰⁶ quotes a verse 'the shadow of a cāṇḍāla or patita, if it falls on a man, is not impure'. But Aparārka himself⁴⁰⁷ adds on this verse the comment that this favourable rule about the shadow of a cāṇḍāla or patita is applicable only if he is at a greater distance from a man than the length of a cow's tail. Bāṇa in his Kādambarī (para 8) describes how the cāṇḍāla 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 cāṇḍāla. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 30 quotes a verse of Vyāghrapāda that if a cāṇḍāla 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 Bṛhaspati to the effect 'a patita, a woman in her monthly period, a woman freshly delivered and a cāṇḍāla should be kept respectively at a distance of one yuga, two, three and four'. As yuga is four cubits, this means that a cāṇḍāla 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 cāṇḍālas. 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 cāṇḍālas, dogs and crows, are rendered pure by the mere blowing of the wind over them.⁴⁰⁹

406. चण्डालपतितच्छाया स्पर्शं कुष्टा तु नो भवेत् । भस्म क्षौद्रं सुवर्णं च तदर्गः
कुतपास्तिलाः ॥ quoted by अपरार्क p. 275.

407. पतितचण्डालयोगोऽप्युच्छपरिमितदेशाद्विप्रकुष्ठदेशस्थयोश्चायासुग्रहोऽयम् । अप-
रार्क p. 275.

408. यस्तु छायां श्वापाकस्य बाह्यो ह्यधिरोहति । तत्र आनं प्रकुर्वति घृतं शस्यं विष्णु-
ध्याति ॥ अत्रि 288-289, अङ्गिरस quoted by the मिता on या III. 30, अपरार्क p. 923;
अपरार्क p. 1195 ascribes a similar verse to Śātaṭapa. औशनसस्मृति (ed.
Jiv. chap. IX part 1 p. 552) also says the same. युगं च द्वियुगं चैव
त्रियुगं च चतुर्थ्युगम् । चण्डालस्तिकोदकपापतितानामघः क्रमात् ॥ बृहस्पति quoted by
मिता on या. III. 30; सूतिकापातितोदकपापचण्डालश्च चतुर्थकः । यथाक्रमं परिहरेदेकाद्वित्रि-
चतुर्थकम् ॥ व्यास quoted by स्मृतिच. part I. p. 17. क्षीरस्वामी on 'युगं युगं कृता-
विधु' in the अमरकोश remarks 'हस्तचतुष्कं च यथा विचरेद्युगमानदक'.

409. रथपाकर्दमतयोनि स्पृष्टोऽन्यन्यस्वपायसैः । भावतेनैव शुध्यन्ति पकोटिकचितानि
च ॥ या I. 197; अङ्गिरस (verse 144) is almost the same.

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 ⁴¹⁰ (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. ⁴¹¹ Bṛhaspati also remarks that there is no fault (and so no *prāyaścitta*) 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 *ucchiṣṭa* (i. e. risen from meals without washing their hands &c). The *Smṛtyarthasāra* ⁴¹²

410. देवयात्राविवाहेषु यज्ञप्रकरणेषु च । उत्सवेषु च सर्वेषु स्पृष्टास्पृष्टिर्न विद्यते ॥
अत्रि 249. In the स्मृतिच० I. pp. 121-122 this is quoted as from बद्धिर्ज्ञानम् (v. l. यज्ञेषु प्रकृतेषु च and स्पृष्टुः स्पृष्टिर्न). The first word must be taken to be formed of three separate members as the quotation from the *Smṛtyarthasāra* will show.

411. ग्रामे तु यत्र संस्पृष्टिर्वात्रायां कलहादिषु । ग्रामसन्दूषणे चैव स्पृष्टिदोषो न विद्यते । शातातप quoted by स्मृतिच० I. p. 119.

412. संश्रामे हृष्टमार्गे च यात्रादेवगृहेषु च । उत्सवकृततीर्थेषु विष्णवे ग्रामदेशयोः ॥
महाजलसमीपेषु महाजनवरेषु च । अग्न्युत्पाते महापत्सु स्पृष्टास्पृष्टिर्न दुष्यति ॥ प्राप्य-
कारिन्द्रियं स्पृष्टमस्पृष्टि त्वितरेन्द्रियम् । तयोश्च विषयं भाहुः स्पृष्टास्पृष्टबभिवानतः ॥
स्पृष्ट्यर्थसार p. 79.

(p. 79) summarises the places where no blame is 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 *Smṛtyarthasāra* speaks of untouchables entering temples. The *Par. M.* (vol. II part I p. 115) says that there is no *doṣa* when *cāṇḍālas* 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.⁴¹³ Vide *Vṛddha-Hārīta* IX. 405-406 for the purification of a well.

The *Viṣṇu Dh. S.* (V. 104)⁴¹⁴ 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 *cāṇḍāla* (deliberately) touches any one of the higher castes the *cāṇḍāla* should be fined one hundred *pañas*.

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 *prāyaścitta*.

The so-called untouchables were not entirely excluded from worship. When it is said (as in *Yāj. I. 93* or *Gaut. IV. 20*)⁴¹⁵ that the *cāṇḍāla* is outside all dharma, the meaning is that he is outside such *Vedicrites* 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 *Devīpurāṇa* that expressly authorizes *antyajas* to establish a temple of *Bhairava*. The *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*⁴¹⁶ X. 70. 43 says that ' even the

413. महत्सु तु तदाकादिषु चाण्डालादिसंघर्षेऽपि नास्ति कश्चिदोषः । अल्पेषु तु कूपन्यायः । तदाह विष्णुः । जलाशयेष्वथाल्पेषु स्थावरेषु महीतले । कूपवत्कायिता शुद्धिमहत्सु तु न दूषणम् ॥ परा. मा. vol. II. part 1 p. 115.

414. कामकारेणास्पृश्यत्वैवाधिकं स्पृशन् वक्ष्यः । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र V. 104.

415. प्रतिलोमास्तु धर्महीनाः । गौतम IV. 20.

416. अवणात्कीर्तनाद् ध्यानात्पुनन्तेवसायिनः । तव ब्रह्ममयरेण किमुतेक्षा-
भिमर्शिनः ॥ भागवत X. 70. 43; अत्राधिकारिण उक्तोः कृत्यकल्पतरौ देवोदुराणे ।
चतुर्वर्णैस्तथा विष्णुः प्रतिष्ठाप्यः सुखार्थिभिः । भैरवोऽपि चतुर्वर्णैरन्यजानां तथा मतः ।
निर्णयसिन्धु III (under देवप्रतिष्ठा).

antyāvasāyins 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 Ālvārs, Tiruppāna Ālvār was a member of the depressed classes and Nammālvār was a Vellāla. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 262 remarks that the pratiloma castes (which include cāṇḍāla) 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 draw-back 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. अतः स्त्रीशूद्रयोः प्रतिलोमजानां च त्रैवर्णिकवद् अताधिकार इति सिद्धम् । यत्तु भीतिमवचनं प्रतिलोमा धर्महीना इति तदुपनयनादिविशिष्टधर्माभिप्रायम् । मिता० ०८ भा. 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. As 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 sūdras for purposes of marriage. Vide *Sohan Singh vs. Kabla Singh* 10 Lahore 372, *Muthusami vs. Masilamani* 33 Mad. 342.⁴¹⁹

418. Vide Census of India (1931), vol. I part 1, p. 494.

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 Mahārāshtra' 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.⁴²⁰ 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. 3⁴²¹ 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. शतं मे गर्दमानां शतमूर्णावतीनाम् । शतं दासाँ अति सजः ॥ ऋ. VIII. 56. 3; यो मे हिरण्यसन्तुषो दश राज्ञो अर्धहत । अधस्पदा इक्ष्वैद्यस्य कुटयश्चर्मन्ना अभितो जनाः ॥ ऋ. VIII. 5. 38; अदान्मे पौरकुत्स्यः पञ्चाशतं वसवस्त्वुर्वधूनाम् । ऋ. VIII. 19. 36.

read 'thou madest a gift to me of one hundred donkeys, of one hundred fleece-bearing ewes and one hundred *dāsa*s'. It appears that here *dāsa* means slaves or serfs. In Rg VIII. 5.38 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.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'⁴²³. The Ait. Br. 39.8 mentions large gifts such as 10,000 girls (*dāśī*) and 10,000 elephants made by a king to his *purohita* performing coronation. When the angel of Death tries to dissuade Naciketas from his curiosity to know the destiny of a person after death, he tempts the inquirer (Kāṭha 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 Brahmanvidyā from Yājñavalkya exclaims 'I make a gift to your honour of the Videhas together with myself for being your slave'. We read in the Chān. Up. 'In this world they speak of cows and horses, elephants and gold, wives and slaves, fields and houses as *mahimā* (greatness).'

422. उदकुम्भानधिनिधाय दारयो मार्जालीयं परिदृश्यन्ति पदो निम्नतीरिदं मधु गायन्त्यो मधु वै देवानां परममन्नाद्यम् । तै. सं. VII. 5. 10. 1.

423. आत्मनो वा एष मात्राभाप्नोति यो उभयादत्यतिशुक्लात्पश्वं वा पुरुषं वा वैश्वानरं द्वादशकपालं निर्वपेदुभयादत्यतिशुक्लम् । तै. सं. II. 2. 6. 3; सोऽहं भगवते विदेहान् ददामि मां चापि सह दारयाय । बृह. उ. IV. 4. 23; गो अश्वमिह महिमेत्याक्षते इस्तिहिरण्यं दासभार्य क्षेत्राण्यायतनानीति । छा. उ. VII. 24. 2.

Vide also Chān. Up. V. 13. 2 and Br. Up. VI. 2. 7 for references to dāsīs. 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 brāhmanas, the śūdra who thus served a *duṣjāti* as a duty was not his slave. Jaimini (VI. 7. 6)⁴²⁴ 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. Śābara 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 Gṛhya 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. 11⁴²⁵ 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-parva⁴²⁶ 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 dāsīs are very frequently mentioned. In Sabhāparva 52. 45, Vanaparva 233. 43 and Virāṭa 18. 21 gifts of 30 dāsīs to each of 88000 *snātaka* brāhmanas are spoken of. In Vanaparva 185. 34 Vainya is said to have given a thousand handsome dāsīs with ornaments on to Atri. Vide Droṇaparva 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. शुद्रश्च धर्मशास्त्रत्वात् । जै. VI. 7. 6 ; 'शुद्रश्च न देय इत्यान्वादेशः । कुतः । धर्मशास्त्रत्वात् । धर्मशासनोपनतत्वात्तरय । एवमसौ तस्मै त्रैवर्णिकायोपनत इमं शुश्रूषमाणो धर्मेण संभन्तरय इति । सोऽन्यस्मै दीयमानो नेच्छेदपि । न चानिच्छतस्तरय स प्रभवति ।' शबर.

425. काममात्मानं भार्या पुत्रं वीरश्च याज त्वेव दासकर्मकरम् । आप. ध. सू. II. 4. 9. 11.

426. अन्योऽप्यथ न विक्रेयो मनुष्यः किं पुनः प्रजाः । अचर्ममूलैर्हि धनैस्तेन धर्मोऽथ कश्चन ॥ अनुशासनपर्व. 45. 23.

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 much⁴²⁷ 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 Aśoka 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 *Arthasāstra* (III. 13) Kautīlya⁴²⁸ 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 *śūdra* (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 *panas* and that if a stranger sells or pledges the above then the vendor, the vendee and the abettors will be liable to the first, middle and highest amercements and whipping respectively (i. e. first amercement for sale of a *śūdra* 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. *dhvajāhṛta* (captured in battle), *ātmaṅkṛayin* (who sells himself), *udaradāsa* (or *garbhadāsa*, one who is born to a *dāsi* from a slave) or those so made for a debt (*āhitika*), or for a fine or court's decree (*daṇḍaprapṇita*). 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

427. Vide Rhys Davids in 'Buddhist India' (1903) p. 263.

428. *अर्थशास्त्रम्*: मन्त्राधिकृतम् वा। न. देवार्चनं दासमायः। कोटिल्य
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 rule⁴²⁹ 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 (abhyupetyāśusrūṣā) and Kātyāyana among the smṛtikāras contain the most elaborate treatment on slavery. Nārada first says that a śusrūṣaka (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), bhṛtaka (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 work⁴³⁰ 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. भार्या पुत्रश्च दासश्च त्रय एवाधनाः स्मृताः । यत्ते सभाधिगच्छन्ति यस्त ते तस्य तद्धनम् ॥ मनु VIII. 416. This is the same as उद्योगपर्व 33. 64 where the first half is त्रय एवाधना राजन् भार्या दासस्तथा स्मृतः; compare नारद (अभ्युपेत्याशुश्रूषा) verse 41.

430. श्रद्धावाञ्छुचिस्थानरथयावत्करशोधनम् । शुद्धाङ्गस्पर्शनोच्छिद्यविभूषणमहणो-
पक्रमश्च ॥ इच्छतः स्वाभिलषाङ्गैश्च परधानमभ्यान्ततः । अशुभं कर्म विज्ञेयं क्षुभमभ्यवृत्त
यश्च ॥ नारद (अभ्यु. 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 pledged⁴³¹ 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 'vadavāhrta' (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*⁴³² i. e. the three *varnas* next to a *brāhmaṇa* may be slaves to a *brāhmaṇa*, 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. स्वतन्त्रस्यात्मनो दानाद् दासत्वं दासवद्भूयः । त्रिषु वर्णेषु विज्ञेयं दास्यं विप्रस्य न कश्चित् ॥ यथानामाशुलोभेन दास्यं न प्रतिलोभितः । कात्यायन quoted by अपरार्क p. 788; compare नारद (अशु. 39).

king. Kātyāyana emphasizes that a brāhmaṇa⁴³³ 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 vaiśya 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.

Kauṭilya⁴³⁴ 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 Kātyāyana⁴³⁵ says that the only wealth that the slave can call his own is the price he received for selling himself or what 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 Vyavahāramayūkha⁴³⁶ quotes a verse from the Kālikāpurāṇa about an adopted son, which is very interesting 'persons adopted and the like on whom the saṃskāras 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

433. समवर्णोपि विप्रं तु दासत्वं नैव कारयेत् । ब्राह्मणस्य हि दासत्वाच्चृपतेजो विहृत्यते ॥ शीलाध्ययनसंपन्ने तद्वृत्तं कर्म कामतः । तत्रापि नाशुभं किञ्चित्प्रकुर्वीत द्विजोत्तमः ॥ कात्यायन (vv. 717 and 719) quoted by अपरार्क p. 789 and स्मृतिच०.

434. स्वामिनस्तस्यां दास्यां जातं समावृत्तमदासं विद्यात् । कौटिल्य III. 13.

435. दासस्य तु घनं यत्स्वामी तस्य प्रभुः स्मृतः । प्रसादविकयाद्यत्तु न स्वामी धनमर्हति ॥ कात्यायन 724 (quoted by वि. र. p. 150 and वि. चि. p. 46).

436. यत्तु कालिकापुराणे चूडापनयनसंस्कारा निजगोत्रेण वै कृताः । दासाद्यास्तनया ते स्थिरवयथा दास उच्यते ॥ व्यवहारमयूख p. 114 (of my edition). This verse occurs in the वृत्तकीर्तिसा also where the reading is चूडाया यद्वि संस्कारा.

(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 ⁴³⁷ (ṛṇādāna 12) 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 (1933). 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. शिष्यान्तेवासिदासस्त्रीमेव्यक्त्यकैश्च यत् । कुटुम्बहेतोरक्षितं दातव्यं तत्कुटुम्बिन्ना ॥ नारद (ऋणादान v. 12); प्रेषितस्यामतेनापि कुटुम्बार्यमुक्तं कृतम् । दासस्त्रीमातृशिष्यैर्वा दद्यात् पुत्रेण वा भृत्यः ॥ कात्यायन quoted by अपरान्तो p. 648, वि. र. p. 56.

CHAPTER VI

SĀMSKĀRAS

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. ⁴³⁸ (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 *rajasvalā* &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 samskāra of upanayana performed on him. The Smṛtyarthasāra gives the view of some that in case an infant touches a cāṇḍāla before it reaches the age of taking cooked food, only water need be sprinkled on it, before caula ācamana 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 Hārīta to the effect 'up till investiture with the girdle of muñja 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' ⁴³⁹. 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. आज्ञाशानादूर्ध्वं नाग्रयता भवन्ति । आपरितं वत्सरादित्येके । यावता वा न दिशः प्रजानीयुः । औपनयनादित्यपरम् । आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 15, 17-20.

439. हारीतोऽप्युदाहरति । न ह्यस्मिन् विद्यते कर्म किञ्चिदाभौखिबन्धनात् । इत्या शूद्र-समो ह्येष यावद्भेदे न जायते । इति । वसिष्ठ II. 6; बौध. ध. सू. reads नास्य कर्म नियच्छन्ति; compare विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 28. 40 प्राङ्भौखिबन्धनाद् द्विजः शूद्रसमो भवति ।

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 *prāyaścitta* when a child is guilty of the commission of a *mahāpātaka*, see under *prāyaścitta* later on and the Mit. on Yāj. III. 253. The *smṛtis* 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 *dvijātis* (having two births), while the *śūdra* is only *ekajāti*.⁴⁴² Āp. Dh. S. says (I. 1. 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. जातमात्रः शिशुरेतावद्यावदष्टौ समा वयः। स हि गर्भसमो ज्ञेयो जातिमात्रमदर्शकः॥
मद्यामदये तथापेये वाच्यावाच्ये तथावृते। अस्मिन्वाले न दोषः स्यात्स यावज्जोपनीयते॥ दृष्ट
I. 3-4, quoted in अपरार्क (p. 28) and the second cited as from विष्णुपुराण
in परा. मा. I part 2 p. 29.

441. तद् द्वितीयं जन्म। तद्यस्मात्स आचार्यः। वेदानुवचनाच्च। गौ. I. 9-11.

442. द्विजातीनामध्ययनमिज्या दानम्। शूद्रश्चतुर्थो वर्ण एकजातिः। गौ. x. 1 and
51. Vide आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 1. 6.

443. स हि विद्यातस्तं जनयति। तच्छ्रेष्ठं जन्म। शरीरमेव मातापितरौ जनयतः। आप.
ध. सू. I. 1. 1. 16-18.

444. जन्मना ब्राह्मणो ज्ञेयः संस्कारैर्द्विज उच्यते। विद्यया याति विभत्वं ओत्रियस्त्रि-
भिरेव च॥ अत्रि 141-142; ब्रह्मपुराण reads जन्मना...। विद्यया वापि विभत्वं त्रिभिः
ओत्रिय उच्यते॥ quoted in सं. प्र. p. 404. चित्रकर्म यथानेकै रङ्गैश्चमिलयते रानः।
ब्राह्मण्यमपि तद्वत्स्यात्संस्कारैर्विधिपूर्वकैः। पराशर VIII. 19; quoted as Devala's by
Aparārka (p. 25) and as of Āngiras in Par. M. II. part I. p. 22,
संस्कारतत्त्व p. 857 and सं. प्र. p. 136.

brought out by saṁskāras performed according to prescribed rites.'

Therefore it is now time to speak of saṁskāras.

The word saṁskāra hardly ever occurs in the ancient Vedic literature, but the root 'kr' with 'sam' and the past passive participle 'saṁskṛta' occur often enough. In Rg. V. 76. 2 the word saṁskṛta 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 saṁskṛtatra' and Rg. VIII. 33. 9 has 'raṇāya saṁskṛtaḥ'. 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 (saṁskṛta) house.' Vide Vāj. S. IV. 34 for a similar use of saṁskṛta. 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 saṁskāra 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, IX. 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 Jyotiṣṭoma; in IX. 3. 25 the word saṁskāra 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 saṁskāra stands for upanayana. Śābara explains⁴⁴⁸ saṁskāra as that which being effected makes a certain thing or person fit for a certain purpose and the Tantra-vārtika says that saṁskāras are those actions and rites that

445. स इदं देवेभ्यो हविः संस्तुष्य सायु संस्तुतं संस्तुर्वित्येवैतदाह । शतपथ I. 1. 4. 10; तस्माद्गुह्यं पुनः संस्तुते तिष्ठन्तमभ्येति । शतपथ III. 2. 1. 22.

446. तस्मादेव एव यज्ञस्तस्य मनश्च वाक् च वर्तनी । तयोरन्यतरां मनसा संस्कारोति अन्ना वाचा होता । छान्दोग्य 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 prāyaścitta.

447. संस्कारस्य तदर्थत्वाद्विधायार्थं पुरुषश्रुतिः । जै. VI. 1. 35.

448. संस्कारो नाम स भवति यस्मिंज्जाते पदार्थो भवति योग्यः कस्यचिदर्थस्य । शबर on जै. III. 1. 3 (p. 660); योग्यतां चादधानाः क्रियाः संस्कारा इत्युच्यन्ते । तन्त्रवार्तिका p. 1078; संस्कारो हि नाम गुणाधानेन वा स्वाद् दोषापनयनेन वा । शंकर on वेदान्त-सूत्र I. 1. 4.

impart fitness and it further says⁴⁴⁹ 'fitness is of two kinds; it arises by the removal of taints (sins) or by the generation of fresh qualities. Samskāras generate fresh qualities, while *tapas* brings about the removal of taints. He who performs such sacrifices as Jyotiṣṭoma 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 Viramītrodaya⁴⁵⁰ (on samskāra) defines 'samskāra' 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 *samskāra* does not occur in most of the gṛhyasūtras (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 samskāras are: the purpose of samskāras, the classification of samskāras, the number of samskāras, the procedure of each of the samskāras and the persons authorized to perform them and the persons for whom they are to be performed.

First as to the purpose of samskāras. 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 muñja grass. This (human) body is rendered fit for the attainment of *brahma* by the study of the Veda, by (observance of) vratas, homas (oblations in fire), by the vrata called traividya, by worship (of gods, sages and manes), by generation of sons, by the performance of the five daily

449. योग्यता च सर्वत्र द्विप्रकारा दोषापनयनेन शुचान्तरापिजननेन च भवति । तत्र-
भाष्ये p. 1115 on जे. III. 8. 9.

450. चन्द्रकन्द on सादिरश्रुत II. 3. 33 'एते गर्भाधानादयः संस्काराः शरीरं
संस्तुर्वन्ताः सर्वेषु अदृष्टार्थेषु कर्मसु योग्यतातिशयं कुर्वन्ति । फलातिशयो योग्यतातिशये च ।'.

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. Medhātithi 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.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. Hārīta⁴⁵² as quoted in the Saṁskāratattva says 'when a person has intercourse according to the procedure of *garbhādhāna* he establishes in the wife a foetus that becomes fit for the reception of the Veda, by the rite of *pūṁsavana* 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*, *cūḍākarāṇa* and *samāvartana*. By these eight saṁskāras (from *garbhādhāna*) 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

451. बीजगर्भसमुद्भवं श्रुकशोणितसंभवं गात्रव्याधिसंक्रान्तिनिमित्तं वा न तु पतितोत्पन्नत्वाद् । मित्त. on या. I. 13; एनोऽत्रात्रायत्यं मातुः पीताशनादेरुत्पन्नमित्यर्थः । अथवाकं.

452. तत्र हारीतः । गर्भाधानवदुपेतो ब्रह्मगर्भं संवदोति । पुंसवनात्पुंसीनारोति कल-
स्यापानाम्नातापितृजं पाप्मानमप्योहति रेतोरक्तगर्भोपधातः पञ्चगुणो जातकर्मणा प्रथममप्योहति
नामकरणेन द्वितीयं आशनेन तृतीयं चूडाकरणेन चतुर्थं स्नापनेन पञ्चममेतरेषाम्निः संस्कारैश्च
भोप्योतात् प्रतो भवतीति । संस्कारतत्त्व (p. 857).

of samskāras 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 samskāras like nāmakarana, annaprāśana, and niṣkramaṇa were more or less of a popular nature. They afforded opportunities for the expression of love and affection and for festivities. Other samskāras like garbhādhāna, pūṃsavana, śmāntonnayana had also mystical and symbolical elements. Vivāha (marriage) was a sacrament which brought about a union of two personalities 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 samskāras were divided by Hārīta into two kinds, brāhma and daiva.⁴⁵³ The samskāras 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; pākayajñas (offerings of cooked food), yajñas with burnt offerings and sacrifices in which soma is offered are called daiva (samskāras). 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 samskāras. Gaut. (VIII. 14-24) speaks of forty samskāras and eight virtues of the soul. The forty samskāras are: garbhādhāna, pūṃsavana, śmāntonnayana, jātakarman, nāmakarana, annaprāśana, caula, upanayana (8 in all), the four vratas of the Veda, snāna (or samāvartana), vivāha, five daily mahāyajñas (for deva, pitṛ, manuṣya,

453. तथा च हारीतः । द्विविधः संस्कारो भवति ब्राह्मो दैवश्च । गर्भाधानाद्विस्मार्तो ब्राह्मः । पाकयज्ञहविर्यज्ञसौम्याश्चेति दैवः । ब्रह्मसंस्कारसंस्कृत कर्षीणि समानतां सलोकतां सायुज्यं गच्छति । दैवेनोत्तरेण संस्कृती देवानां समानतां सलोकतां सायुज्यं गच्छति । इति । स्मृतिच. I. p. 13, परा. मा. I. part 2 p. 18, संस्कारप्रकाश p. 135. The editor of the परा. मा. says it is हारीतधर्मसूत्र XI. 1-5 (from the MS he had discovered).

bhūta and brahma); seven pākayajñas⁴⁵⁴ (viz. aṣṭakā, pārvaṇasthālīpāka, śrāddha, śrāvaṇī, āgrahāyaṇī, caitrī, āśvayujī); seven haviryajñas (in which there is burnt offering but no soma) viz. Agnyādheya, Agnihotra, Darśapūrṇamāsa, Āgrayaṇa, Cāturmāsya, Nirūdhapaśubandha and Sautrāmaṇī); seven soma sacrifices (Agniṣṭoma, Atyagniṣṭoma, Ukthya, Śoḍaśin, Vājapeya, Atirātra, Āptoryāma). Gautama uses the word saṃskāra in the most extended sense. Śaṅkha as quoted by the Sm. C. (I. p. 13) and the Subodhinī on Mit. II. 4 follow Gautama. Vaik. speaks of eighteen śārīra saṃskāras (in which he includes utthāna, pravāsāgamana, piṇḍavardhana, which are seen nowhere else as saṃskāras) and twenty-two yajñas (i. e. five daily yajñas as one and seven pākayajñas, seven havir-yajñas, and seven soma yajñas). Most gṛhyasūtras, dharmasūtras and smṛtis do not enumerate so many. Āṅgiras (quoted in the Saṃskāra-mayūkha, Saṃskāra-prakāśa p. 135 and other digests) mentions twenty-five saṃskāras. They include all saṃskāras of Gautama from garbhādhāna to the five daily yajñas (which latter are reckoned as one saṃskāra by Āṅgiras) and after nāmakaraṇa niṣkramaṇa is added. Besides, Viṣṇubali, Āgrayaṇa, Aṣṭakā, Śrāvaṇī, Āśvayujī, Mārṅgāśīrṣī (same as Āgrahāyaṇī), Pārvaṇa, Utsarga and Upākarma are enumerated as the remaining saṃskāras by Āṅgiras. Veda-Vyāsa I. 14-15 enumerates sixteen saṃskāras. Manu, Yāj., Viṣṇu Dh. S. do not give the number of saṃskāras but simply say that they are those from niṣeka (garbhādhāna) to smaśāna (i. e. antyeṣṭi). This last one is not treated of in Gautama and several gṛhyasūtras. In most of the digests the principal saṃskāras are said to be sixteen; but there is some difference of opinion even as to these sixteen.⁴⁵⁵ For example, Jātukarṇya as quoted in Sam. Pr. (p. 135) enumerates the 16 as garbhādhāna, pūṃsavana, śimanta, jātakarma, nāmakaraṇa, annasrāśana, caula, mauñjī

454. According to some the seven pākayajñas are : aupāsanaḥoma, vaiśvadeva, pārvaṇa (sthālīpāka), aṣṭakā, śrāddha (monthly), sarpabali and iśānabali. Vide Sm. C. I. p. 13. The Baud. gr. I. 1. gives the seven pākayajñas as huta, prahuta, ahuta, śulagava, baliharāṇa, pratyavarohāṇa and aṣṭakā homa. Vide S. B. E. Vol. 30 p. 358 for several differing enumerations of pākayajñas.

455. तत्र संस्काराः । गर्भाधानं... विवाहश्चेत्यावर्यकाः षोडश प्रधानाः संस्काराः । स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 3. The 16 usually enumerated in the digests are गर्भाधानं, कुलपनं, सीमन्तोन्नयनं, विष्णुबलि, जातकर्म, नामकरणं, निष्क्रमणं, अन्नमाशनं, चोल, उपनयनं, वेद्वतचतुष्टयं, समावर्तनं, विवाहः.

(upanayana), vrātas (four), godāna, samāvartana, vivāha and antyeṣṭi. These slightly differ from the sixteen of Veda-Vyāsa.

The gr̥hyasūtras deal with saṁskāras in two different sequences. Many of them begin with vivāha (marriage) and then proceed up to samāvartana. Some like the Hiranya-keśigr̥hya, Bhāradvājagr̥hya and Mānavagr̥hya begin with upanayana.⁴⁵⁶ Some saṁskāras like Karpavedha and Vidyārambha are conspicuous by their absence in the gr̥hyasūtras, but are added by later smṛtis and purāṇas. The following is the list of all the saṁskāras 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 saṁskāras are arranged in the sequence of the times at which in a man's life they are performed beginning from garbhādhāna:

Rtu-saṅgamana—mentioned in Vaik.⁴⁵⁷ 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 Vaik. commences the saṁskāras with niṣeka.

Garbhādhāna: Niṣeka: Caturthīkarma or-homa:—Manu (II. 16 and 26), Yāj. I. 10-11, Viṣṇu Dh. S. (2. 3 and 27. 1) employ the word niṣeka as equivalent to garbhādhāna. In the Śāṅkhāyana gr̥hya (I. 18-19), Pār. gr̥. I. 11, and Āp. gr̥. (8. 10-11) the rite called caturthīkarma or caturthīhoma 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 saṁskāras, vide Dr. (Mrs.) Kamalabai Deshpande's work 'the Child in ancient India' (with copious references to the gr̥hya 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 Gujarat) 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. 123-226 (London, 1837), Monier Williams' 'Religious thought and life in India' part I (1883), Vidyārṇava's 'on daily practices' in the 20th volume of 'the Sacred Books of the Hindus' may also be consulted.

457. ऋतौ तृणमनं निषेकमित्याहुः । वैजाननस VI. 2; अथ निषेकाद्विंशत्यानस्य
आख्यात्यामः । वैजाननस I. 1.

grhyasūtras. The Baud. gr. (IV. 6. 1), the Kāthakagrhya (30. 8), Gaut. (VIII. 14), Yāj. I. 11 employ the word *garbhādhāna*. According to Vaik. (III. 10) the *garbhādhāna* rite follows *niṣeka* or *ṛtu-saṅgamana* (union of married pair after menstruation) and consists in ensuring conception.

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

Garbharakṣaṇa :—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 *śimanta*.

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

Soṣyanti-karma or *-homa* :—described in Khādīra and Gobhila. It is called *Soṣyanti-savana* in Kāthaka-grhya and *Kṣiprasuvana* in Āp. gr., *Bhāradvāja* gr. and *Kṣipraprasavana* in Hir. gr. (S. B. E. vol. 30, p. 210). It occurs in *Budhasmṛti* (as quoted in *Saṁskāra-prakāśa* p. 139).

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

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

Nāmakaraṇa :—mentioned in all *smṛtis*.

Niṣkramaṇa or *Upaniṣkramaṇa* or *Ādityadarśana* or *Nirṇayana* :—Yāj. I. 11 speaks of it as *Niṣkramaṇa*, Pār. gr. (I. 17) as *Niṣkramaṇikā*, Manu II. 34 speaks of it as *Niṣkramaṇa*. The *Kauśikasūtra* 58. 18 calls it *Nirṇayana*; while Baud. gr. (II. 2) employs the word *upanīṣkramaṇa*; Mānava gr. (I. 19. 1), Viṣṇu Dh. S. (27. 10), Śāṅkha (in verse, II. 5) employ appropriately the name *Ādityadarśana*. Gaut., Āp. gr. and several other *sūtras* omit it.

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

Annaprāśana : mentioned by almost every *smṛti*.

Varṣavardhana or *Abdapūrti* :—mentioned in Gobhila, Śāṅ. Pār., Baud.

Caula or *Cūdākarma* or *Cūdākarana* :—mentioned by all smṛtis.

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

Upanayana :—mentioned by all. It is called *vratādeśa* in *Veda-Vyāsa* I. 14.

Vratas (four) :—mentioned by most of the *gr̥hyasūtras*.

Keśānta or *Godāna* :—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), *Śāṅ. gr.* III. 1, *Āp. Dh. S.* (I. 2. 7. 15 and 31) employ the word *Samāvartana*.

Vivāha :—Mentioned by all as a *samskāra*.

Mahāyajñas :—five daily *yajñas*; mentioned by *Gaut.*, *Āngiras* and others.

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

Upākarma : (yearly commencement of Veda study) mentioned as a *samskāra* by *Vaik.* (I. 1) and by *Āngiras*.

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

It is laid down that the *samskāras* from *jātakarma* to *cūdākarma* 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 *samskāras* ⁴⁵⁸ from *garbhādhāna* to *upanayana* alone were absolutely necessary in the case of all twice-born persons;

458. अत्र गर्भाधानाद्युपनयनपर्यन्ता एव संस्काराः सर्वेदं नियताः न पुनः स्नानादयः । तथात्वे यमिच्छेत्कर्तुं तमावसेद्यदि वेतरथा ब्रह्मचर्यदिव मज्जेदिति विरोधः स्यात् । स्मृतिश्च । I. pp. 13-14; स्मृतिस्तु. (वर्णाश्रमधर्म p. 73). The words 'यदि वेतरथा मज्जेत्' are आचललोपनिषद् 4.

the saṁskāras of snāna and vivāha were not obligatory, as a man was allowed to become a saṁnyāsīn (ascetic) immediately after finishing the period of studenthood (according to the Jābālopaniṣad). The Saṁskāraprakāśa 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 *klība* (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 Baijavāpa⁴⁵⁹ ṛṣya says that seven saṁskāras are allowed to the śūdra viz. from *garbhādhāna* (or *niṣeka*) to *caula*. The view of Aparārka⁴⁶⁰ 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 bhāṣya of Harihara as quoted in the Nirṇayasindhu, the śūdras were entitled to perform six saṁskāras viz. jātakarma, nāmakaṛaṇa, niṣkramaṇa, annaprāśana, cūḍā and vivāha and the five daily mahāyajñas. The Śūdrakṛtya-tattva of Raghunandana (p. 634) quotes a verse from the Varāhapurāṇa⁴⁶¹ '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 'namaḥ'. The Nirṇayasindhu⁴⁶² 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 Brahmapurāṇa⁴⁶³ quoted

459. वैजवापयुह्येति । शूद्रस्यापि निषेक-पुंसवन-सीमन्तोक्तयनजातकर्मनामकरणाक्षमाशनचौलान्यमन्त्रकाणि यथाकालमुपदिष्टानीति । वीरभित्रोदय (सं. प्र.) p. 133.

460. एतच्च चातुर्वर्ण्याभिप्रायं न द्विजातिमात्रविषयम् । तथा सत्पुण्यन विधाय वाच्यं स्यात् । अपराक p. 25.

461. तत्र द्रव्यदेवताप्रकारार्थं ब्राह्मणेन मन्त्राः पाठ्याः । 'अयमेव विधिः प्रोक्तः शूद्राणां मन्त्रवर्जितः । अमन्त्रस्य तु शूद्रस्य मन्त्रो विभेण गृह्यते' इति वराहपुराणात् । शूद्रकृत्यतरव p. 634.

462. अमन्त्रस्य तु शूद्रस्य मन्त्रो विभेण गृह्यते इति मरीच्युक्तेः । इयं परिभाषा सर्वार्थां तेन शूद्रधर्मेषु सर्वत्र विभेण मन्त्रः पठनीयः सोऽपि पौराण एवेति शूलपाणिः । निर्णयसिन्धु III. पूर्वार्ध

463. ब्राह्मणं तु 'विवाहमात्रसंस्कारं शूद्रोऽपि लभतां सदा' इत्युक्तम् । अथ सदा-शूद्र-भोचरत्नेन देशभेदादुच्यते । निर्णयसिन्धु III. पूर्वार्ध.

in the Sm. C. (I. p. 24) and other digests states that no other samskāra than vivāha is allowed to the śūdra. On this the Nirpayasindhu 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 samskāras (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 samskāra 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. Jātakarṇa 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 Smṛtyarthasāra ⁴⁶⁴ (p. 3) says ' if the samskāras (except upanayana) are not performed at the prescribed times, the Vyāhṛti-homa should be offered and then the samskāras should be performed (though late). For each samskāra that is not performed the penance called pādakṛcchra should be performed (if the non-performance is due to some difficulty or distress), and for non-performance of caula the penance is ardha-kṛcchra. If the samskāras were knowingly omitted or if there was no distress then the penance is double ⁴⁶⁵ of this.' The Nirpayasindhu quotes verses of Śaunaka ⁴⁶⁶ to this effect and then remarks that there was a conflict of views, some holding that after the penance the samskāras passed over should be performed all at one time,

464. The Vyāhṛti-homa consists in offering clarified butter with the mystic syllables, bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ, svaḥ (or suvaḥ) uttered separately and then together. Vide Hir. gr. I. 3. 4 (S. B. E. Vol. 30 p. 144).

465. एते कालातिक्रमे व्याहृतिहोमं कृत्वा कार्याः । एतेष्वेकैकलोपे पादकृच्छ्रः कार्यः । चोले त्वर्धकृच्छ्रः । मत्वा लोपेऽनापादि च द्विगुणः । स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 3; for पादकृच्छ्र vide Yāj. III. 318 and भित्ति thereon where अर्धकृच्छ्र also is explained.

466. अथ संस्कारलोपे शौनकः । आरभ्याधानमाचौलालकालेन तितु कर्मणाम् । व्याहृत्यादि तु संस्कृत्य हृत्वा कर्म यथाक्रमम् ॥ एतेष्वेकैकलोपे तु पादकृच्छ्रं समाचरेत् । चूडाया-मर्धकृच्छ्रं स्यादापादि त्वेवमीरितम् । अनापादि तु सर्वत्र द्विगुणं द्विगुणं चरेत् । इति । निर्णयसिन्धु III पूर्वार्धः ; स्मृतिश्च. (वयाश्रमधर्म p. 99) quotes a similar verse from कात्यायन ' यमाधानादिचौलाले स्वकाले विधिनीडकृते । मत्पेकं पादकृच्छ्रं स्याद्द्विगुणं स्यादनापादि ॥ '

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 pariccheda, purvārdha) states various substitutes (which are comparatively easy) for these penances. For example, one *prājāpatya* penance is equal to three *Pādakṛcchras*. In place of *prājāpatya* the person guilty of the lapse may make the gift of a cow or (in the absence of a cow) may give one *niṣka* (320 *guṇjās*) of gold or one half or one-fourth of it; one who is very poor may give one-eighth of a silver *niṣka* or corn of that value. There being these easy substitutes (*pratyāmnūya* as they were called) people gradually left off performing the several *samśkāras* 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 insistent 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 (*upanayanam brāhmaṇasya aṣṭame*) remarks 'the teacher (Gautama) expounding upanayana first and passing over the *samśkāras* like *garbhādhāna* that precede upanayana in time conveys that upanayana is the principal *samśkāra*. Therefore even if the *samśkāras* like *garbhādhāna* 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.'⁴⁶⁷ In modern times in undergoing *prāyaścitta* for non-performance of the *samśkāras* up to caula rupees two have to be paid to the priest (annas four for each of the *samśkāras* not performed up to caula and annas eight for caula).⁴⁶⁸

467. प्रथमभाविनो गर्भाधानादीन्संस्कारानुल्लङ्घ्योपनयनं त्याज्यज्ञानस्तस्य प्राधान्यं दर्शयति । तेन दैवानुपपत्त्या गर्भाधानादेस्कारणेषु उपनयनं भवति । तस्याकारणे तु विवाहादिव्यनधिकार इति सिद्धम् । हरदत्त on गौ. I. 6.

468. Vide मदनपारिजात p. 752 for कृच्छ्रप्रत्यान्नाय and संस्कारकौस्तुभ pp. 141-142 for various प्रत्यान्नायः. The modern *samkalpa* at the time of upanayana for late performance or non-performance of *samśkāras* is: अशुकर्मणः सम पुनस्त्य गर्भाधानमुत्सवनमीमन्तो जयन-जात कर्मनामकरणाक्षप्रक्षानचौलान्तानां संस्काराणां कालातिपातजिनित- (or लोपजिनित) प्रत्यवायपरिहारार्थं मत्तिर्स्कारं षाड्-कृच्छ्रात्मकमायाश्चित् चूडाया अर्धकृच्छ्रात्मकं मत्तिकृच्छ्रं गोमूत्रपरजतनिष्कपीदृषादप्रत्यान्नाय-वद्वारादभाचरिष्ये ।

The samskāras 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 samskāra will be described from a few representative gṛhya and dharma sūtras such as the Āśv. 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 samskāras 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 Sthālipāka performed the preparation of the clarified butter, he sacrifices from the Sthālipāka little by little,

469. Besides the gṛhya sūtras, the dharmasūtras, Manu, Yājñavalkya and other smṛtis, the principal digests on samskāra relied upon here are the Samskāratattva of Raghunandana, the Samskāramayūkha of Nīlakaṇṭha, the Samskāra-prakāśa of Mitrāmīśra, the Samskāraustubha of Anantadeva and the Samskāraratnamālā 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 varṇas'. The Āśv. 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 śākhās and the several provinces of Modern India, but will restrict itself principally to Western India and the Āśv. sūtra, though important variations have been pointed out in many places.

saying 'This is for Agni, svāhā ; this is for Anumati, svāhā ; this is for divine Savitrī the true creator, svāhā ! Having sacrificed he takes out the rest of the Sice, 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 Viśvāvasu, seek another blooming girl, a wife with her husband.' Then he embraces her and says ' I am Ama, thou art Sā. Thou art Sā, I am Ama. I am the Sāman, thou art the Ṛk. 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 Tvaṣṭā frame your beauty, may Prājāpati sprinkle and may Dhātā implant an embryo into you; Oh Sinivālī ! 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)'.⁴⁷⁰ In the Āśv. gr. (I. 13. 1) it is expressly stated that in the Upaniṣad the ceremonies of Garbhā-lambhana (conceiving a child), Pumsavana (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 garbhādhāna saṁskāra by Hir. and other gṛhya sūtras occur).

The rite called *caturthīkarma* is described in the Śāṅkhāyana 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 ' amohasmi ' occurs in the Atharvaveda XIV. 71, that a similar passage (where instead of ' sā tvam ' there is ' sa tvam ') occurs in Ait. Br. VIII. 27 and that in the Chāndogya Up. I. 6. 1 sā is explained as earth and ' ama ' as fire. The mantra ' may Viṣṇu...embryo into you ' is Ṛg. X. 184. 1 = Atharvaveda V. 25. 5, and the mantra ' oh Sinivālī...an embryo ' is Ṛg. X. 184. 2 = Atharva V. 25. 3 (where ' Sarasvatī ' is read for ' prthuṣṭuke '. The Nirukta (XI. 32. on Ṛg. II. 32. 6 where we have an invocation to Sinivālī in the words ' give us progeny ', अग्निं देहि प्रीतिं नः) explains ' prthuṣṭuke ' as ' prthujaghane ' (having large buttocks or large mass of hair). The words ' garbham dadhātu ' probably suggested the name ' garbhādhāna 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), Prājāpati (the mantra is Rg. X. 121. 10), to (Agni) Sviṣṭakṛt. Then he pounds the root of Adhyāṇḍa 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'.⁴⁷¹ The Pār. 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), Gobhila II. 5 (S. B. E. vol. 30, pp. 51-52) give briefly a similar procedure, but refer to mantras given in the Mantrapāṭha (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 Bādarāyaṇa prescribed that this was necessary only at the first cohabitation and after each monthly course.⁴⁷² 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 gṛhyasūtras. One of the mantras is interesting on account of its reference to the cakravāka birds (I. 7. 24. 6), 'The concord that belongs to the cakravāka 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 ṛtusamgamana and is similar to Āp. gr. and Hir. gr. It will be seen that the

471. The mantra 'आ ते योनिं गर्भं पतु पुमान् वायु इवेष्टुयिष्य। आ वीरोऽत्र जायतां पुत्रस्ते वृशमारयः॥' is अथर्ववेद III. 23. 2. This occurs also in हिरण्यकेशिपुष्य I. 7. 25. 1.

472. भारद्वाजपुत्र I. 20 ascribes these views respectively to Āśmarathya and Ālekhaṇa 'सर्वान्पुत्रायनानि मन्त्रवन्ति भवन्तिरियामन्त्रयो यद्वादौ यन्तर्विना लेखनः' ॥

catrurthikarma 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 catrurthikarma was discontinued and the rite was performed long after the ritual of marriage and appropriately named *garbhādhāna*.

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 says⁴⁷³ 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 garbhādhāna 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 garbhādhāna 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 Nirṇayasindhu and Dharmasindhu elaborate discussions are held about the months, tithis, week-

473. चतुर्थिपश्चात्प्रायोदशीसुत्तरासुत्तरां शुक्लां प्रजानिभ्येयसप्ततुगमन इत्युपदिशन्ति ।
आप. ग्र. सू. 9. 1, S. B. E. vol 30 p. 268.

474. यत्तु गर्भाधानमधिकृत्य हारीतेनोक्तं चतुर्थेद्वि र्नातायां शुक्लाद्यु चेति तच्चतुर्थेद्वि र्जोनिवृत्तौ द्रष्टव्यम् । स्मृतिचक्र I. p. 15; एतदेवामित्येव कारयायनः । रजस्वला चतुर्थेद्वि र्नाताच्छुद्धिर्भवामुपपत् । इति, quoted in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका I. p. 15; र्नाता रजस्वला या तु चतुर्थेद्वि नि शुध्यति । कुर्याद्विजोनिवृत्तौ तु देवपितृयादिकर्म च ॥ पराशर VII. 17; गर्भाधानं द्विजाः कुपोदतो मयम एव हि । चतुर्थे दिवसादूर्ध्वं पुत्रार्थं दिवसे समे ॥ लघुवाच. III. 1.

days, nakṣatras, colour of clothes, that were deemed to be inauspicious for the first appearance of menses and about the *sūntis* (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. Śaṅkha-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 saṁskāra 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 saṁskāra of the *garbha* and not of the woman. Viśvarūpa⁴⁷⁷ on Yāj. I. 11 expressly asserts that all saṁskāras except *Simantonayana* have to be performed again and again (as they are the saṁskāras of the *garbha*), while *Simantonayana* being a saṁskāra 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. Medhātithi⁴⁷⁸ 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. चतुर्थ्या स्नातां प्रयतवज्जां ब्राह्मणसंभाषां भारद्वाजयुक्ता I 20; स्नात्वा श्वेतवज्जाकुलेषुना स्त्रीशुद्धान्यामनामिमांष्यापरमदुष्टा भर्तारं परयेद्यस्मादनुस्नाता यदहं पुत्रं पश्येतादृशी मजा भवति । वैश्वानसस्मार्तयुक्ता III. 9.

476. यस्मिन् भावोऽर्पितः स्त्रीणामर्तवे तच्छीलं जनयति यथा नीलवृषेण नीलवृषव-त्समभवः श्वेतेन श्वेत एव जायते । शङ्खलिखित quoted in स्मृति-च. (न्यव. p. 241) and वि. र. p. 441.

477. प्रतिगर्भं चापसीमन्तोक्षयनाः प्रवर्तन्ते । तस्य स्त्रीसंस्कारोऽन्तः । ...गर्भाधीनं त्वयादिवारते । लिङ्गाद्यं पुंसवनम् । ...एवं च समाचारादुग्रहः । विष्णुस्य on या. I. 11.

478. गर्भाधानं च विवाहादनन्तरं प्रथमोपगमे विष्णुयर्गिनि कल्पयन्ति मन्त्रवत्कोषा-दिद्विहितम् । परेषामानर्ग्यद्वयानामुत्पत्तु । मेधा. on मनु II. 16.

others it was to be performed after every menstruation till conception. Later works like the Mit. (on Yaj. I. 11), the Sm. C., the Samskāratattva (p. 909) hold that garbhādhāna, pumsavana⁴⁷⁹ and simantonnayana are samskāras 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 pumsavana is repeated at each conception. He relies on Pār. gr. I. 15; and the Samskāra-mayūkha and the Samskāraprakāśa (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 *rajasvalā* (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 grhya fire, but there is no *homa* when the cohabitation takes place on the second or later appearance of menses; that 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 Samskāra-kaustubha (p. 59) relying on Grhyapariśiṣṭa prescribes *homa* in which cooked food is to be offered to Prajāpati and seven offerings of ājya are to be offered in fire, three with the verses 'Viṣṇu-yonim' (Rg. X. 184. 1-3), three with 'nejameṣa' (Āp. M. P. I. 12. 7-9) and one with Rg. X. 121. 10 (prajāpate na).

All samskāras other than garbhādhāna can be performed by any agnate in the absence of the husband (vide Samskāra-prakāśa⁴⁸⁰ p. 165).

479. देवलः । सङ्कृत्व संस्कृता नारी सर्वगर्भेषु संस्कृता । तेन गर्भाधानमुत्सवनसमीपतो-
जयनानि सङ्कृदेव कर्तव्यानि । संस्कारतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन (p. 909); हारीतः । सङ्कृत्संस्कृत्-
संस्काराः समीपेन द्विजश्रियः । यं यं गर्भं प्रसूयन्ते स सर्वः संस्कृतो भवेत् ॥ अपरार्क p. 25
and स्मृतिच० I. p. 17; vide भिता. on या. I. 11 where a full verse of देवल
is quoted, which combines the latter half of हारीत with the half verse of
देवल quoted above.

480. 'ब्रह्मपुराणम् । गर्भाधानादिसंस्कर्ता पिता श्रेष्ठतमः स्मृतः । अभावे स्वकुलीनः
स्याद् बान्धवो बान्धवोत्रजः ॥ ... आर्यावर्तसमुद्भूतः स्वशास्त्री (स्वशास्त्री?) श्रेष्ठ उच्यते ।'
संस्कारप्रकाश P. 165; तत्र वृद्धगर्भः । पिता पितृमहो आता ज्ञातयो गोत्रजाम्रजः । उपायने-
धिकारी स्वात्पूर्वभावे परः परः ॥ पितृवोपनयेत्युक्तं तदभावे पितुः पिता । तदभावे पितृभ्राता
तदभावे तु सोदरः । इति पितृमहस्मरणात् । संस्कारप्रकाश p. 407. In the निर्णयसिन्धु
(III पूर्वार्ध) the verse पिता, पितृमहो is ascribed to वृद्धगर्भ.

As homa is necessary in numerous ceremonies and rites, the gr̥hyasūtras give a description of a model homa. Therefore here also it would be well to set out the description from the Āśvalāyana ⁴⁸¹ Gr̥hyasūtra (I. 3, S. B. E. vol 29 pp. 162-163), a few important points of difference being added from other gr̥hyasūtras and other works.

“ Now wherever (a person) intends ⁴⁸² to offer a sacrifice he should besmear (with cowdung) a *sthaṇḍila* (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 *sthaṇḍila* 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 *sthaṇḍila*) with water, establish the (sacred) fire (on the *sthaṇḍila*), put (two or three *samidhs*) on the fire ; then he should perform *parisamūhana* (i. e. wiping or sweeping the ground round the fire), then *paristarana* (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 *parisamūhana*, *paristarana* &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 Savitr 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 (*paristarana*) 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 *Pākayajñas*. (6) And (the

481. Vide Appendix for the text of आश्व. सू. I. 3.

482. यत्र कचनान्निक्षुपसमायास्यत् स्यात् तत्र माचिषदीचीन्च तिस्रस्तिन्नो रक्षा लिखितान्नेरवोदयान्निक्षुपसमिन्ध्यात् । आप. घ. सू. II. 1. 1. 13.

483. तृष्णीमाधारावाधायार्ज्यभागौ शुद्धयादग्नेये स्वाहा सोमाय स्वाहेति । उत्तरभाष्ये दक्षिणं सौम्यम् । विज्ञायते चक्षुषी वा एते यज्ञस्य यदाज्यभागौ । आश्व. सू. 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 Pākayajñas) of the brahmā 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 Svīṣṭakṛt (vide Appendix under note 481 for the mantra).

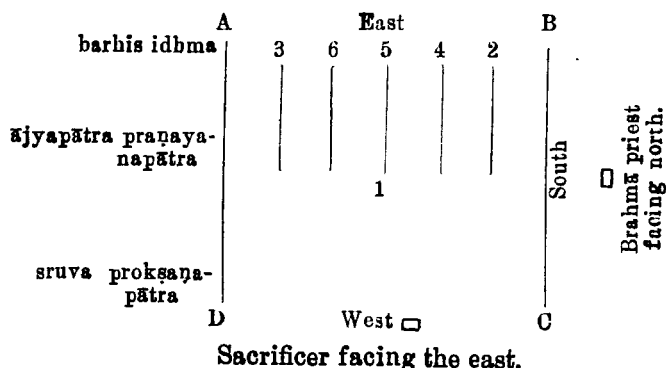
In the Śāṅkhāyana gr. I. 7 (S. B. E. vol. 29 pp. 22-31) the procedure described is more elaborate and contains some important differences. The performer (I. 7. 6-7) draws one line in the middle of the sacrificial surface from south to north and from this line only three lines are drawn upwards, one to 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 Āśvalāyana). Further it (I. 8. 6-7) says that the seat of the brahmā priest is to the south of the sthaṇḍila and he is honoured with flowers. Śāṅkhāyana adds (I. 8. 8.) the detail that the pranītā waters are carried forward on the north side and (I. 8. 9-11) that paristarana follows after the carrying forward of the pranītā 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 pranītā water and the rest of the water in the sruva is called the prokṣaṇī 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 sthaṇḍila 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 sthaṇḍila 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 चरन्तरि-यज्ञ and शुलगव *vide* respectively आश्व. वृ. I. 12. 7 and IV. 9. The deities when none are specified or indicated are different according to other sūtras e. g. भरद्वाजयज्ञ states them to be अग्नि, सोम, प्रजापति, विश्वे देवाः and अग्नि स्विष्टकृत् (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 *sthaṇḍila* is to be a square, each side of which is given variously as being an arrow (18 *āṅgulas*) in length, or 32 finger breadths (according to Vaik.), or one *aratni* (=21 *āṅgulas* according to Baud. gr. *paribhāṣā* I. 5. 3).⁴⁸⁵

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

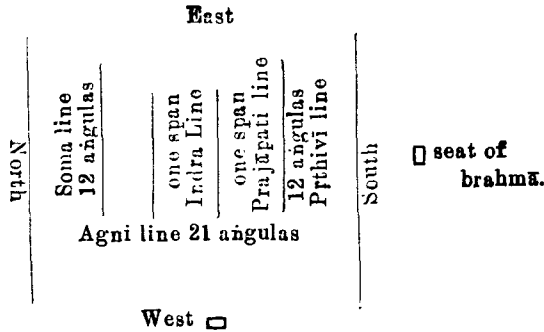
The following figures would illustrate the position of the *sthaṇḍila*, the lines drawn thereon, the position of the sacrificer and of the various articles required at the time of homa &c.



ABCD is the *sthaṇḍila* of sand or loose earth; 1-6 are the lines drawn with a *samidh* on which the fire is to be placed. The above figure represents the position of all materials in an *ājya* homa (i. e. offering of clarified butter) only; but when there is *darvihoma* (offering of boiled food in a *darvi* or ladle) the materials on the north side are *carusthālī* and *prokṣaṇapātra*, *darvi* and *sruva*, *camasa* and *ājyapātra*, *idhma* and *barhis*

485. श्रीचीनप्रवणे उद्दीचीनप्रवणे मायुक्त्वप्रवणे समे वा देशे उद्धृत्यावेद्य ...। हिरण्य. गृ. I. 1. 9. अपराक quotes (p. 905) a *smṛti* that a *vitasti* is equal to 12 *āṅgulas* and *aratni* is equal to two *vitastis*, while हेमाद्रि (सप्तमस्क part 1 p. 51) quotes from the *Ādityapurāṇa* a passage where an *aratni* is said to be equal to 21 *āṅgulas*. In कात्यायनश्रौत 16. 8. 21 the height of a man is given as five *aratnis*.

(according to Āśvalāyana-gr̥hya-pariśiṣṭa 14) and Kumārila-kārikā I. 2. 20.)



Sacrificer facing the east.

The above is the figure of the sthaṇḍila and the lines thereon in all gr̥hya rites according to Baudhāyana-gr̥hya-saṁgraha-pariśiṣṭa (Z. D. M. G. vol. 35 p. 540) I. 52-58. The distance between the lines running towards the east is six angulas 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 ṛtviks) in sacrifices that are offered in one fire (i. e. in the gr̥hya fire) and are called *pūkayajñas* and the yajamāna (sacrificer) is himself the hotṛ priest.⁴⁸⁶ The order of the several parts in the homa is as follows:⁴⁸⁷ upalepana (smearing with cowdung), arranging of sthaṇḍila with sand or earth; drawing lines on the sthaṇḍila with a *samidh* (fuel stick), keeping the *samidh* on the lines with its end towards the east, sprinkling sthaṇḍila with water on its north or east, keeping the *samidh* (with which lines were drawn) outside the sthaṇḍila towards the north-east, then ācamana (by the sacrificer), then placing fire (either produced by attrition or brought from the house of a śrotriya or the ordinary one) on the sthaṇḍila facing the performer, placing two or three *samidhs* on the fire, keeping ready of idhma (15 *samidhs*) and a bunch of darbha grass. Then parisamūhana (wiping the ground round the fire from north-east with the hand that has water in it), then paristarana (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. अग्नेर्वैकः क्रत्विक् । पाकयज्ञे तु स्वयं होता भवति । गोभिलश्रुतम् I. 1. 8-9
पाकयज्ञ इत्युक्त्या यः क्रत्विकाग्रौ । सादित्श्रुतम् I. 1. 20.

487. This is based on Nārāyaṇa's com. on Āśv. gr̥. I. 3. 1-3.

time taking water in the hand separately), then *apah-pranayana* (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 strainers⁴⁸⁸ 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 Svīṣṭakṛt*. 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'.⁴⁸⁹

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 purifiest life &c' and with the one verse 'Prajāpati ! no other than thou &c' (*Rg. X. 121. 10*) or with the *vyāhṛtis*,⁴⁸⁹ or

488. In some works *pātrāsādana* is taught after *paristarana* and *paryukṣaṇa* (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 *pavitras* and places them in the *prokṣaṇapātra* the face of which is turned up and pours water in the *prokṣaṇapātra* and thrice purifies the water with them, then the other vessels are turned upwards, the bundle of *idhma* is loosened and all vessels are sprinkled with water, then the *pragītāpātra* is placed to the west of the fire, the two *pavitras* (*kuśa* blades used as strainers) are placed inside it and water is poured into the *pragītāpātra* 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 *pātrāsādana*. *Nārāyaṇa* mentions also other acts not specified by *Āśvalāyana* which may be done even by a person following that *sūtra* viz. carrying a firebrand (burning blade of *darbha*) round the clarified butter and cleansing of *śruc* and *śruva*, and throwing of the rope that tied together *idhma* into the fire at the end of the oblation to *Svīṣṭakṛt*.

489. In offering an oblation to *Dhātṛ* one would say ' ओं धाता दधातु नो रयिमीशानो जगत्स्यति । स नः पूर्वणि वाचन्तु । स्वाहा । धात्र इदं न मम '. The four oblations with the *vyāhṛtis* would be सुः स्वाहा, सुवः स्वाहा, स्वः स्वाहा, भुवः स्वाहा. *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 *ājyabhāga* see note 483.

according to some teachers with a combination (of the ṛk verses and vyāhrtis),⁴⁹⁰ while according to others there are no such special oblations.⁴⁹¹

In modern times, after the *sthaṇḍila* 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 called⁴⁹² '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 Śāṇḍilya megadhvaja mama sammukho varado bhava'. Then follow *parisamūhana* 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 *samśkāras* one has to feed *brāhmaṇas* learned in the Vedas.⁴⁹³ All rites begin with *ācamana* by the performer, *prāṇāyāma* by him, reference to the *deśa* (place) and *kāla* (time) and a *samkalpa* (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 *Gaṇapati*, *puṇyāhavācana*, the worship of *Māṭṛs* (mother goddessess) and *Nāndīśrāddha*. According to some there is only one *samkalpa* for all these ; according to others there is a separate *samkalpa* for each of *puṇyāhavācana*, *māṭṛkāpūjana* and *Nāndīśrāddha*. In all auspicious rites the performer takes a bath first, ties his topknot, has a piece of ground coudunged and lines with coloured materials are drawn on a portion of the ground, two auspicious *kalāśas* (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 ṛks and 4 with vyāhrtis).

491. i. e. there are no oblations with the 4 verses nor with the four vyāhrtis, but oblations will have to be offered to those deities that are prescribed as the deities where no special rule exists (vide *Āśv. gr.* 1. 3. 8 set out above at p. 208).

492. Vide *सं. र. मा.* pp. 58-59 where these names of the fires in the several *samśkāras* and rites are set out. The *Dānakriyākaumudī* (pp. 205-206) quotes from *Kapila Pāñcarātra* over 30 names of the fires kindled in the several rites and ceremonies.

493. शुचीन्मन्त्रवतः सर्वकृत्येषु भोजयेत् । आप. च. सू. II. 6. 15. 9 ; यद्वाह कात्यायनः । यमर्थागदित्तरेषु माह्वान् भोजयेत् । अथर्ववेद. p. 32.

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). Except⁴⁹⁴ where a religious rite is to be performed on a fixed day (e. g. anniversary śrāddha &c.) all samskāras and other auspicious rites are to be performed at certain auspicious times only.

Gaṇapatipūjana :—This consists in inviting the presence of the elephant-faced god Gaṇeśa on a betelnut placed in a handful of husked rice. The word Gaṇapati is used in the Ṛgveda as an attribute of Brahmanaspati (the lord of prayer or holy lore). The well-known mantra ('gaṇānām tvā gaṇapatim havāmahe' Rg. II. 23. 1) which is used to invoke Gaṇeśa is addressed to Brahmanaspati. 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 Gānapatya of Rudra. The Ait. Br. IV. 4⁴⁹⁵ expressly says that the mantra 'gaṇānām tvā' is addressed to Brahmanaspati. 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 Gaṇeśa 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 mouse⁴⁹⁶ is said to be the paśu (animal to be offered to) of Rudra. In the Tai. Ār. (X. 15) there is a verse⁴⁹⁷ 'We contemplate Vākratunda, therefore may the tusked (god) impel us'. In the Gṛhya and Dharma sūtras there is no reference to the worship of Gaṇeśa 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 Devatarpana includes the propitiation of Viṣṇu, Vināyaka, Vira, Sthūla, Varada, Hastimukha,

494. उद्यमने आपूर्यमाणपक्षे कल्प्यागे नक्षत्रे चोत्तमर्धेपितृयनगोदानविवाहाः।
आच. गृ. सू. I. 4. 1; भारद्वाज I. 1. 'आपूर्यमाणपक्षे पुण्ये नक्षत्रे विक्षेपेण पुनरामयेवे'

495. गणानां त्वा गणपतिं हवामहे इति ब्राह्मणस्यत्यं ब्रह्म वै ब्रह्मपतिर्ब्रह्मणैर्वैनं तद् भिषज्यति। ऐ. ब्रा. IV. 4.

496. एष ते रुद्र भागः सह स्वसाग्मिकया तं जुषस्व स्वादैव ते रुद्र भाग आक्षुस्ते पशुः।
वाज. सं. III. 57; vide also तै. सं. I. 8. 6. 1.

497. तत्पुत्राय विप्रदे वक्रतुण्डाय धीमहि। तन्नो वृन्तिः (वृन्ती?) मन्त्रोदयात् ॥ तै.
आ. X. 1.

Vakratuṇḍa, Ekadanta and Lambodara. But this part of the Baud. Dh. S. is of doubtful authenticity. All the above are the appellations of Vināyaka (vide Baud. gr̥hya-śeṣasūtra III. 10. 6). In the Mānava gr̥hya II. 14 it is said that the Vināyakas are four viz. Śālakataṅkaṭa, Kūṣmāṇḍarājaputra, Usmīta 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, cāṇḍālas. 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 Mānavagr̥hya then prescribes propitiatory rites to remove the effects of Vināyaka seizure. The Baijavāpagr̥hya (quoted by Aparārka p. 563 on Yāj. I. 275) says⁴⁹⁸ that there are four Vināyakas, Mita, Sammita, Śālakataṅkaṭa and Kūṣmāṇḍarājaputra and describes seizure by them and its effects in the same way as the Mānavagr̥hya. These two show the first stage in the development of the cult of Vināyaka. Vināyakas 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 Yāj. smṛti (I. 271-294). Here Vināyaka (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. Yāj. enumerates the results of the seizure by Vināyaka in the same way as the Mānavagr̥hya. Yāj. I. 285 says that Mita, Sammita, Śālakataṅkaṭa and Kūṣmāṇḍarājaputra are the four names⁴⁹⁹ of the one Vināyaka and that Ambikā is the mother of Vināyaka. It is noteworthy that Yāj. does not

498. चत्वारः सप्त विनायका भवन्ति । मितश्च संमितश्च शालकटङ्कटश्च कुष्माण्ड-
राजपुत्रश्चेति । वैजवापयुक्ता q. in अपराका p. 563.

499. Though Viśvarūpa and Aparārka take these to be four, it is curious that the Mit. makes them to be six (viz. Śāla and Kaṭaṅkaṭa as distinct and so also Kūṣmāṇḍa and Rājaputra). It is remarkable that Kṣīra on Amarakośa expressly says that Heramba is a Deśya word. This adds some weight to the theory that Gaṇeśa 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, Gaṇāna, Lambodara &c. The Baud. gr. śeṣasūtra 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 Gaṇeśa than even Yājñavalkya. The Ādiparva makes Gaṇeśa write the Mahābhārata to the dictation of Vyāsa; but this part is apocryphal as many mss. altogether omit this episode (*vide* J. R. A. S. for 1898 pp. 380-384, Winternitz). The other references in Vanaparva 65. 23 and Anuśāsana 150. 25 bear affinity to the description of Vināyaka in the Mānavagr̥hya.⁵⁰⁰

The Gobhīlasmṛti (in verse) I. 13 prescribes that at the beginning of all rites, the Mātṛs together with Gaṇādhipa (the lord of Gaṇas) should be worshipped. The well-known characteristics of Gaṇeśa and his worship had become fixed before the 5th or 6th century of the Christian era. Kālidāsa does not refer to Gaṇeśa. The Gāthāsaptasatī has references to Gaṇeśa. In that work (IV. 72) an image of Gaṇeśa 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 Gaṇeśa referable to about 500 A. D. Vide Dr. Bhandarkar in 'Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism' p. 147. Bāṇa in his Harṣacarita (IV Uchhvāsa 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 Mahāvīracarita (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 Mahābhūtaghaṭa, in which it is said that Vināyaka should be shown as riding a mouse. The Kṛtyaratnākara p. 271 quotes a passage from the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa for the worship of Gaṇeśa on the 4th day of Bhādrapada. Vide Agnipurāṇa chap. 71 and 313.

500. न पूजा विघ्नकर्तृणामथवा मयमं कृता । वनपर्व 65. 23; ईश्वराः सर्वलोकानां
गणेशविनायकाः । अश्वत्थाम 150. 25.

In modern times a verse⁵⁰¹ is repeated in which the shrines of the eight Vināyakas in the Deccan are enumerated.

Among the earliest epigraphic references to Gaṇapati is the one in the Nidhanpur plate of Bhāskarvarman (middle of 7th century). Vide E. I. Vol. XII. p. 73.⁵⁰²

The Gaṇapatipūjāna consists in the performer repeating the mantra Rg. II. 23. 1 ('gaṇānām tvā Gaṇapatim') as a prayer and then bowing to Gaṇeśa with the words 'Om Mahā-gaṇapataye namo namaḥ nirvighnam kuru' (salutations to the great Gaṇapati, make (this rite) free from obstacles'.

Puṇyāhavācana:—Although many elaborate descriptions of this are given in later digests like the Samskāraratnamālā, this was originally in ancient times a very simple and brief rite. The Āp. 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 'puṇyāham', 'svasti', and 'ṛddhim'. The performer of a religious rite honours the assembled brāhmanas 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, am⁵⁰³ about to perform' and then the brāhmanas

501. स्वस्ति श्रीगणपतयको गजसुखो भोरेश्वरे सिद्धिदे वल्लाळो सुखदे विनायक इति
स्वपतो महे ओझरे । विज्ञेयः सल्लु रांजणे गणपतिश्चिन्तामणिस्थेऽरे लेण्याद्री विरिजात्मजः
सुखदिने कुर्वात्सदा मङ्गलम् ॥ The eight places are indicated by thick type.
भोरेश्वर is भोरेगांव near Jejuri, सिद्धिदे refers to सिद्धदेक (about 30 miles
from Dhond), महे refers to महेश्वर (about 4 miles from Khopoli). सुखदे
is the capital of the Siddhis on the west coast south of Bombay. येऊर is 12
miles from Poona and Lepyādri is three miles from Junnar. Rājājapa-
gaon is 30 miles from Poona. Besides these there are famous Gaṇapati
shrines at Chinchwad and at Pulem near Ratnagiri on the sea coast.
Ojhar (where there is the shrine of Vighneśvara) is 28 miles from Poona
and 8 miles from Junnar. In 15 Bom. 612 a scheme was framed
by the Bombay High Court for the famous shrine of Maṅgalamūrti at
Chinchwad near Poona which has under its jurisdiction the shrines at
Morgaon, Theur and Siddhateka (p. 619).

502. गन्धर्ववती तस्माद्गणपतिमिव दानवर्षणमजस्रम् । गणपतिमगणितसुगणगणमसूत
कलिहानये तनयम् ॥ E. I. XII. p. 73. दान means gift as well ichor.

503. In स्वस्तिवाचन the performer says 'अशुकनाम्नः मम कारिष्यमाणविवा-
हाख्यय कर्मणे स्वस्ति भवन्तो नुवन्तु' and the brāhmanas reply 'ओं स्वस्ति'; the
performer says 'अशुकनाम्नः मम कारिष्यमाणविवाहाख्यय कर्मणः पुण्याहं भवन्तो
नुवन्तु'; the ब्राह्मणस्य reply 'ओं पुण्याहम्'; the performer says 'अशुकनाम्नः ...
कर्मणः सद्धिं भवन्तो नुवन्तु' and the ब्राह्मणस्य respond ओं सव्यताम् or 'ओं कर्म
सव्यताम् (OR सव्यताम्)'. पुण्याहवाचनं सर्वे ब्राह्मणस्य विधिधिते । तदेव च निरोद्धारं
कुर्वन्निविष्टयथोः ॥ यम quoted in संस्काररत्नमाला p. 29.

respond by saying 'Om, may it be auspicious'. Each of these three sentences (with svasti, puṇyāham and ṛddhim) is to be repeated thrice according to Baud. gr. śeṣa-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.

Mātrkāpū'ana :—The Mātr̥s (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 *Mṛcchakaṭika* (I) Cārudatta asks his friend Maitreya to offer *bali* to the Mātr̥s. The *Gobhila-smṛti*⁵⁰⁴ (in verse I. 11-12) names 14 mātṛs viz. Gaurī, Padmā, Śacī, Medhā, Sāvitrī, Vijayā, Jayā, Devasenā, Svadhā, Svāhā, Dhṛti, Puṣṭi, Tuṣṭi and one's own deity (*abhiṣṭa-devatā*). In the *Mārkaṇḍeya* (chap. 88. 11-20 and 38) seven mātṛs have been named as Mātr̥gaṇa. The *Matsyapurāṇa* (chap. 179. 9-32) names over a hundred mother goddesses (like Māheśvarī, Brāhmī, Kaumārī, Cāmūṇḍā), while in chap. 261 (24-36), there is a description of the images of some of the mātṛs like Brahmanī &c. The *Bṛhat-Saṃhitā* of Varāhamihira (chap. 58. 56) refers to the images of the mother goddesses. Bāṇa in his *Kādambarī* frequently refers to the mātṛs, to their worship and to dilapidated temples of these goddesses.⁵⁰⁵ The *Kṛtyaratnākara* quotes a passage from the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* at p. 261 about the images of the seven mātṛs and pp. 305 and 307 quote the *Devīpurāṇa* about the worship of mātṛs and the flowers dear to them. The worship of mātṛs 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 mātṛs' (I. A. vol. VI. p. 73 in 535 *śake* and E. I. vol. IX. p. 100 in 660 A. D.). The Kadambas are described as meditating on Kārtikeya-śvāmī and on the group of mātṛs (I. A. vol. VI. p. 25)⁵⁰⁶. Similarly a

504. These verses are quoted in the स्मृतिचन्द्र (आश्व. p. 503) and अपराक p. 517. The seven in the मार्कण्डेय are ब्रह्माणी, माहेश्वरी, कौमासी, वाराही, नारसिंही, वैष्णवी, ऐन्द्री.

505. 'अभिनवलिखितमातृपदप्रजापत्यप्रधानीजनं' (स्तुतिकाव्यं) in para 64, पूर्वभाग of कादम्बरी; 'अभ्यर्णतया च कैलासस्य स्नानागतमातृमण्डलपदपङ्क्ति-कथमुक्ति-तम्' para 130 कादम्बरी (पूर्वभाग); 'असङ्कुलसज्जदेवमातृद्वयारक्षेत्रसज्जरेरितकपोलेन (जरद्वन्द्वविधार्मिकेण) para 216 कादम्बरी (पूर्वभाग).

506. 'स्नानेन महासेनमातृगणानुध्यातानां कदम्बानाम्' I. A. vol. VI. p. 25. Fleet's translation 'who meditate on the assemblage of the mothers of Śvāmī Kārtikeya' is not accurate.

temple to the Mātr̥s is said to have been erected by Mayūrākṣa, the minister of Viśvavarman in 480 of the Mālava Era i. e. 423-24 A. D. (Gupta Inscriptions p. 74).

Whence the cult of māt̥r̥s, which was not described in the Gr̥hyasūtras, 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, XCIV and XCV) 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. 4⁵⁰⁷ the seven mothers are said to regulate soma when it is being prepared (the seven mothers are probably the seven metres or the seven rivers).

Nāndīśrāddha :—This will be dealt with under śrāddhas later on.

Pūmsavana :—This rite is so called because in virtue of it a male is born.⁵⁰⁸ The word 'pūmsavana' occurs in the Atharvaveda VI. 11. 1 where⁵⁰⁹ it appears to be used literally (in the sense of 'giving birth to a male child') 'The Āsvattha 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. Puṣya) 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 'pūmsavana', (generation of a male), 'pūmsavana'. In this way (he) should make her take three handfuls (of curds with two beans and barley).'⁵¹⁰

There is some difference of view as to details. The Āp. gr., Hīr. gr. and Bhāradvāja gr. place pūmsavana after simanton-

507. जज्ञानं सप्त मातरो वेधामशासत श्रिये । ऋ. IX. 102. 4.

508. पुंसवनमिति कर्मनामधेयं येन कर्मणा निमित्तेन गर्भिणी पुमांसमेव हृते तत्पुंसवनम् । सुदर्शन on आप. गृ. 14. 9 ; तच्च पुमान् सृयतेनेन कर्मणेति व्युत्पत्त्या गर्भस्य पुंस्त्वतापादकः कर्मविशेषः । शौनकादिभिः । पुमान् मध्यते येन तत्पुंसवनमीरितम् ॥ इति । संस्कार-प्रकाश pp. 166-167.

509. शमीमन्थत्य आरुहस्तन पुंसवनं कृतम् । अथर्व VI. 11. 1.

510. Vide Appendix for text.

nayana and Āp. 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 (pumsavanam-asi) found in Āp. M. P. (II. 11. 14). Śān. gr. (I. 20, S. B. E. vol. 29. p. 46) says that the rite may be performed on Tisya or Śravana, while the Bhāradvāja gr. (I. 22) says that it may be performed on Tisya or Hasta or Anurādhā or Uttarā or Proṣṭhapadā; Pāraskara and Baijavāpa say it should be performed when the moon is in conjunction with a male nakṣatra.⁵¹² Pār. gr. I. 14 and Jātukarṇya (Sam. Pr. p. 167) and Baijavāpa (*ibid.*) say that the rite should be performed in the 2nd or 3rd month of pregnancy, Āsv., Hir., Śān., Gobhila, Khādīra prescribe the third month. Yāj. I. 11, Pār. gr. (I. 14), Viṣṇu Dh. S. 27. 2 and Bṛhaspati (quoted in the Sm. C.) say that pumsavana 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 Mānava gr. says that it should be performed in the 8th month of pregnancy. Devapāla (com. of Kāṭhaka gr.) says the usage

511. Nārāyaṇa says that in this rite one has to perform at first the sthālīpāka intended for Prajāpati up to the offering of the two śjya-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 न्यग्रोधस्य वा मन्थुद्विची वा शाला ततः सदृश्यां शुद्धामाहृत्य ; वैखानस III. 11 also has 'अग्नेरपरस्यामासीनाया दृषोसीति सर्षपमिश्रितान्यवानाहौ स्थ इति दद्यादलाने माषधान्यौ अतिनिधी स्याताम्.'

512. According to a verse quoted in Sm. C. the male nakṣatras are Hasta, Mūla, Śravana, Punarvasu, Mṛgaśīras and Puṣya; the Saṁskāra-mayūkha adds that the Nārādiya mentions Rohiṇī, Pūrvābhādrapadā and Uttarābhādrapadā also as male nakṣatras and that Vasiṣṭha regards Svāti, Anurādhā and Āśvinī also as male nakṣatras. मातृवृत्त on हिरण्य. गृ. I. 1. 5 says 'अथयुक्ते पुनर्वसु तिथौ दस्तः शतभिषक् ओष्ठपदा इति पुंनामधेयानि नक्षत्राणि.'

of *śiṣṭas* 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 *gr̥hyasūtras* refer to the pounding of the shoot⁵¹³ 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*. *Śāṅkhāyana* (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; *Khādīra* gr̥. (S. B. E. vol. 29. p. 394) mentions *Mantra-Brāhmaṇa* I. 4. 8, the *Kāṭhaka* gr̥. quotes *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā*. The several *sūtras* of the Black *Yajurveda* show the greatest divergence among themselves.

It would be clear that the *pumsavana* 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 bile of a tortoise on the woman's lap was prescribed by *Pāraskara* alone (I. 14) it is difficult to say.

Later works like the *Saṁskāraratnamālā* prescribe a *homa* for *pumsavana* 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 *Garbharaṅga* :—This rite was apparently part of *Pumsavana*. *Āśv. gr̥.*, as already said, separately mentions *pumsavana* and *anavalobhana* as referred to in the *Upaniṣad*. The *Baijavāpa* gr̥. (quoted in the *Saṁskāraprakāśa* p. 171) says 'He performs the *pumsavana* 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 *Baijavāpa* quoted in the *Saṁskāramayūkha*⁵¹⁴ says that the two are to be performed in the 2nd or 3rd month

513. According to the *Kāṭhaka* gr̥. the pounding is to be done by a virgin or a *brahmacārin* or by a chaste *brāhmaṇa* woman.

514. वैजवाप्यश्रुते । अथ पुंसवनानवलोभने करोति मासि द्वितीये वा तृतीये वा । इदं च पुंसवनं द्वेन एव तदुत्तरं कार्यम् । ... इदमपि न अवलुप्यते गर्भोन्नेनेति श्रुत्यस्या गमयिना-
शफलेकं यद् नश्यत्तु कर्म तस्य नामिषेयम् । भकाराश्रयाद्भवः । संस्कारमयूख

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 Smṛtyarthasāra it is to be performed in the fourth month. According to Laghu-Āśvalāyana IV. 1-2 anavalobhana and simantonnayana 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 Garbharakṣaṇa (protection of the foetus): "In the fourth month the garbharakṣaṇa; offering six oblations into fire from a mess of cooked food with the six verses of the hymn 'brahmaṇāgniḥ'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 गर्भो योनिमैतु पुमान् बाण इवेक्षुधिम् । आ चरो जायतां पुत्रस्ते दश-
मारुतः ॥ अग्निरैतु प्रथमो देवतानां सोऽस्यै भजां सुखतु भुव्युपाशात् । तद्वयं राजा वरुणोत्तमन्वतां
ययेयं स्त्री पौत्रमयं न रोदात् ॥ इति. The first is practically the same as अयर्वेदे
III. 23. 2; the 2nd is आप. स. पा. I. 4. 7.

516. न ह्युपेक्ष्य सवेद्येन तत्कर्मनिबलोभनम् । सौनिककारिका.

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 (यस्मिन्नाशन).

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 *pūṁsavana* it is to be performed only once.

Simantonayana :—This is treated in the following gr. sūtras : Āśv. I. 14. 1-9; Śāṅ. I. 22, Āp. 14. 1-8, Hir. II. 1, Baud. I. 10, Bhāradvāja I. 21, Gobhila II. 7. 1-12, Khādīra II. 2. 24-28, Pār. I. 15, Kāthaka 31. 1-5, Vaikhāṇasa III. 12.

This word literally means 'parting of the hair (of a woman) upwards.' Yāj. (I. 11), Veda-Vyāsa (I. 18) call this *samskāra* simply 'śimanta', while Gobhila (II. 7. 1), Mānava gr. (I. 12. 2), Kāthaka gr. (31. 1) call it *śimantakarana*. Āp. gr. and Bhāradvāja gr. (I. 21) describe it before *pūṁsavana*. The Āśv. gr. (I. 14. 1-9) describes it as follows : " In the fourth month of pregnancy the *Simantonayana* (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 Dhātṛ give to his worshipper ' (*Atharvaveda* VII. 17. 2-3), with the two verses, ' I invoke Rākā ' (*Rg.* II. 32. 4-5), with the three (verses) called ' *nejameṣa* ' (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 ⁵¹⁸ (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.) ' त्रेषां सत्त्वेषां निवर्तयेत् । त्रीणि वै देवानां चक्षुषानि त्रीणि चक्षुषि त्रीणि सत्त्वानि त्रय इमे लोकाः । 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. mantrapāṭha 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 *darbhas* and tying a garland round her neck, giving her boiled rice mixed with mudga and ghee and asking lute players to sing indicate its festive character. There is a great divergence among the gṛhya 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 gṛhya 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 Khādīra, in 6th or 8th according to Pāraskara, Yāj. (I. 11), Viṣṇu Dh. S. (27. 3), Śaṅkha; in the 7th according to Śān. gr. (I. 22. 1), in the 8th according to Vaik. and Veda-Vyāsa (I. 18). Śaṅkha as quoted in the Smṛticandrikā (I. p. 17) says that it should be performed on the foetus beginning to move and up to the time of delivery. Āśv., Śān. and Hir. require that the moon must be in conjunction with a male nakṣatra. 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 *darbhas*. 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 Viratara 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. Pār. 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 Vaikhānasa 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 varṇas residing in the Sālva 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. गायतमिति वीणागायिनौ संशास्ति । उत्तरयोः पूर्वा साल्वानां ब्राह्मणानामितरा । आप. गृ. सू. 14. 4-5; the verses from the मन्त्रपाठ (II. 11. 12-13) are यौगन्धरिव नो राजेति साल्वीरवादिषुः । विवृत्तचक्रा आसीनास्तीरेण यक्षुने तव ॥ सोम एव नो राजेत्याहुर्ब्राह्मणीः यथाः । विवृत्तचक्रा आसीनास्तीरेणासौ तव ॥ भारद्वाजश्रुत्य (I. 2) has

Āśv. and Śān. expressly state that a bull is the fee in this saṃskāra for the officiating priest. Āp., Pār. and Bhāradvāja say that brāhmaṇas are to be fed in this rite. Śān. 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 of the house from the east or north, he should first touch a calf and then mutter the vyāhrtis (bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ, svaḥ) and give up his silence.⁵²⁰

The Mānavagṛhya (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-स्तीरेण यमुने तव; while Hir. reads मङ्गे for यमुने in the verse as read by Bhārdvāja. Pār. reads 'सोम एव नो राजेमा मातृषीः प्रजाः । अविमुक्तचक्र आसीरिस्तीरे तुभ्यमसावेति'. Here अविमुक्तचक्रे qualifies तीरे (loc.) or it may be the vocative addressed to the river whose name is taken. It may be inferred with some force that Āp. mantrapāṭha 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 Vaidyas are in abundance there. The country of Sālva was included in the Kaccādigana (Pāṇini V. 2. 133, and Mahābhāṣya, vol. II. p. 300). Pāṇini 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 Vanaparva 14. 1-5 it is said that the king of Sālva whose capital was at Saubha attacked Dvārakā. Śālyaparva (20. 1) calls the Sālva king lord of mleccha tribes and speaks of him as fighting for Duryodhana and as killed by Sātyaki. A Kārikā quoted by the Kāśikā makes Yaugandhara a division of Sālva 'उडुम्बरास्तिलखला मद्रकारा युगन्धराः । सुलिङ्गाः शरद्वडाश्च साल्वावयवसंज्ञिताः ॥'.

520. The words of the आप. गृ. 14. 7-8 are यवात् विरुदानीव च वाचं यच्छ-
त्यनक्षेत्रेभ्यः । उदितेषु नक्षत्रेषु प्राचीमुदीचीं वा दिशमुपनिष्क्रम्य वत्समन्वारं च ध्याहृतीं च
जपित्वा वाचं विशृजेत् । The S. B. 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 (kartā) is the husband ; even in the 7th sūtra grammar
requires that if the kartā of tying the garland ('ābadhya') is the
husband then the kartā of 'visṛjet' also must be the husband. Sudarśana
notes (in his com.) that some read the sūtras as 'वाचं यच्छत आ नक्षत्रेभ्यः...
विशृजतः' (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.

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 garbhādhāna.

Viṣṇu was of opinion that śimantonnayana 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.⁵²¹ On account of the great divergence of details one may conjecture that this saṁskāra was not very ancient in the times of the Gr̥hyasūtras.

It appears however that gradually this picturesque rite receded in the back ground, 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 *Āṭhaṅgulem*) which retains some vestiges of the ancient rite (such as the garland of udumbara fruit).

Viṣṇubali :—According to Vasīṣṭha 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 *tithi* of the bright fortnight and when the moon was in the Śravaṇa, Rohiṇi or Puṣya constellation. The same work quotes verses of Āśvalāyana describing the ceremony and stating its purpose viz. 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 Nāndīśrāddha was to be performed and then homa to fire was to be performed up to the offering of ājyabhāgas. To the south of the fire another sthaṇḍila 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 विष्णुः । शिमन्तोन्नयनं कर्म तत् स्त्रीसंस्कार इत्यते । कोचिदुभयस्य संस्कारो गर्भे गर्भे प्रयुज्यते । स्मृति-च (I. p. 17). This verse is read by लघुविष्णु (Anan. ed. I. 10) as सोम ... कर्म न स्त्री... इत्यते । गर्भस्यैव तु संस्कारो गर्भे गर्भे प्रयोजयेत्.

Nārāyaṇāya ' and the husband and wife should partake separately of two balls of the same rice. Then the offering to Agni Svi-
ṣṭakṛt should be made, dakṣiṇā should be distributed and brāh-
maṇas should be fed. The Vaik. (III. 13) describes Viṣṇubali
differently. The gods with Agni as the first are invoked unto the
northern prapīdhi vessel and then at the end Puruṣa is invoked
four times with ' om bhūḥ ', ' om bhuvaḥ ', ' om suvaḥ ', ' om
bhūr-bhuvaḥ-suvaḥ ', then to the east of the fire he invokes
Viṣṇu on seats of darbha grass with the names, Keśava,
Nārāyaṇa, Mādhava, Govinda, Viṣṇu, Madhusūdana, Trivikrama,
Vāmana, Śrīdhara, Hṛṣikeśa, Padmanābha, Dāmodara ; then he
bathes Viṣṇu, with mantras ' Āpaḥ ' (Tai. S. IV. 1. 5. 11 = Rg. X. 9.
1-3), ' Hiraṇyavarṇāḥ ' (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), ' pra-
tadviṣṇuḥ ' (Tai. Br. II. 4. 3 = Rg. I. 154. 2), ' paro mātrayā '
(Tai. Br. II. 8. 3), ' vicakrame 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 ' namaḥ ' at the
end of each (i. e. by saying ' Keśavāya namaḥ ' &c.). What
remains of the rice cooked in milk is eaten by the wife.

Soḡyantīkarma :—Vide Āp. gr. 14. 13-15 ; Hir. gr. II. 2. 8-
II. 3. 1, Bhāradvāja gr. I. 23, 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 pen⁵²² 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). Bhāradvāja is similar to Āp., but gives verses that are slightly different from those of the Āp. M. P. Gobhila and Khādīra 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. Ādityadarśana on Kāṭhaka gr. (33. 1) remarks that this rite is not really a saṃskāra and Devapāla says that this is a rite which has a seen result (while saṃskāras are deemed to have an unseen result).

Jātakarma :—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 अभिष्टा दशभिरभिष्टुशामि दशमास्याय स्रुवे । आप. म. पा. II. 11. 15.

524. Āp. M. P. II. 11. 20 is the same as Atharva. I. 11. 4.

525. वैश्वानरं द्वादशकपालं निर्वपेत्सुत्रे जाते । यस्मिञ्जात एताभिर्हि निर्वपति पूत एव तेनस्यसाद् इन्द्रियावी पशुमान् भवति । तै. सं. II. 2. 5. 3-4. जातकर्म is treated of in the following : आप. गृ. 15. 1. 7 (S. B. E 30 pp. 281-82), आश्व. गृ. (I. 15. 1-4, S. B. E. 29 p. 182), काठकथ्य 34-35, स्वादिर II. 2. 32-34 (S. B. E 29 p. 395), गोमिल II. 7. 17-23 (S. B. E vol. 30 pp 55-56), पारस्कर I. 16 (S. B. E. 29 pp 293-297), मारद्वाज I. 23-26, वैखानस III. 14-15, शोखायन I. 24. 1-5 (S. B. E. vol. 29 pp 49-50), द्विरप्यकोश (II. 3. 2-II. 4-5, S. B. E vol. 30 pp 210-214.)

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 Vaiśvānareṣṭi 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 bhāṣya 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 Śat. 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 ' breathe 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 passage⁵²⁶ " 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) Sviṣṭakṛt 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 bhūh, I place in thee bhuvah, I place in thee svah, I place in

526. तस्मात्कुमारं जातं घृतं वै चाग्ने मतिलेहयन्ति स्तनं वा अनुधापयन्ति । बृह. उ. प. I. 5. 2.

527. The idea of muttering 'vāk' thrice is that the father wishes that speech as manifested in the three Vedas may come to the boy in due course. Bhūh, bhuvah and svah represent the three Vedas or earth, air and heaven.

thee bhūr-bhuvah svaḥ, 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 (Rg. I. 164. 49) 'Oh, Sarasvatī! 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 maitrāvaruṇī⁵²⁸! Oh strong one! thou art Ilā, 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 gṛṛta 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 gṛṛta by means of a golden ladle (or ring); (4) addressing the child with a name which was to be his secret name (nāmakaraṇa); (5) putting the child to the breast; (6) addressing the mother with *mantras*. The Śatapatha 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 gṛhyasūtras 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 gṛhyasūtras 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 gṛhyasūtras. Some description, however, of the details from important gṛhyasūtras is given below:

528. Maitrāvaruṇa is Vasiṣṭha and so Maitrāvaruṇī may be Arundhatī. ॐ means 'earth' or 'food'. One rather expects अजीजनः for अजीजनत्.

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. Āśv. 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 Āśv. gr. (I. 15. 1-4) the ceremony is described as follows: "When a son has been born, he (the father) should before other 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 ghr̥ta, (Veda) which is produced by the god Savitr̥ (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*⁵²⁹ 'may god Savitr̥ bestow on thee intelligence; may the goddess Sarasvatī bestow on thee intelligence and may the two gods Āśvins wearing wreaths of lotus give to thee intelligence'.⁵³⁰ 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' (Rg. II. 21. 6) and 'Oh Maghavan (bountiful Indra)!⁵³¹ Oh (Indra) partaker of ṛjṣa! bestow on us' (Rg. 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 Nāmakaraṇa.

529. The verse is so called because it was deemed to produce intelligence.

530. Nārāyaṇa (on Āśv. gr. I. 15. 2) notes that some say that the mantra is muttered only once, when the mouth is brought near each ear one after another, others say that the mantra is recited twice.

531. ऋजिष 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 अश्म भव should be uttered when touching the right shoulder, while the two 'इन्द्रं श्रेष्ठानि' and 'अस्मे प्रयत्नि' 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 bhṛṣyakāra who went before did so.

It will be noticed that out of the several components of the rite described in the Br. Up. and the Śat. Br., Āśv. omits express mention of homa, of putting the child to the breast (*stanadāna*), the address to the mother (*mātrabhimantraṇa*), and the breathing over the child by five brāhmaṇas or the father. The Śān. gr. (I. 24. 1-12) also omits homa, the *stanadāna* and *mātrabhimantraṇa*, but refers to the father breathing over the new born child thrice. Instead of ghr̥ta and honey served with a golden spoon, Śān. prescribes mixing of curds, honey, ghr̥ta 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 Āśv. and Śān. both prescribe giving a secret name to the child on the day of birth and do not prescribe a separate Nāmakaraṇa ceremony. Śān. 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 Khādīra gr. II. 2. 28-31 say that a secret name for the child that is to be born is to be uttered in the Soṣyanti-karma. So Āśv. 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 gr̥hyasūtras.

Homa :—This is prescribed by the Br. Up., the Mānava, the Kāṭhaka gr. at the time of birth. The Āśv. gr. pariśiṣṭa (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 ghr̥ta and then the offering be made to Agni. It is prescribed before birth (in the Soṣyantikarma) by Gobhila and Khādīra. It is prescribed after the whole rite by Baud. gr. II. 1. 13. It is omitted by Āśv. and Śān. The Pār. gr. (I. 16), Hir. gr., Bhāradvāja gr. (I. 26) say that the Aupāsana (i. e. gr̥hya) fire is taken away and a sūtikāgni set up (which is also called Uttapanīya)⁵³² near the door of the lying-in chamber. The Vaik. (III. 15) calls it jātakāgni (and also Uttapanīya). 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 twilights for ten days after birth with certain mantras. Āp. prescribes that

532. The Sūtikāgni is prepared by placing the broken piece of a jar on the kitchen fireplace and heating it with the dried dung of a bull. 'अप्ययं कपिलमारोप्य वृषभशकुत्पिण्डैर्जतिकाभिः साधयेत्तमेनक्षुत्तपनीयमित्युवाचस्मिन्' वैश्वानस 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 ghr̥ta. The first of these viz. muttering in the right ear of the boy some words or a mantra is called medhājanana in Āśv. and Śān. (I. 24. 9 which prescribes 'vāk'); while most of the other sūtras viz. Vaik., 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 ṛcaḥ' as in Vaikhānasa, or 'medhām te devaḥ' as in Āp.). The Baud. gr. (II. 1. 7) prescribes the giving of curds, honey and ghr̥ta ten times with each of the ten mantras (Tai. Br. II. 5. 1) of the anuvāka beginning with 'prāṇo rakṣati viśvam-ejaḥ.' The Vaik. expressly says that the Vacā⁵³³ 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 Samskāramayūkha regard this eating of honey and ghr̥ta as the principal part of jātakarma.⁵³⁴

(3) *Ayusya* :—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. Āśv. (vide p. 231) has such an invocation in conjunction with the eating of honey and ghr̥ta. Bhāradvāja also does the same. Mānava gr. prescribes the anuvāka 'Agne āyur-asi' (Kāthaka Smṛ. XI. 7) for 21 oblations (this anuvāka is full of the word 'āyusmat').

(4) *Aṁsābhimarśana* (touching the child on the shoulder or shoulders). Vide Āśv. 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. वचा पथ्या हिरण्यं मधु संपिबिति मेधाजननानि भवन्ति। वैखानसस्मार्त III. 15. Amara gives उन्नमन्या and हरितकी as synonyms of वचा and पथ्या respectively.

534. जातकर्मणि प्रधानमाहाश्वलायनः। कुंभारं जातं पुराणैरात्मन्मत्सर्पिर्मधुनी हिरण्यनिकानं हिरण्येन आशयेत्। संस्कारमयूख

2. 2), and again with 'be a stone, be an axe' (in Pār. and with the mantra 'may he grow' in Bhār.). Some sūtras like Śān. omit this.

(5) *Mātrabhimantraṇa* :—(addressing the mother). The mother is addressed by the father with the verse 'Thou art *Īā* &c' (vide Br. Up. above), which occurs in Pār. Many sūtras omit this. Hir. has a different verse.

(6) *Pañca-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) *Stana-pratidhāna* or *stanapradāna* :—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. 87 and 38. 5 for the two breasts, Āp. and Bhār. prescribe Āp. *mantrapāṭha* II. 13. 2 only for the right breast; Hir. and Vaik. prescribe the same verse for both.

(8) *Deśābhimantraṇa*⁵³⁵ (or-*marśana*) :—touching the ground where the son is born and addressing the earth (with one or two mantras). Pār., Bhār., Āp., Hir. do this.

(9) *Nāmakaraṇa* :—(giving a name to the child). The Br. Up., Āśv., Śān., Gobhila, Khādīra 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 Khādīra a name is to be given in the *Soṣyanti-karma* which is to be kept secret.

535. भारद्वाज (I. 25) has यत्र ज्ञेते तद्भिषुशति । वेद ते भूमि द्वेदं दिवि चन्द्रमसि स्मितम् । वेदाष्टतस्य गोक्षारं माहं पौत्रमयं रुदम् ॥ इति । पारस्कर reads स यशित्वेदेसे जानो भवति तमभिमन्त्रयते । वेद.....स्मितम् । वेदाहं तन्मां तद्विद्यात्ययेन शरदुः इति जीवेन शरदुः इति श्रुत्येवम शरदुः शतमिति । ।

(10) *Keeping off evil spirits*:—Though Āśv. and Śān. are entirely silent on this point several sūtras devote large space to this topic and are full of *mantras* which are more or less magic. Āp. prescribes the offering of mustard seed and rice chaff in fire three times with each of eight *mantras* (Āp. *mantra-pāṭha* 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 *sūtikāgni* 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!

536. द्वारदेशे सुतिकाग्निमुपसमाधायोत्थानात्संधिवेलयोः फलीकरणमिवात्र सर्व-
पानश्रावावपति । शण्डामर्का उपवीरः शौण्डिकेय उलूखलः । मलिमुचो द्रोणासश्चवनी
नश्यतादितः स्वाहा ॥ आलिखन्निमेषः किंवदन्त उपश्रुतिर्हयसः कुम्भीशत्रुः पात्रपाणिर्द-
मणिर्हन्त्रिमुखः सर्वपात्रणाम्यवनो नश्यतादितः स्वाहेति । पारस्कर I. 16. These two
occur in Hir. and the first in Bhāradvāja also.

537. कुमारैजाते द्वारवामेऽरमानि परशुं तस्मिन्द्विष्यं स्थापयेत्वा 'अस्मा भव' इत्यधर-
क्षत्रं करोति तस्येपरि 'अङ्गादङ्गात्' इति कुमारमेकया स्त्रिया धारयेत् । वैखानस III. 14.
The verse is अङ्गादङ्गात्संभवति हृदयादधिजायते । आत्मा वै पुत्रनामासि स जीव
सरद्यः सत्य ॥ Āp. M. P. II. 11. 33. Āp. gr. (15. 12) prescribes that when a
father returns from a journey he should take in his hands his son's head,
should smell (or kiss) the top of it thrice and then mutter this verse.
Nir. III. 4. quotes this verse as a *ṛk* in support of the view that sons and
daughters equally partake of the inheritance. The formula अस्मा भव
occurs in Āśv. gr. and in others also. Vaik. says that the jar is to be to
the south of the woman's head; Āp. employs the word 'śīrastah' which
Sudarsana explains as 'near the head of the child'. The मन्त्र in पारस्कर
is 'आयः सुतेषु जाग्रथ यथा देवेषु जाग्रथ । एवमस्या सुतिकायां सपुत्रिकायां जाग्रथ ॥'
अप. म. पा. II. 13. 6 and हिरण्य. गृ. have a similar verse.

watch while (people are asleep).' None of the *sūtras* (except *Vaikhāṇasa*) 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 *ghṛta* should be mixed with water and poured out in a cowstable (and not thrown about in an impure place). This ceremony is comparatively brief in *Āp.*, *Śāṅh.* 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 'putrāvāṇa' (in Marathi) and make the boy lick honey and *ghṛta* 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. ⁵³⁸

The *Sm. C.* (I. p. 19) ⁵³⁹ cites *Hārīta*, *Śāṅkha*, *Jaimini* to the effect that till the navel cord is cut there is no impurity, that the *saṁskāra* may be performed till then and that gifts of jaggery, sesame, gold, clothes, cows and corn may be made and accepted. The same work quotes *Saṁvarta* and other *smṛtis* to the effect that the father must bathe before he can perform the *jātakarma* rite. This would involve some further loss of time and it is remarkable that the *gṛhya sūtras* observe silence about this, though *Manu* V. 77 prescribes a bath on hearing of the birth of a son. The *Sm. C.* quotes *Pracetas*, *Vyāsa* and others to the effect that a *nāndīśrāddha* (which will be explained under *śrāddha*) should be performed in *jātakarma* (*brāhmaṇas* are not to eat cooked food in this *śrāddha*, but to receive corn or only money payment). Later works like the *Dharmasindhu* say that in *jātakarma* as in other rights, *svastivācana*, *pūṇyāhāvācana* and *mātrkāpūjana* are necessary.

538. 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 *gṛhyasūtra* and by the time the ceremony was over, the helpless child that had already little vitality was dead owing to exposure and cold.

539. हारीतोपि । 'माङ्गनाभिच्छेदात् संस्कारं पुण्यार्थिन्कुर्वन्ति छिन्नायामासौच्यम् ।'
..... अङ्गः कुमाभिसने नायामाच्छिन्नायां युक्तिलाहिरप्यवज्ञातोपानयनमिदमेवमपि न दोषः
इदमित्येके सुवर्षं नि यते ।' स्मृतिच० I. pp. 19 and 20.

Medieval writers of digests give extensive descriptions of *śānti* rites⁵⁴⁰ performed to counteract the inauspicious effects of birth on the 14th *tithi* of the dark half of a month or on the *amāvāsyā* or on *Mūla*, *Āśleṣā* and *Jyesthā* *nakṣatras* and certain astrological conjunctions like *Vyātipāta*, *Vaidhṛti*, *Samkrānti* (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 *Nirṇayasindhu*, the *Samskāramayūkha* and other works are the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, *Vyāsa* and *Nārada*. On these days the father or other male relative bathes in the first part of the night, then invokes *Gaṇeśa*, and certain minor deities called *Janmadā* on handfuls of rice and also *Ṣaṣṭhīdevī* and *Bhagavati* (i. e. *Durgā*) and worships them with sixteen *upacāras*. Then *tāmbūla* and *daśiṇā* 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 *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* 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.

Uttāna: (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 *gotra*. Then he brings back the *supāsana* (*grhya* fire), offers oblations to *Dhātṛ* and others (as in I. 16), five oblations to *Varuṇa* (I. 17), the *mūlahoma* (I. 18) and feeds the *brāhmaṇas*. *Śāṇ. gr.* (I. 25) is more elaborate. It prescribes that a mess of cooked food is prepared in the *sūtikāgni*

540 Vide *संस्काररत्नमाला* pp. 846-47, *संस्कारभकाश* pp. 201-203. 'सर्वेषां गण्डजातानां परित्यागो विधीयते । जातस्यादर्शने तावद्यावत्पूर्वं समाप्तकम् ॥ इति । अन्ये तु होमपूर्वकदानेन तद्दर्शनं क्षुभमित्याहुः ।' *नित्याचारपद्धति*.

and oblations are made to the *tūthi* 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 *utthāna*. 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'.

*Nāmakaṛaṇa*⁵⁴¹:—The ceremony of naming a child. Vide Āp. gr. 15. 8-11 (S. B. E. vol. 30, pp. 282-283), Āśv. gr. I. 15. 4-10, S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 183, Baud. gr. II. 1. 23-31, Bhār. gr. I. 26, Gobhila gr. II. 8. 8-18 (S. B. E. vol. 30 pp. 57-58), Hir. gr. II. 4. 6-15 (S. B. E. vol. 30, pp. 214-215), Kāthaka gr. 34. 1-2 and 36. 3-4, Kausika sūtra 58. 13-17, Mānava gr. I. 18, 1, Śān. gr. I. 24. 4-6 (S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 50), Vaik. III. 19, Vārāha gr. 2.

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 smṛtis.

(a) We have already seen (p. 232) that a child was addressed by a name, according to Gobhila and Khādīra, even in the *Soṣyantikarma*.

(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 Śat. Br.^{541a} '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'".⁵⁴²

541. 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. तस्मात्पुत्रस्य जातस्य नाम कुर्यात्पाप्मानमेवास्य तद्व्यवहृत्यपि द्वितीयनामपि वृत्तीयम् । सतपथ VI. 1. 3. 9.

542. लोके तावन्मातापितरौ पुत्रस्य जातस्य संवृतेऽवकाशे नाम कुर्वति देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्त इति । तयोश्च चारादुभयेपि जान-जीयमस्य संकेति । महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 38.

(c) Āp., Baud., Bhār., and Pār. prescribe the 10th day after birth for nāmakarāṇa. The Mahābhāṣya quotes a passage⁵⁴³ 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 Nāmakarāṇa 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 nāmakarāṇa, 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 Khādīra⁵⁴⁴ 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 grhyaparīṣiṣṭa to the effect that it may be performed after the 10th night is passed or after 100 nights or a year and the Bhaviṣyat-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 Bāṇa in his Kādambarī (pūrvabhāga para 68) says that Tārāpīḍa named his son Candrapīḍa when the tenth day after birth fell on an auspicious *muhūrta* and that the minister Sukanāsa named his son Vaisampāyana next day.⁵⁴⁵

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). Medhātithi does not⁵⁴⁶ like the addition of 'past' (*atitāyām*) after 'daśamyām' in Manu II. 30 and says just as jātakarṇa can be performed even when there is impurity due to birth, so nāmakarāṇa may be performed on the 10th and that the only essential thing is that it is not to

543. महाभाष्य Vol. I. p. 4.

544. जननादूर्ध्वं दशरात्राच्छतरात्रं संवत्सराद्वा नाम कुर्यात् । खादिर II. 3. 6 ;
अपारिक्रियम् । जननादशरात्रे व्युत्प्रेते शतरात्रे संवत्सरे वा नामधेयकरणम् । अपारार्क p. 26.

545. माते दशमेहनि पुण्ये शुद्धते चन्द्रापिड इति नाम चकार । अपरेषुः श्रुतना-
लोपि ... येन म्यायन इति नाम चकार । कादम्बरी para. 68 ; 'अवासे च दशमेहनि
... महाभ्येतोति यथार्थमेव नाम कृतवान् ।' कादम्बरी para 140.

546. जातकर्मवदशरीरेपि करिष्यते । ... यदि दशमीद्वादश्वौ पदयन्मात्रमुपयुक्तौ
भक्षतः तदौ तयोः कर्तव्यम् । यदा न तदान्वयस्मिन्महनि कर्तव्यम् । ... अथ च परमार्थः ।
दशमीद्वादशीभ्यामर्वाङ् न कर्तव्यम् । उत्तरकालं च यद्वर्नक्षत्रं लग्ने परिक्रियं तद्वदरे
कर्तव्यम् । मेवातिथि on मञ्जु II. 30.

be performed before the 10th or 12th. Aparārka says that there is an option and one may follow one's own gr̥hyasūtra. It appears that the nāmakarana⁵⁴⁷ of Hariścandra, son of Jayat-candra, king of Kanoj, took place three weeks after jātakarma (on 31. 8. 1175 A. D.). In modern times nāmakarana generally takes place on the 12th day after birth and no Vedic ceremony as prescribed in the sūtras 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)⁵⁴⁸. 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. Sāyaṇa explains that the four names are: nakṣatranāma (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 Sāyaṇa 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 Śat. Br. speaks of a second or even a third name for a person given to him by his parents. The same Brāhmaṇa⁵⁴⁹ 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. तृतीयं नाम यज्ञियं यदा कारस्तदुत्तमसि । आदित्यतिर्न ओदसे । ऋ. VIII. 80.9; चत्वारि ते अक्षर्याणि नामादायानि महिषस्य सन्ति । ऋ. X. 54. 4; दधाति पुत्रः पित्रोरपीत्येवं नाम तृतीयमपि रोचने द्विषः । ऋ. IX. 75. 2. The द्विष्यकोशिग्रह speaks of three names नक्षत्रनाम, व्यावहारिकनाम and a third one like सोमयाजी. The महाभाष्य also says that a man bears the name आग्निष्टोमयाजी when he performs आग्निष्टोम 'अग्निष्टोमयाजीत्येतत्तस्मिन् भविता । कस्मिन् योऽस्य पुत्रो जनिता । कदा यदाग्निष्टोमेनेष्टं भवति । महाभाष्य vol. II. p. 168 on par. III. 4. 1.

549. तस्माद् ब्राह्मणोऽवृद्धयमाने द्वितीयं नाम कुर्वीत रात्रौति हेव य एवं विद्वान् द्वितीयं नाम कुर्वते । शतपथ III. 6. 2. 24. Vide ब्राह्मणभाष्य I. 3. 9 for the recital of the three names of a sacrificer (धन्विनाथ says they were अभिषिद्धिनाथ, व्यावहारिक and नक्षत्रनाम).

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 brāhmaṇa who has two names prospers'.⁵⁵⁰ The Śat. Br. (II. 1. 2. 11) says 'Arjuna is the secret name of Indra and the constellation of Phālgūnis being presided over by Indra they are really Arjunyaḥ, but are called Phālgunyaḥ in an indirect way'.⁵⁵¹ 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. 89 there is a reference to the secret name of gṛṣṭa⁵⁵². The Tai. S. gives expression to the request that the (āhavanīya) fire should bear the name of one who keeps sacred fires, while the person praying was away on a journey⁵⁵³.

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), Gairikṣita (descendant of Girikṣita). In the Ait. Br. (33. 5) Śunaḥsepa is spoken of as Ajigarti (son of Ajigarta) and also as Āṅgirasa (a gotra name), while king Hariścandra is mentioned (Ait. Br. 33. 1) as Vaidhasa (son of Vedhas) and Aikṣvāka (descendant of Ikṣvāku). 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 Āruṇeya (son of Āruṇi) is styled Gautama (a gotra name). In the Kāṭhupanīṣad

550. तस्माद् द्विनामा ब्राह्मणोर्धुकः । तै. सं. VI. 3. 1. 3. This is quoted in Hir. gr., Bhār. gr. I. 26 and other gr̥hya sūtras.

551. अर्जुनो ह वै नामेन्द्रो यदस्य युष्मं नामार्जुन्यो वै नामैतास्ता एतत्परोक्षमाचक्षवे फाल्गुन्य इति । शतपथ II. 1. 2. 11.

552. धृतस्य नाम युष्मं यदस्ति जिह्वा देवानामधृतस्य नामिः । वाज. सं. 17. 89.

553. मम नाम प्रथमं जातवेदः पिता माता च दधतुर्दध्रे । तत्त्वं बिभृहि पुनरा भदेतो स्तवाहं नाम बिभराप्यग्ने ॥ तै. सं. I. 5. 10. 1. This is differently read in other sंहितासु e. g. काठक VII. 3 reads 'दधतुर्वध्रे । तत्त्वं गोपाया पुनर्वदे ते वयं बिभराम हव नाम'. This verse is quoted in nāmakaraṇa by several sūtras, e. g. Bhār. I. 26.

(I. 1. 1 and 11) Naciketas is the son of Vājaśravasa 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 Āṅgīrasa (Rg. X. 149. 5), Vatsapri Bhālandana (Tai. S. V. 2. 1. 6), Bālāki Gārgya (Br. Up. II. 1. 1), Cyavana Bhārgava (Ait. 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), Bhīma Vaidarbha (Ait. Br. 35. 8), Durmukha Pāñcāla (Ait. Br. 39. 23), Janaka Vaideha (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), Kaksīvat Auśija (son of a woman called Uśik, Rg. I. 18. 1, Vāj. S. III. 28),⁵⁵⁴ Prahlāda Kāyādhava (son of Kayādhū, Tai. Br. I. 5. 10), Mahidāsa Aitareya (son of Itarā, Chān. Up. III. 16. 7). In the *vaṁśa* 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, Ambarīṣa, Rjraśva, Sahadeva and Surādhas are all called Vārṣāgīra (son of Vṛṣāgir, Rg. I. 100. 17); king Sudās is called Pajavana (son of Pijavana, Rg. VII. 18. 22), Devāpi is Arṣiṣeṇa (son of Rṣiṣeṇa, Rg. X. 98. 5-6), Śamyu Bārhaspatya (Tai. S. II. 6. 10), Bhṛgu Vāruṇi (Ait. Br. 13. 10 and Tai. Up. III. 1), Bharata Daṁṣanti (Śatapatha XIII. 5. 4. 11, Ait. Br. 39. 9), Nābhānediṣṭha Mānava (Ait. 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. चार्तिक 7 on पाणिनि VI. 1.37 explains the words कक्षीवन्तं य औरोजः (ऋ. I. 18. 1). Vide महाभाष्य 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 upanayana⁵⁵⁵. 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 Āśv. and Śān. differ on one very important point. According to Āśv. 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 Āśv. does for the public one and Śān. says about the public name that it should be pleasing.

Instead of quoting gr̥hya sūtras at length the principal rules about names deducible 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, Trita, Kutsa, Bhṛgu) or four syllables (Trasadasyu, Purukutsa, Medhyātithi, Brahmadata &c.), though names of three syllables (like Kavaṣa, Cyavana, Bharata) and of five syllables

555. नाम चारमै द्युः षोषवदाद्यन्तरन्तरस्थमभिनिष्ठानान्तं द्वचक्षरम् । चतुरक्षरं वा ।
द्वचक्षरं प्रतिष्ठिकासमश्चतुरक्षरं ब्रह्मवर्चसकामः । युग्मानि तेष्वंशान् । अनुजानि त्रीणान् ।
अभिवादीयं च समीक्षेत तन्मातापितरौ विद्यावामोपनयनात् । आश्व. सू. I. 15. 4-10. The
षोष are the last three letters of the five वर्गस (कवर्गादि), यर्ल् व् and इ.
Separate the 5th sūtra as षोषवदादि अन्तरन्तरस्थं (अन्तः मध्ये अन्तरस्थाः परलोकाः परस्य);
अभिनिष्ठानान्त means अभिनिष्ठानः अन्ते यस्य, अभिनिष्ठान means विसर्ग, पाणिनि VIII.
3. 86 derives that word. That such rules are very ancient follows from
a quotation in the महाभाष्य 'याज्ञिकाः पठन्ति । दशस्युत्तरकालं पुत्रस्य नाम विद्वद्वाक्
षोषवदाद्यन्तरन्तरस्थमवृद्धं त्रिपुष्पाश्वकमनरिप्रतिष्ठितं तद्धि प्रतिष्ठिततमं भवति द्वचक्षरं चतुरक्षरं
वा नाम कृतं कुर्यान्न तद्धितमिति । महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 4. त्रिपुष्पाश्वकम् that would
follow the name of (one of) the three ancestors of the boy's father. अवृद्ध
means 'descent or family.' अवृद्धं means that the first syllable is not
आरे or औ (vide पाणिनि I. 1. 73) and अनरिप्रतिष्ठित means 'not borne by
his foe.'

(like Nābhānediṣṭha, Hiranyastūpa) are not wanting. Baijavāpa⁵⁵⁶ grhya allowed the name to be of one, two, three, four or any number of syllables. Śān. 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 grhya 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* preceded⁵⁵⁷ by a long vowel (e. g. Āp., Bhār., Hir., Pār.). Āśv. 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, Dirghatamas, Prthuśravas (that occur in the Ṛgveda) and such names as Vatsapri (Tai. 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, Yajñadatta &c.

(5) Many grhya sūtras (like Pār., Gobhila, Śān., Baijavāpa, 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, Sukeśas (Praśna Up. I. 1).

556. वैजवापः । पिता नाम करोति एकाक्षरं द्व्यक्षरं त्र्यक्षरं चतुरक्षरमपरिमितं वा कृतं कुर्वाणं तद्धितम् । अपराकं p. 27. भवः, भद्रः, देवः, वादः (वारि ददाति इति), गीदः (गिरि ददाति) are examples of names of two syllables and देवदत्तः, विष्णुमित्रः, वृद्धदत्तः, भवनाथः, नामदेवः, सुदर्शनः, द्रविणोदाः of those of four syllables. In the Mahābhāṣya देवदत्त and यज्ञदत्त 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. ' देवदत्तो दत्तः, सत्यमाता भानेति ' महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 111 on पाणिनि I. 1. 45.

557. पुत्रस्य नाम ददाति पिता भातोति । द्व्यक्षरं चतुरक्षरं वा नामपूर्वमाकृष्यावोक्तं वृषामिनिटानान्तं योषवदाद्यन्तरत्तस्यम् । आप. सू. 15. 8-9.

(7) Baud. gr. prescribes that the name may be derived from a sage or a deity or an ancestor.⁵⁵⁸ The Mānava gr̥hya, 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 nakṣatra. Examples of names derived from sages would be Vāsiṣṭha, Nārada &c. and of names taken from deities would be Viṣṇu, Śiva &c. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 12 quotes a passage of Śāṅkha 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 Bhṛgu (in Tai. 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), Prajāpatidattaka (or-patika), Bhānudattaka (or Bhānuka) and others set out in the Mahābhāṣya (vol. II. p. 425) exemplify the rule of the Mānavagr̥hya. 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 samvat 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., Pār., Gobhila (and the Yājñikas 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 Mānava gr̥. (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.⁵⁵⁹ Vide I. A. vol. VI. p. 73 where we see that Pulakeśi II was grandson of Pulakeśi I.

558. ऋष्यन्तं देवतान्तं वा। यथैवैषां पूर्वपुरुषाणां नामानि स्युः। बौ. गृ. सू. II.1.28-29; यस्मिन् नामधेयं देवताश्रयं नक्षत्राश्रयं देवतायाश्च प्रत्यक्षं प्रतिबिम्बम्। मानवपुरुषम्। I. 18.

559. In the E. I. vol. 14 p. 342 (of śaka 1470) strangely enough the engraver's name is the same as his father's.

(9) The gr̥hyasūtras (except Pār. and Mānava) are agreed that a secret name is to be given to the boy by the parents, in the Sosyantīkarma according to Gobhila and Khādīra, at birth according to some (like Āśv. and Kāṭhaka) and according to others (like Āp., Baud., Bhār.) at the time of Nāmakarāṇa on 10th or 12th day. We saw above that Śān. and Kāṭhaka give elaborate rules about the secret name, which rules are those of the Vyāvahārika⁵⁶⁰ name according to Āśv. and many other sūtrakāras. Gobhila and Khādīra give no rules about the secret name. Āp., Hir. and Vaik. only say that the secret name should be derived from the nakṣatra of birth, but give no further rules. Bhāradvāja⁵⁶¹ speaks of the giving of two names in Nāmakarāṇa, one being derived by applying the intricate rules described above and the other being a nakṣatra name; but it is not quite clear which was to be the secret name; it is probable, however, that the nakṣatra name was to be the secret one. According to Āśvalāyana 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, Khādīra, 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 nakṣatra of birth or from the presiding deity of that nakṣatra. Gobhila⁵⁶² further adds that according to some teachers the abhivādaniya name was derived from

560. According to the Kāṭhaka gr̥hya (34. 1-3 and 36) only one is given (on the day of birth) and the same is used in Nāmakarāṇa (36. 3), but it mentions that it was the view of some that another name was to be given in Nāmakarāṇa.

561. नक्षत्रनाम द्वितीयं स्यादन्तरद्वयं स्यादन्तरेणैव नामान्तरयेत् । भारद्वाजश्रुत्य 1. 26.

562. गोभिल and खादिर appear to suggest three names, one that was secret given in सोप्यन्तीकर्म (गोभिल II. 7. 15-16), the 2nd in nāmakarāṇa (गोभिल II. 8. 8 and 14-16 derived by means of the intricate rules specified above) and a third in Upanayana called अभिवादनीय (गोभिल II. 10. 21-25). According to them a name like सोमयाजी would be the fourth name. In वेदान्त I. 7 it is said that in the युवाहवाचन the following names of the यजमान should be taken one after another viz. नक्षत्रनाम, गोत्रनाम, पितृनाम, मातृगोत्रनाम and स्वनाम (ending in शर्मन् if he is a ब्राह्मण). को नामासीति नामधेयं प्रुच्छति तस्याचार्यः । अभिवादनीयं नाम कल्पयित्वा देवताभयं नक्षत्राभयं वा । गोत्राभयमप्येके । गोभिलीयश्रुत्य II. 10. 22-25; को नामासीत्युक्तौ देवताभयं नक्षत्राभयं चाभिवादनीयं नाम नृपाक्षयिणीति । खादिर II. 4. 12.

the gotra of the boy (as e. g. Gārgya, Śāṇḍilya, 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 Kathopaniṣad Naciketas is styled Gautama and in Chān. V. 3. 7 Śvetaketu is addressed as Gautama by Pravāhaṇa Jaivali when the latter expounded Saṁvarga-vidyā to the former. But if the abhivādaṇīya was a gotra name there could have been no secrecy. From Gobhila it appears that the ācārya told the boy his abhivādaṇīya name, but the Khādīra 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 Vedāṅgajyotiṣa⁵⁶³ (of the Rg) in verses 25-28 enumerates 28 nakṣatras (adding Abhijit after Uttarāṣāḍhā and before Śravaṇa) 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. नक्षत्रदेवता ह्येता एताभिर्नक्षत्रकर्मणि ऽयजमानस्य शास्त्रज्ञैर्नाम नक्षत्रजं स्मृतम् ॥ वेदाङ्गज्योतिष (ऋ.) verse 28. In the Vedic Literature and in the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa the nakṣatras are enumerated from Kṛttikā to Apabharanī and not from Aśvinī to Revatī 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-अग्नि, रोहिणी-प्रजापति, मृगशिरः or मृगशिरः (इन्द्रका in तै. सं.)-सोम, आर्द्रा (बाह्व in तै. सं.)-इन्द्र, पुनर्वसु-अदिति, तिष्य (पुष्य in अथर्व०)-बृहस्पति, आश्लेषा (आश्लेषा in अथर्व०)-सर्पाः, मघा-पितरः, फल्गुनी (पूर्वा)-अर्यमा, फल्गुनी (उत्तरा)-भग, हस्त-संवित्, चित्रा (त्वष्ट्र), निष्या (स्वाति in अथर्व०)-वायु, विशाखे-इन्द्राग्नी, अनूराधा (or अनुराधा)-मित्र, ज्येष्ठा (रोहिणी in तै. सं.)-इन्द्र, मूल (विचृतौ in तै. सं.)-पितरः (निर्ऋति in ब्राह्मण्ड and शाङ्खायनश्रुत्य and प्रजापति acc. to others), अषाढा (पूर्वा)-आपः, अषाढा (उत्तरा)-विश्वेदेवाः, श्रौणा (श्रवण in अथर्व०)-विष्णु, श्रविष्ठा (or धनिष्ठा)-वसवः, शतभिषक्-वषण (called इन्द्र in तै. सं.), मोक्षपदा (पूर्वाभाद्रपदा)-अजएकपात्, मोक्षपदा (उत्तरा भाद्रपदा)-अहिबुध्न्य, रेवती-पूषन्, अश्विजुक् (अश्विनी)-अश्विना, अपभरणी (भरणी in अथर्व०)-यम. The deity of अभिजित् is नङ्गा. These are given also in शाङ्खायनश्रुत्य I. 20, विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 78. 16-17, वैश्वानसस्मार्त (III. 20). Some give इन्द्र as the deity of चित्रा. In the वेदाङ्गज्योतिष (ऋग्वेदीय), विष्णु ध. सू. शाङ्ख. गृ., भग and अर्यमा are the presiding deities of पूर्वा फल्गुनी and उत्तरा फल्गुनी respectively.

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 Āsādhi Sauśromateya (son of Āsādha and Suśromatā). Here Āsādha is probably connected with the nakṣatra Āsādhā. 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 Śravisthā, Phālgunī, Anurādhā, Śvātī, Tisya, Punarvasu, Hasta, Āsādhā and Bahulā (Kṛttikā) without adding any termination signifying 'born on' (e. g. we have the names Śravisthaḥ, Phālgunaḥ &c.). In VII. 3. 18 he derives the name Prosthapadaḥ from Prosthapadā. 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 Tisya and Punarvasu and cites Citrā, Revatī, Rohiṇī as names of women born on these nakṣatras (vol. II. p. 307) and of Caitra as a male (vol. II. p. 128). 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 Tisya are combined), a parivrajaka Poṭṭhapāda in Dīgha I. p. 187 and III. p. 1 (from the nakṣatra Prosthapadā), Asāda, Phaguna, Svātīguta, Pusarakhita and in the Sāñci 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 Palitana plate of Dhruvasena I dated Valabhi samvat 210 (about 529 A. D.) there is a brāhmaṇa named Viśākha. We have

564. The com. of खादिरयुह्य says (II. 2. 32) 'वैदिककर्माभिहितम् । नामापरिज्ञाने अभिचाराद्यसिद्धिः फलम्' and देवपाल on काठकपुह्य 36. 4 says 'प्रयोजनं परेभिचारे क्रियमाणेऽनुचारादुपकटम्'.

names like Puṣyasvāmī, Rohiṇīsvāmī (in the plates of Śivarāja dated 602-3 A. D., in E. I. vol. IX. p. 288). Another way of deriving names from nakṣatras was to form them from the presiding deity of the nakṣatra on which a person was born. A man was called Āgneya, 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 nakṣatras set forth in medieval works on Dharmaśāstra and Jyotiṣa. Each of the 27 nakṣatras is divided into four pādas and to each pāda a specific letter is assigned (e. g., cū, ce, co and lā for the pādas of Āśvinī) from which names are derived for persons born in those pādas (e. g. Cūdāmaṇi, Cedīśa, Coleśa and Lakṣmaṇa for the four pādas of Āśvinī).⁵⁶⁵ 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 dāily saṁdhyā prayer.

Modern works like the Samskāraprakāśa (p. 237) say that four kinds of names may be given viz. devatānāma, māsanāma, nakṣatranāma and vyāvahārikanāma. The first shows that the bearer is the devotee of that devatā. The Nirṇayasindhu⁵⁶⁶ 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 Bṛhatsaṁhitā of

565. Vide संस्काररत्नमाला p. 859 and संस्कारप्रकाश pp. 239-240 where all the letters for the 27 नक्षत्रs are set out from a work called ज्योतिषार्क and on pp. 860-861 of the former the 112 names (for the 4 पदs of 28 नक्षत्रs) are exemplified. Even so late a work as the धर्मसिन्धु (composed in 1790 A. d.) disapproves of these names as not based on any Vedic authorities 'केचिन्नु चूचेचोलान्निमीकोत्पादिज्योतिषन्थीकावकहडाचकाचुसारेणान्धेन्यादेस्तु चरणेषु चूडामणिश्चोदशश्चोलेषो लक्ष्मण इत्यादिकानि नाक्षत्रनामानि कुर्वन्ति तत्र श्रौतग्रन्थादिबहुसंमतम् ।' धर्मसिन्धु III परिच्छेद, पूर्वार्ध.

566. स्मृतिसंग्रहे । कृष्णोन्तोऽप्युतश्चक्रो वैकुण्ठेय जनार्दनः । उपेन्द्रो यज्ञपुरुषो वासुदेवस्तथा हरिः । योगेशः पुण्डरीकाक्षो मासनामान्युत्कृष्टमात् ॥ अत्र मार्गशीर्षादित्रैत्रादिवर्षा क्रम इति मदेवन्ते । निर्णयसिन्धु परिच्छेद III पूर्वार्ध. The verse quoted occurs in the Saunaka Kārikās (Ms. in Bombay University Library) as one of Garga. The Laghu-Āśvalāyana-smṛti (Ānand.ed.) VI. 2 speaks of मासनामाs beginning from मार्गशीर्ष.

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 gr̥hyasūtras say that the names of girls should contain an uneven number of syllables and the Mānava gr̥. (I. 18) expressly says that the names of girls should be of three syllables. Pār. and Vārāhagr̥hya further say that the names of girls should end in 'ā', Gobhila and Mānava say they should end in 'dā' (as in Satyadā, Vasudā, Yaśodā, Narmadā), Śaṅkha-likhita dharmasūtra and Baijavāpa require that it should end in 'ī', while the Baud.⁵⁶⁸ gr̥. śeṣa-sūtra says that it should end in a long vowel. The Vārāhagr̥hya adds an intricate rule that the name of a girl should have an 'ā' 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 Devadattā or having the word 'rakṣitā' (as in Buddharakṣitā).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. gr̥. 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, Jāhnavī, Yamunā, Tāpī, Narmadā, Godā, Kṛṣṇā, Kāverī &c.).

It is remarkable that Manu altogether omits the involved rules given by the gr̥hya 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 brāhmanas and the other varṇas should have an addition (upapada) suggestive of śarman (happiness), rakṣā

567. The 12 names are केशव, नारायण, माधव, गोविन्द, विष्णु, मधुसूदन, त्रिविक्रम, वामन, श्रीधर, हृषीकेश, पञ्चनाभ, दामोदर.

568. Vide अपरार्क p. 27 for quotations from शङ्खलिलित and वैजवाप. नामैवं कन्धाया अकारव्यवधानमाकारान्तमनुमाक्षरं नदीनक्षत्रचन्द्रसूर्यपूषादेवदत्तरक्षिता-वर्जम् । वाराहधृत्य २.

569. These directions of the Vārāha gr̥. were not observed in ancient times. The Mahābhāṣya (vol. II. p. 307) mentions women named Citrā, Revatī, Advini, also a woman named Devadattā (vol. I. p. 184) and यज्ञदत्ता (vol. III. p. 156) and also देवदत्तिका (or देवका), यज्ञदत्तिका (or यज्ञका) in vol. III. p. 325.

(protection), puṣṭi (prosperity) and preṣya (service or dependence on others). It is significant that none of the gr̥hya-sūtras except Pāraskara⁵⁷⁰ 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 Mahābhāṣya⁵⁷¹ (vol. III. p. 416) cites Indravarmān and Indrapālita as the names of a rājanya and a vaiśya. Yama quoted by Aparārka (p. 27) says⁵⁷² 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 śūdras dāsa. Similar rules are given in the Purāṇas⁵⁷³. 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 Talguṇḍa Inscription of Kakutsthavarman of the Kadamba family (E. I. vol. VIII. p. 24) where the founder who was a brāhmaṇa is styled Mayūraśarman, 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 Yaśodharman of Mālava year 589, 645-46 A. D.) the genealogy of the brāhmaṇa ministers is Śaṣṭhīdatta, his son Varāhadāsa, his son Ravikīrti (so the upapadas 'datta' and 'dāsa' appropriate to vaiśyas and śūdras respectively were added to brāhmaṇa names). In the Neulpur plate of Śubhakarā of Orissa (8th century A. D., E. I. vol. XV. p. 4) we have several bhaṭṭas whose names end in vardhana, datta and svāmīn. In the Nidhanpura plate of Bhāskaravarman (E. I. vol. XIX p. 115) among the numerous donees (who must have been all brāhmāṇas) there are some who are named Srāddhadāsa, Karkadatta and Merudatta. In the Inscriptions of the Śaka king Dāmijāda

570. नक्षत्रनामा नदीनामा वृक्षनामाश्च गहिताः । आप. गृ. III. 13; शर्म ब्राह्मणस्य वर्म क्षत्रियस्य भुसेति वैश्यस्य । पारस्कर I. 17. The बौधायनश्रुत्यशेषसूत्र I. 11. 10 says 'अथाप्युदाहरन्ति-शर्मान्तं ब्राह्मणस्य, वर्मान्तं क्षत्रियस्य, भुसान्तं वैश्यस्य, भृत्यदासान्तं शूद्रस्य दासान्तमेव वा ।'.

571. This is on चार्तिक 2 'भोराजन्यविशं वेति वाच्यम्' on पाणिनि VIII. 2. 83.

572. यमः । शर्मा देवश्च विभस्य वर्मा नाता च भूभुजः । भूतिर्दत्तश्च वैश्यस्य दासः शूद्रस्य कारयेत् ॥ अपरार्क p. 27.

573. e. g. विष्णुपुराण III. 10. 9 शर्मेति ब्राह्मणस्योक्तं धर्मेति क्षत्रसंश्रयम् । भुसदासाह्वयं नाम भशस्तं वैश्यशूद्रयोः ॥; the संस्कारतत्त्व p. 919 quotes another verse of विष्णुपुराण 'ततश्च नाम कुर्वीत पितेव दशमेऽहनि । देवपूर्वं नराख्यं हि शर्मेवमादिशंयुतम् ॥' This is विष्णुपुराण III. 10. 8.

of the year 60 (C. I. I. vol. II. p. 16) his father is called *Valavaḍha* (Balavardhana) and his son *Mitravaḍhana* (Mitravardhana).

A few words may be said about matronymics. A few examples of such names have been given above from Vedic Literature. Āśv. gr.⁵⁷⁴ (I. 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 Āśv. Śrauta sūtra where it is required that both parents of the brāhmaṇa at the time of *camasabhakṣaṇa* 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 śrotriyas, 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) *siri Puṣumāyi* is described as *Vāsithīputa* and in E. I. vol. VIII. p. 88 the *Ābhira* king *Īśvarasena* is described as *Māḍharīputra*.⁵⁷⁵ In a Scythian Inscription (E. I. vol. X at page 108) we have mention of 'the son of *Bhārgavī*'. 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 *Jātūkarnī*). From a *Kārikā* in the *Mahābhāṣya* we learn that the great grammarian *Pāṇini* was the son of a *Dākṣī*. *Pāṇini* himself⁵⁷⁶ (IV. 1. 147) delivers a

574. कुलमध्ये परिक्षेत ये मातुतः पितृतश्चेति यथोक्तं पुरस्तात् । आश्व. गृ. I. 5. 1. The आश्व. औ. सू. IX. 3. 20 has 'ये मातुतः पितृतश्च दशपुरुषं समवृष्टिता विद्यातपोभ्यां पुण्यैश्च कर्मनिर्णयैषां सुमयतो वा ब्राह्मण्यं निनयेयुः पितृतश्चैके'. The printed text reads 'नामा ब्राह्मण्यं' which practically conveys the same sense.

575. Vide E. I. vol. XX. p. 6. for other examples of *Māḍharīputa* and *Vāsithīputa*.

576. सर्वे सर्वपदादेशो दाक्षिणिरय पाणिनेः । महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 75 on पाणिनि (I. 1. 20). पाणिनि was also called *शालातुरीय* (from his place *शालातुर*). Vide *मानव*'s *काव्यालंकार* VI. 62 and *Nogawa* plate of *भुवसेन* II (E. I. vol. VIII at p. 192, dated Gupta era 320 i. e. 649-50 Ad). *Pāṇini* (IV. 3. 94) derives the word *शालातुरीय*.

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 Gārgikah, a rogue, from his mother's name Gārgi).⁵⁷⁷ Śāṅkhāyana 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 *tīthi* 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 gṛhyasūtras 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, Abhyātāna and Rāṣṭrabhr̥t mantras and the offering of eight oblations of ghr̥ta with the eight mantras 'may Dhātṛ 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 Dhātṛ 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 Dhātṛ, four to Anumati, two to Rākā, two to Sinivālī. 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 महाभाष्य gives several Vārtikas on Pāṇini IV. 1. 147 and the Kāśikā remarks 'पितुरसंविज्ञाने मात्रा व्यपदेशोऽपत्यस्य कुला' and मार्गः would mean मार्गः पुत्रः (whose father was unknown).

578. e. g. भारद्वाज शु. I. 26 'दशभ्यां स्नातौ मातापुत्रौ क्षुच्यगारं कुर्वन्नुपनिर्हृत्यौपासनं क्षुतिकान्तिमतिहरन्ति । अन्तरागारेऽग्निमुपसमाधाय जयाभ्यातानान् राक्षसुव इति ह्रस्वैता आहृतीर्जुहोति धाता द्वादश नो रयमित्यहो । The Jayas are certain mantras (13 in all) which are Tai. S. III. 4. 4. 1 (vide आप. म. पाठ I. 10. 9 'चिरं च चितिश्व ... स्वाहा'), अभ्यातानाः are 18 viz. 'अग्निर्भूतानामधिपतिः स भावत्वस्मिन्' in तै. सं. III. 4. 5. 1; the Rāṣṭrabhr̥ts are 22 (अताषाक्षस्तथामा) in तै. सं. III. 4. 7. 1. Other sūtras specify other mantras from their respective śukhās.

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. kuladevatā nāma (such as Yogeśvarī-bhakta), then māsanāma (vide note 566 above), a vyāvahārika-nāma, a nakṣatranāma.⁵⁷⁹

Some sūtra works add a detail immediately after Nāma-karṇa. For example, Āśv. 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. 12⁵⁸⁰ prescribes that on returning from a journey the father should address his son (abhimantraṇa) 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 Kausītaki 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 'āsmā 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.

Karṇavedha :—(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) karṇavedha is prescribed in the 7th or 8th month, while Brhaspati quoted in Samskāraprakāśa (p. 258) says that it may be performed on the 10th, 12th or 16th⁵⁸¹ day from birth or in the 7th or 10th month from birth. The Sm. C. has a brief note on karṇavedha. The grhya-pariśiṣṭa 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 संकल्प in नामकरण is 'ममास्य कुमारस्य बीजगर्भसमुद्भवैर्नोनिर्बर्हणा-
दुर्वचोभिर्वृद्धित्यवहारसिद्धिद्वारा औपरमेष्ठ्यश्रमार्थं नामकरणाख्यं कर्म करिष्ये' संस्कार-
रत्नमाला p. 861.

580. For अङ्गादङ्गात्संभवेति and for अस्मा भव vide note 537 above. In
आप. म. पा. (II. 14. 3) the reading is देदो वै पुत्रनामासि. The formula for a
daughter is सर्वस्मादात्मनाः संभूतासि सा जीव शरदः शतम् (आप. म. पा. II. 14. 10).

581. The संस्काररत्नमाला (p. 873) quotes from मदनरत्न the verse
'अग्ने ससमे वापि अहमे वसमेय वा । द्वादशे वा मनुष्ये कर्णवेधं शुभावहम् ॥' Vide
संस्कारकौस्तुभ p. 379 for कर्णवेध.

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 Nirukta.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'.

Niṣkramaṇa:—(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), Khādīra II. 3. 1-5 (S. B. E. vol. 29 p. 396), Baud. gr. II. 2, Mānava gr. I. 19. 1-6, Kāṭhaka gr. 37-38.⁵⁸³ This was done according to most authorities in the 4th month after birth. Aparārka (p. 28) 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 Mānavagr̥hya 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 *hamsa* 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 Jātavedas' (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 dispellest 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. निरुक्त II. 4 य आतृणरयवितथेन कर्णावदुःखं कुपवज्जुतं संमयच्छत् । तं मयेत पितरं मातरं च तस्मै न दुह्येकतमञ्चनाह ॥ This verse also occurs in Vas. II. 10 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 30. 47; vide शान्तिपर्व 108. 22-23 where there is a very similar verse (यश्चातृणोत्पवितथेन) and मनु II. 144.

583. These two chapters of the काठकग्र̥ह्य seem to be later additions. The com. ब्राह्मणचल remarks 'निष्क्रमणसमाश्रयविधिमाचार्यो नाह । ओत्रियास्तु पारंपर्येण पठन्ति । तृतीये मासि कर्तव्यं शिशोः सूर्यस्य दर्शनं । चतुर्थे मासि कर्तव्यं तथा चन्द्रस्य दर्शनम् ।'.

584. चतुर्थे मासि निष्क्रमणिका सूर्यस्तदीक्षयति तच्चक्षुरिति । पारस्कर I. 17. The verse is तच्चक्षुर्देवहितं पुरस्ताच्छुक्लक्षुश्चरत् । परथमं शरदः शतं जनिमं शरदः शतं शृग्व्याम शरदः शतं मन्त्रवाम शरदः शतमदीनाः स्याम शरदः शतं भूयश्च शरदः शतात् । Vide Tai. Ār. 4. 42 for this benediction.

gr. (II. 2) prescribes a homa with eight oblations. Gobhila speaks of candradarśana. It says that on the 3rd *tithi* 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 verses⁵⁸⁵ '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 Khādiragrhya 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 ābhyudayika śrāddha, then reciting the sūkta from 'svasti no mimitam' (Rg. V. 51. 11) and 'āsu śisānaḥ' (Rg. 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. C. remarks that those in whose śākhā this rite is not mentioned need not perform it. The Samskāraprakāśa pp. 250-256 and Samskāratnamālā pp. 886-888 give an extensive description and make of this samskāra a matter of great pomp, festivity and rejoicing. Yama⁵⁸⁶ quoted in Sam. Pr. says that seeing the sun and seeing the moon should be done respectively in the 3rd and 4th months from birth.

Annaprāśana :—(making the child eat cooked food for the first time). Vide Āśv. gr. I. 16. 1-6 (S. B. E. vol. 29 p. 183), Śān. gr. I. 27 (S. B. E. vol. 29 p. 54), Āp. gr. 16. 1-2 (S. B. E. vol. 30, p. 283), Pār. gr. I. 19 (S. B. E. vol. 29, pp. 299-300), Hir. gr. II. 5. 1-3 (S. B. E. vol. 30, p. 216), Kāthaka gr. 39. 1-2, Bhār. gr. I. 27, Mānava gr. I. 20. 1-6, Vaik. III. 22. The Gobhila and Khādira gr. omit this samskāra. Most smṛtis prescribe the 6th

585. The verse यत्ते सुमीमे दृश्यं occurs in आप. म. पा. II. 13. 4.

586. यमः । तत्तत्पृथगे कर्तव्यं मासि सूर्यस्य दर्शनम् । चतुर्थे मासि कर्तव्यं शिशो-
अर्चनम् दर्शनम् ॥ संस्कारप्रकाश p. 250.

month from birth as the time for this samskāra ; but Mānava gr. says it may be the 5th or 6th ; while Śaṅkha quoted by Aparārka says it should be performed at the end of a year or at the end of six months, according to some⁵⁸⁷. The Kāṭhaka gr. enjoins the sixth month from birth or the time when the child first strikes teeth. The procedure is very brief in all except Śān. and Pār. Śān. 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 Mahāvyaṛtis (bhūḥ, bhuvāḥ, svāḥ). Then the father is to offer oblations to fire with four verses 'Annapate',⁵⁸⁸ 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.⁵⁸⁹ prescribes feeding of brāhmaṇas, making them give benedictions to the child and then making the child eat only once a mess of curds, honey, ghee and boiled rice mixed together, with the recitation of a mantra joined to the three vyāṛtis 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 sthālīpāka and offering the two ājyabhāgas and then two offerings of ghee with the mantras 'the gods generated'⁵⁹⁰ 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). Mānava, Kāṭhaka and Vaik. are entirely silent about flesh. Kāṭhaka

587. संवत्सरेऽन्नप्राशनमर्धसंवत्सर इत्येके । शङ्ख. q. by अपरार्क p. 28.

588. अन्नपदेऽन्नस्य नो देह्यनमीवर्य शुष्मिणः । प्र प्रदातारं तारिष ऊर्जं नो धेहि द्विपदे चतुष्पदे ॥ तै. सं. IV. 2. 3. 1.

589. भूर्यां त्वीषधीनां रसं प्राशयामि । शिवास्त आप ओषधयः सन्त्वनमीवास्त आप ओषधयः सन्त्वसौ ॥ सुवोऽपां त्वौ । सुवरपां त्वौ । भूर्भुवः सुवरपां । आप. म. पा. II. 14. 11-14. After अस्तौ the child's name in the vocative is to be uttered.

590. देवीं वाचमंजनयन्त देवास्तां विश्वरूपाः पशवो वदन्ति । सा नो मन्देश्वभूर्जं कुहाना धेनुवर्गिस्माद्युपसुधुतैतु ॥ ऋ. VIII. 100. 11.

prescribes the cooking of all haviṣya food⁵⁹¹ and the other two works prescribe food cooked in milk.

It will be seen from the above that the principal part of the saṁskāra is making the child taste food. Some writers add homa, feeding of brāhmanas, and benedictions. The Saṁskāra-prakāśa (pp. 267-279) and Saṁskāraratnamālā (pp. 891-895) have very detailed notes on this saṁskāra. One interesting matter quoted by Aparārka (p. 28) 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.

Varṣavardhana 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* '.⁵⁹² The Śāṅ. 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. 7⁵⁹³ prescribes an offering of cooked rice for life (*āyusyacaru*) ' 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 *nāmakaraṇa* for a year in the same way as in *nāmakaraṇa* or *jātakarma* and at the end of the year an offering of the

591. कुल्लरत्नाकर p. 400 quotes a verse ' हविष्येषु यवा मुख्यास्तदुद्धृत्वा ब्रीहयो मताः । माषकोद्भवगौरादीन् सर्वाभावे विवर्जयेत् ॥ ' and quotes समयमदीप ' ग्रथं यवास्तदलाभे ब्रीहयस्तदलाभे माषकोद्भवचणकसर्षपमसूरचीनकपित्थवर्जमन्यदपि अक्षम् '.

592. कुमारस्य मासि मासि संवत्सरे सांवत्सरिकेषु वा पर्वसु अग्नीन्द्रौ चावापृथिव्यौ विश्वान्देवांश्च यजेत । देवतभिष्टा तिथि नक्षत्रं च यजेत । गोमिलगृह्य II. 8, 19-20. The सांवत्सरिकपर्वसु are the amāvāsyaśyās of Āṣāḍ, Kārtik and Pūṣya.

593. आहुतायुद्धृतिरायुष्यचक्रः । संवत्सरे षड्दश षड्दश मासेषु चतुर्थं चतुर्थं नतावृषौ मासि मासि वा कुमारस्य जन्मनक्षत्रे क्रियेत । बौ. शु. III. 7. 1-2.

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 nakṣatra on which a child is born is the principal one, that oblations of ghee are to be offered to that deity and nakṣatra and then to the other presiding deities of the nakṣatras and to the nakṣatras themselves, then an oblation with the vyāhrti (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 nakṣatra 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,⁵⁹⁴ Vaik. specially prescribes that whatever ceremonies women direct as done traditionally should be performed. Aparārka (p. 29) quotes verses of Mārkaṇḍeya 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 *pitṛs*, one's nakṣatra of birth and brāhmaṇas. The Kṛtyaratnākara (p. 540), the Nityācārapaddhati (pp. 621-624) quote the same verses (as Aparārka does) and add that on that day one should worship Mārkaṇḍeya (who is believed to be immortal) and the seven other *cirajīvins*.⁵⁹⁵ 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 Nirṇayasindhu, the Samskāraprakāśa (which in pp. 281-294 gives the most elaborate treatment) call

594. यदङ्गि विवाहो भवति मासिके वार्षिके चाङ्गि तस्मिन् यत्त्रिय आहुः पारंपर्यागं शिक्षाचारं तत्तत्करोति । वैखानस III. 21. अप. घ. सू. II. 1. 1. 7 also speaks of the anniversary of the day of marriage 'यच्चैनयोः प्रियं स्थातुदेतस्मिन्नहनि भुञ्जीयाताम्'.

595. The निर्याचारपद्धति has these verses 'अन्त्याना वलिर्वासो हनुर्मांश्च विभीषणः । कृपः परशुरामश्च सप्तै चिरजीविनः । सप्तैतान्यः स्मरेन्नित्यं मार्कण्डेयमयाज्ञमम् । जीवेद्वर्षशते सात्रं सर्वन्यायिविजितः ॥'. The निर्यगसिन्धु quotes some verses from the कृत्यचिन्तामणि about मार्कण्डेय.

this festival 'abdapūrti'. The Samskāraratanamālā contains a very extensive discourse on this rite (pp. 877-886) and calls this festival 'āyurvardhāpana'. The Nirṇayasindhu and the Samskāraratanamālā set out the verses that are addressed to Mārkaṇḍeya 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 pail of curds and water.

Caula or *Cūḍākarma* or *Cūḍākarana* :—(the first cutting of the hair on the child's head). This saṃskāra is mentioned by every writer. 'Cūḍā' means the 'lock or tuft of hair' kept on the head when the remaining part is shaved (i. e. the śikhā); so cūḍākarma or cūḍākarana means that rite in which a lock of hair is kept (for the first time after birth). We get 'cauda' from 'cūḍā'⁵⁹⁶ meaning 'a rite the purpose of which is keeping a lock of hair' and 'ḍa' and 'la' often interchange places. So we get 'cauda' or 'caula' also as the name of the ceremony.

According to many⁵⁹⁷ 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; Āśv. 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), Ṣaḍ-guru-śiṣya quoted in the Samskāraprakāśa (p. 296) and Nārāyaṇa (on Āśv. gr. I. 17. 1) say that some performed it at the time of upanayana.

596. स च चूडाकरणशब्दः कर्मनामधेयम् । यौगिकन्यायेनोद्भिद्वादिशब्दवत् । योगश्च, चूडायाः करणं चूडार्थं करणं चूडा क्रियते यस्मिन्कर्मणीति वा त्रिष्वैव संभवादि । संस्कारभंकाश p. 295. The महाभाष्य (vol. II. p. 362 on पा. V. 1. 97) explains it as 'चूडा मयोजनमस्य चोदम्' and we know from works on poetics that 'यमकश्लेषचित्रेषु चययोर्दलयोर्न भिन्न' (there is no distinction between 'ba' and 'va' or ḍa and la in Yamaka, paronomasia and citrakāvya).

597. Vide Āśv. gr. I. 17. 1-18 (S. B. E. 29 pp. 184-186), Āp. gr. 16. 3-11 (S. B. E. vol. 30 pp. 283-84), Gobhila II. 9. 1-29 (S. B. E. 30 pp. 60-63), Hir. gr. II. 5. 1-15 (S. B. E. 30 pp. 216-218), Kāṭhaka gr. 40, Khadira II. 3.16-33 (S. B. E. 29 pp. 597-599), Pār. 1 II. (S. B. E. 29 pp. 301-303), Śāṅ. (I. 28, S. B. E. 29. pp. 55-57), Baud. gr. II. 4, Mānava gr. I. 21. 1-12, Vaik. III. 23 for a treatment of this topic.

Whether such a ceremony was performed in the Vedic ages cannot be ascertained with certainty. Bhār. gr. I. 28 expressly⁵⁹⁸ refers to the Vedic verse (Rg 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 brāhmanas, receiving of their benedictions and giving of dakṣiṇā, 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 Mānava gr. says that it should not be done on the 9th *tithi* of a month. Later works like the Samskāraprakāśa (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 Āśv., 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, māṣa beans and sesame respectively (Āśv. gr. I. 17. 2), but Gobhila (II. 9. 6-7) says that they are to be placed to the east and Gobhila and Śāṇ. 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 *śamī* leaves are to be also placed to the west (Gobhila II. 9. 5 and Khādīra II. 3. 18 place the dung to the north of the fire and Khādīra says that she sits to the north); (3) to the right of the mother the father sits holding 21 bunches⁵⁹⁹ of kuśa grass or the brahmā 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 Khādīra II. 3. 17 and Gobhila II. 9. 4); (6) a

598. अथार्ये सांवत्सरिकस्य चोदं कुर्वन्ति यथर्षि यथोपज्ञं वा । विज्ञायते च । यत्र जायाः संपतन्ति कुमारो विगृह्णाति इव । इति बहुगृह्णाति इवेति । भारद्वाज शृ. I. 28.

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 kuśa bunches are required.

mirror (Gobhila and Khādira). According to Gobhila and Khādira the barber, hot water, mirror, razor and bunches of kuśa 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. Āsv., Pār., Kāṭhaka and Mānava 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 Khādira 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 '. Then⁶⁰⁰ on the right portion of the boy's hair the father puts three kuśa bunches with the points towards the boy with the formula ' herb, protect him ' (Tai. S. I. 2. 1. 1). With the words ' Aye, do not harm him ' (Tai. S. I. 2. 1. 1) he presses a copper razor (on the kuśa 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 gives⁶⁰¹ the cut hair with their ends turned towards the east together with śamī 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 Bṛhaspati, 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 Āsv. gr. 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 Baud. and Śāh. 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 यश्चूडानां कारयित्वा पित्रादिः स एव वपनकर्तृति सिद्धं भवति । इदानीं तु तादृशस्त्रिधा । अथावाहोकाविद्वित्वाच्च समन्त्रकं चेष्टामानं कृत्वा नापितेनैव वपनं कारयन्ति शिष्टः ॥ ' शैलकाररत्नमाला 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.⁶⁰²

According to several sūtras, the cut hair placed in the dung of a bull is buried in a cow stable⁶⁰³ 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 locks⁶⁰⁴ may be left on the head or according to family usage and he further says that some sages say that the locks should

602. All the mantras in Āśv. gr. occur also in Mānava gr., some occur in Baud., Bhār., Pār., and others. The mantras in Āśv. viz उभ्येन वाय, येनावपत्, येन धाता, येन ध्रुवश्च, यत्क्षुरेण मर्चयता are आप. स. पा. II. 1. 1, 3-5 and 7 with slight variations. The verse यत्क्षुरेण मर्चयता is almost the same as अथर्ववेद VIII. 2. 17. and Āśv. appears to have adapted it purposely to make it suit the caula.

603. अथैनं गोमयपिण्डं गोष्ठे उदकान्त उदुम्बरमूले दुर्मस्तम्बे वा निदधाति । भारद्वाज शु. I. 28; अलुप्युतमेतं सकोशं गोमयपिण्डं निधाय गोष्ठे पल्लवे उदकान्ते वा ॥ पार. शु. II. 1.

604. अथैनमेकाशिक्षिश्चिशिखः पञ्चाशिक्षो वा यथैवैषां कुलधर्मः स्यात् । यथार्थे शिक्षा निदधातीत्येके । बौ. शु. II. 4.

be as many as the pravaras invoked by the father.⁶⁰⁵ Āśv. gr., and Pār. gr. say that locks may be kept according to family usage. Āp. 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 Vāsiṣṭhas 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 Bhrgus shave the entire head, that the Āṅgiras gotra keeps five locks or only a line of hair, while persons of other gotras (like Agastya, Viśvāmītra &c.) keep a śikhā (without any particular number of locks) simply because it is an auspicious sign or one may follow the usage of one's⁶⁰⁶ family. Vaik.⁶⁰⁷ says that the locks may be one, two, three, five or seven according to the pravaras. R̥gveda⁶⁰⁸ VII. 33. 1 refers to the fact that Vasiṣṭhas 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 śikhā (the top-knot). A verse of Devala says that whatever religious act a man does without the *yajñopavīta* or without śikhā is as good as undone and Hārīta rules that a person who cuts off his śikhā through hate or ignorance or foolishness becomes pure only after

605. The pravaras or ṛṣis 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.

606. वृक्षिणतः कण्डुजां वसिष्ठानाम् । उभयतीक्ष्णिकादयपानाम् । सुण्डा भृगवः । पञ्च-
चूडा अङ्गिरसः । वाजि (राजि ?) मेके । मङ्गलार्थं त्रिखिनोऽन्ये । यथाकुलधर्मं वा । काठक
श्रुति 40. 2-8. These sūtras are quoted by अपरार्क p. 29 and by the स्मृतिचन्द्र
I. p. 23. The स्मृतिचन्द्र in explaining the words मङ्गलार्थं says that some
keep a śikhā of the form and size of the leaf of the Vāṭa tree. The
सं. प्र. p. 316 arranges the sūtras differently and remarks मङ्गलार्थं वाजि
कोशपङ्क्तिं कुर्वन्ति । सा च समन्तात् ललाटकर्ममूलस्पर्शिणी भालेव भवति । ... द्विषेष्टु
केचन पञ्चाचूडाः केचन पुरश्चूडाः ।

607. ऋषिक्रमेण । स्वर्ग्यैकार्ष-द्वयार्ष-पार्षण्यार्षसप्तार्षाचूडा विभजेत् । वैखानस
III. 23.

608. त्रिविधो मा दाक्षिणतस्कपर्दा धिपंजिन्वासो अग्नि हि प्रमन्दुः । उत्तिष्ठन् वोच्ये
परि वर्धितो नृण मे दूराद्वितये वसिष्ठः ॥ ऋ. VII. 33. 1.

performing the *taptakṛcchra* penance.⁶⁰⁹ In the *Mudrārākṣasa* (I.8) there is a reference to the śikhā of Cāpakya having been kept untied when he was angered by the Nandas. Śābara (on Jaimini I. 3. 2) remarks that the śikhā (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). Vasiṣṭha (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 śikhā. A Vedic passage⁶¹⁰ is 'the head that has no śikhā on it is unholy'. For rules about the śikhā 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 śikhā and follow the western method of allowing the hair to grow on the whole head.

In modern times the rite of cūdākarana generally takes place if at all on the day of Upanayana.

Āśv. gr. (I. 17. 18) expressly says that the ceremony of cūdākarana 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 Mitrāmīśra say that the caula of girls may be performed according to the usage of the family and that their hair may be entirely shaved or a śikhā may be kept or there should be no shaving at all.⁶¹¹

In some castes even in modern times girls when mere children are shaved once, it being supposed that the first hair are impure.

Vidyārambha:—The grhya sūtras and dharmasūtras are entirely silent as to what was done for the child's education

609. सद्योपवीतिना भाव्यं सदा चक्षुःशिक्षेन च । विशिखो ह्युपवीतश्च यत्करोति न तत्कु-
तम् ॥ देवलः, 'शिक्षां छिन्दन्ति ये भोहाद् द्वेषादज्ञानतोपि वा । तस्य चक्षुष्यं शुष्यन्ति
त्रयो वर्णा द्विजातयः ॥ हारीत, both quoted in संस्कारप्रकाश p. 316. लघुहारीत
verses 18-19 (Ānand. Ed.) are very similar to the 2nd verse. The first
is गोमिलस्तुति I. 4 and is quoted as शृङ्ग's in स्मृतिच. I. p. 32.

610. अमेध्यं वा एतच्छिरो यदशिक्षम् । quoted by the commentators on
काठकथञ्च 40. 7.

611. कुमारौचौलेऽपि यथाकुलधर्माभित्यजुवर्तते । ततश्च सर्वमुपहनं शिक्षाधारणं अमु-
पहनमेव वेति सिध्यति । संस्कारप्रकाश p. 317; एतच्च स्त्रीणामपि । 'स्त्रीष्वपि तु शिक्षां छिन्वा
क्रोधाद् वैराग्यतोऽपि वा । प्राजापत्यं प्रकुर्वीताम्' इति प्रायश्चित्तविधिचलात् । एतत्परिश्रद्धपक्षे ।
अत्र देशभेदाद् व्यवस्था द्रष्टव्या । स्त्रीणां केशधारणमेव शिक्षाधारणम् । एतच्चात्मन्यकमेव स्त्रीणां
कार्यम् । ...हीनोपि न । संस्काररत्नमाला p. 904.

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 *brāhmaṇas*). 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,⁶¹² 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*, *ānvīkṣikī* (metaphysics), *vārtā* (agriculture and the science of wealth) and *daṇḍanīti* (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. Bāṇa has⁶¹³ probably the *Arthaśāstra* in view when he makes prince Candrāpiḍa enter the temple of learning (*vidyā-mandira*) at 6 and remain there till he became sixteen and he (like Milton in his letter to Hartlib) tells us how extensive the ideal curriculum of studies in arts and sciences for the prince was thought to be. In the *Uttararāmacarita* (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. Aparārka (pp. 30-31) and the *Sm. C.* (I. p. 26) cite verses from the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*⁶¹⁴

612. वृत्तचौलकर्मा लिपिं संख्यानं चोपयुज्जीत। वृत्तोपनयनस्य परीक्षामन्वीक्षिकीं च
शिष्टेभ्यो वार्तामध्यक्षेभ्यो दण्डनीतिं वक्तृप्रवक्तृभ्यः। ब्रह्मचर्यं चापोदशाद्वर्षात्। अतो गोदानं
दारकर्म च। अर्थशास्त्र I. 5.

613. Vide कादम्बरी para 69 for विद्यामन्दिर and para 71 for the various arts and sciences 'पदे वाक्ये प्रमाणे धर्मशास्त्रे राजनीतिषु व्यायामविद्यासु ... सर्वे-
ष्वाम्युधविशेषेषु रथचर्यासु यज्ञपुष्टेषु तुरंगमेषु ... वाद्येषु भरतादिभूषणितेषु दृष्ट्यशास्त्रेषु नार-
दीयभस्मृतिषु गान्धर्ववेदविशेषेषु ... ग्रहगणिते ... वास्तुविद्यास्वायुर्वेदे यन्त्रप्रयोगे ...
कथासु नाटकेषु आख्यायिकासु काव्येषु महाभारतपुराणेतिहासराമായणेषु सर्वलिपिषु
सर्वदेशभाषासु सर्वशिल्पेषु छन्दःसु अन्येष्वपि कलाविशेषेषु परं कौशलमवाप।; vide
para 74 about 6 and 16 years.

614. प्राप्ते पञ्चमे वर्षे अभ्युत्थे जनार्दने। षष्ठीं प्रतिपदं चैव वर्जयित्वा तथाष्टमीम् ॥
रिकां पञ्चदशीं चैव सौरभौमदिनं तथा। एवं सुनिश्चिते काले विद्यारम्भं तु कारयेत् ॥ पूज-
यित्वा हरिं लक्ष्मीं देवीं चैव सरस्वतीम्। स्वविद्याभूषणकारांश्च स्वां विद्यां च विशेषतः ॥ एतेषामेव
देवानां नाम्ना तु जुहुयाद्भूतम्। दक्षिणाभिर्दिजेन्द्राणां कर्तव्यं चात्र पूजनम् ॥ प्राङ्मुखो
यवरासीनो वाष्पणाशुखं शिशुम्। अध्यापयेत् प्रथमं द्विजानीर्मिः सुपूजितम् ॥ ततः प्रभृत्यन-
ध्यापान्वर्जनीयान् विवर्जयेत्। अपरार्क pp. 30, 31. The विष्णुधर्मोत्तर (quoted in स. म. p. 321) says 'आषाढशुक्लद्वादश्यां रायनं कुरुते हरिः। निद्रां त्यजति कार्तिक्यां तयोः
संपूरयते हरिः ॥'.

about vidyārambha as follows: in the fifth year of the child on some day from the 12th of the bright half of Kārtika to the 11th of the bright half of Āṣāḍha, but excluding the 1st, 6th, 8th, 15th tithi or *riktā* 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, Sarasvatī, 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 dakṣiṇā. 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 Samskāra-prakāśa (pp. 321-325) and Samskāraratnamālā (pp. 904-907) have an extensive note, a considerable part of which is devoted to astrological matters. The Samskāraprakāśa quotes passages from Viśvāmitra, Devala and other sages and works that vidyārambha is performed in the 5th year or in any case before upanayana. It also quotes a verse from Nṛsiṃha that Sarasvatī and Gaṇapati 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, Sarasvatī and Gaṇapati are worshipped, the teacher is honoured and the boy is asked to repeat the words 'om namaḥ siddham' and to write them on a slate and then he is taught the letters ('a', 'ā' &c.) of the alphabet. The Samskāraratnamālā⁶¹⁵ calls this ceremony Akṣarasvikāra (appropriately enough) and among other texts cites a long prose passage from Garga quoted in the Pārijāta and prescribes a homa also with ājyāhūtis to Sarasvatī, Hari, Lakṣmī, Vighneśa (Gaṇapati), sūtrakāras and one's vidyā.

615. सरस्वतीपूजनादिप्रकारमाह पारिजाते गर्गः । स्नात्वा शुचौ समे देशे गोचर्मन्त्र-
शुपालेप्य सैकतं स्थण्डिलं कृत्वा पलाशशाखया घृदं खनित्वा तत्र सरस्वतीमावाहयेत् ।
शुवनमातः सर्ववाक्यरूपे आगच्छागच्छेति । ततः प्रणवेनासनाध्वपाद्याचमनीयस्नानवस्त्रगन्ध-
पुष्पाक्षतद्रव्यदीपपायसपुडोदैननैवेद्यसमर्पणमस्तकाराकृत्वा विघ्नेशं संयुज्याचार्यं शक्तिं
वज्रालंकारादिभिः पूजयित्वा सरस्वतीविघ्नेशाचार्याग्निः प्रदक्षिणीकृत्य प्रणवपूर्वकमक्षर-
मारभेत । तत आचार्यादिवन्दनं कृत्वा सरस्वत्यादीनावाहनक्रमेणोद्गातयेद्दिद्यावुद्भिर्भवति ।
संस्काररत्नमाला p. 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 ācārya' (for instruction); it may have also meant 'introducing the novice to the stage of student-hood'. Some of the gr̥hyasūtras 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 brahmacarya. Lead me near (initiate me into it). Let me be a student, impelled by the god Savitr'". The Mānava and Kāthaka gr. (41. 1) also use the word upāyana for upanayana and Ādityadarśana on Kāthaka gr. (41. 1) says that upāyana, upanayana, mauñjibandhana, baṭukaraṇa, vratabandha are synonyms.

A few words about the origin and development of this most important saṃskāra 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 'brahmacārī' occurs 'oh gods! he (Bṛhaspati), all pervading one, moves as a brahmacārī pervading all (sacrifices); he is only one part of the gods (i. e. of sacrifices); Bṛhaspati secured by that (i. e. by his service to the gods) a wife (me who am named) Juhū, who was (formerly) taken by Soma'.⁶¹⁷ The

616. अथैनममिष्याहारयति । ब्रह्मचर्यमागामुप मा नयस्व ब्रह्मचारी भवानि देवेन सवित्रा प्रसृतः । हिरण्य. गृ. I. 5. 2 (S. B. E. vol. 30 p. 150); ब्रह्मचर्यमागामिति वाचयति ब्रह्मचार्यसंनिति च । पार. गृ. II. 2; vide गोमिलशुद्ध II. 10. 21 (S. B. E. vol. 30 p. 65). The phrases ब्रह्मचर्यमागाम् and ब्रह्मचार्यसंनिति occur in the शतपथ XI. 5. 4. 1; vide आप. म. पा. II. 3. 26 for ब्रह्मचर्य...प्रसृतः. विष्णुरूप on या. I. 14 remarks 'देवाध्ययनाचार्यसमीपजनयनमुपनयनं तदेवोपनायनमित्युक्तं छन्दोगोक्तोपात्तम् । तदर्थं वा कर्म ।'. Vide मातृदत्त on हिरण्यकोशिशु. I. 1. 1.

617. ब्रह्मचारी चरति वेविषद् विशः स देवानां भवत्येकमङ्गम् । तेन जायामन्वाविन्दद् दृष्टयतिः सोमेन नीतां जुह्वं न देवाः ॥ ऋ. X. 109. 5 = अथर्व V. 17. 5. The reference to Soma recalls Rg. X. 85. 45 'सोमो बृद्धश्चैवायं.' Every girl was supposed to have been under the protection of Soma, Gandharva and Agni before her marriage with a human bridegroom.

word 'upanayana'⁶¹⁸ 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. 1. 19 says that *upanayana* is a saṁskāra (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 saṁskāra brought about by imparting the śruti (viz. Gāyatrī mantra) to him who seeks learning'. This would mean that upanayana principally is gāyatrī-upadeśa (the imparting of the sacred Gāyatrī mantra). This appears to be suggested by the Vedic passage quoted above (p. 154 f. n. 356) 'he created the brāhmaṇa with Gāyatrī, the kṣatriya with Trīṣṭubh, the vaiśya with Jagatī', and by Kātyāyana Śrauta 'one should initiate the brāhmaṇa with Gāyatrī'. Jaimini⁶¹⁹ also (in VI. 1. 35) propounds the view that upanayana is a saṁskāra and has a seen result viz. thereby the boy is brought near the teacher for learning Veda.

Rg. III. 8. 4⁶²⁰ 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 Atiśayokti) 'here comes the youth, well dressed and encircled (the boy by his mekhalā and the post by its raśanā); 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. तत्रोपनयनशब्दः कर्मनामधेयम् । ... तच्च यैगिकशुद्धिर्द्वयायात् । योगश्च भाव्युत्पत्त्या करण्युत्पत्त्या वेत्याह भारुचिः । स यथा । उप समीपे आचार्यादीनां च दर्शनं प्रापणमुपनयनम् । समीपे आचार्यादीनां नीयते बहुयैः तदुपनयनमिति वा । ... तत्र च भाव्युत्पत्तिरेव साधयिसीति गम्यते । औत्तार्यविधिसंभवात् । संस्कारप्रकाशः p. 334.

619. संस्कारस्य तदर्थत्वात् विद्यायां पुरुषश्रुतिः । जैमिनि VI. 1. 35; 'विद्यायामेवैषा श्रुतिः (वसन्ते ब्राह्मणमुपनयति) । उपनयनस्य संस्कारस्य तदर्थत्वात् । विद्यार्थमुपाख्यायस्य समीपमानयते नादृष्टार्थं नापि कटं कुञ्चं वा कर्तुम् । दृष्टार्थमेव सैषा विद्यायां पुरुषश्रुतिः । कथमवगम्यते । आचार्यकरणमेतदवगम्यते । कुतः । आत्मनेपददर्शनात् । शबर.

620. युवा सुवासाः परिवीत आगतस्त उ श्रियान्भवति जायमानः । तं धीरासः कवय उज्जयन्ति स्वाध्यायं मनसा देवयन्तः ॥ ऋ. III. 8. 4. आश्व. श्रु. I. 19. 8 prescribes that the boy is to be adorned and is to wear new clothes 'अलंकृतं कुमारं...अस्तेन वाससा संवीतं' &c. and I. 20. 8 is युवा सुवासाः परिवीत आगादित्यर्थेनैव प्रदक्षिणभावनार्थेत्'

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 'brahmacārī' and 'brahmacarya' occur. 'Every brāhmaṇa when born is indebted in three debts viz. in brahmacarya 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 brahmacārī.'

In the other Vedas and in the Brāhmaṇa literature there is ample material to show what the characteristic features of *upanayana* and brahmacarya were. The whole of Atharvaveda XI. 7 (26 verses) is a hymn containing hyperbolic laudation of the brahmacārī (Vedic student) and brahmacarya. The very first verse⁶²² may be cited as a sample 'The brahmacārī 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 austerities'. Verse 3 says 'the teacher leading (the boy) near him makes the brahmacārī like unto a foetus' (here the word 'upanayamāṇaḥ' occurs). Verse 4 states that the heaven and the earth are the 'samidh' (the fuel stick) of the brahmacārī and that the brahmacārī by his *mekhalā* (girdle), by his samidh and by his life of hard work fills the world with austerities. Verse 6 tells us that the brahmacārī wears the skin of a black antelope and has a long beard; verse 13 says that the brahmacārī 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 brahmacārī 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 puruṣaḥ)' 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. जायमानो ह वै ब्राह्मणस्त्रिभिर्ऋणवां जायते ब्रह्मचर्येण ऋषिभ्यो यज्ञेन देवेभ्यः भजया पितृभ्य एष वा अद्भ्यो यः पुत्री यज्वा ब्रह्मचारिवासी । तै. सं. VI. 3. 10. 5.

622. ब्रह्मचारिष्णश्चरति रोदसी उभे तस्मिन् देवाः संमनसो भवन्ति । स दाधार पृथिवीं द्विवं च स आचार्यं तपसा पिपति ॥ अथर्ववेद XI. 7. 1. This verse is explained in गोपथब्राह्मण II. 1. आचार्यं उपनयमानो ब्रह्मचारिणं कृणुते गर्भमन्तः । अथर्व XI. 7. 3; the idea is found in Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 1. 16-18 (quoted above p. 189 f. n. 443) and compare शतपथब्रा. XI. 5. 4. 12 'आचार्यो गर्भीभवति हस्तमायाय दक्षिणाय । तृतीयस्यां स जायते सावित्र्या सह ब्राह्मणः ॥'. ब्रह्मचार्यति समिधा समिद्धः काष्ठीं वसानो दीक्षितो दीर्घमश्रुः । अथर्व XI. 7. 6.

In the Tai. Br. III. ⁶²³ 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 brahmacarya he had mastered only an insignificant portion (three handfuls out of three mountains) of the Vedas, which were endless in extent. The story of Nābhānediṣṭha, son of Manu, who was excluded from ancestral property at a partition made by his brothers, narrated in the Ait. Br. shows ⁶²⁴ that he was a brahmacārī staying with a teacher away from his father's place. The Śat. 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 grhya sūtras. A brief summary is set out below. The boy says 'I have come unto brahmacarya' 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 Savitr). 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 brāhmaṇa boy the verse at once (on the very day of upanayana); the teacher repeats it to him first each *pāda* separately, then the half and then the whole. Being a brahmacārī one should not eat honey. ⁶²⁵

623. भरद्वाजो ह वै त्रिभिरायुर्भ्रमन्नचर्यशुवास तं ह... इन्द्र उपमन्योवाच । यत्ते चतुर्थमायुर्दद्यां किमेतेन कुर्या इति । ब्रह्मचर्यमेवेतेन चरेयमिति होवाच । तं हि त्रिर गिरिरूपान-
विशालानिव दर्शयां चकार । तेषां हैकैकस्मिन्सुष्टिनाददे स होवाच भरद्वाजेत्यामन्य वेदा ।
एते । अनन्ता वै वेदाः । एतद्वा एतस्त्रिभिरायुर्भ्रमन्नचर्यथाः । अथ त इतरदनूक्तमेव । तै. ब्रा.
III. 10. 11.

624. नामानेदिष्टं वै मानवं ब्रह्मचर्यं वसन्तं आतरो निरभजन् । सोऽब्रवीदेत्य किं मन्त्र-
मभाकेति । ऐ. ब्रा. 22. 9. This story occurs also in Tai. S. III. 1. 9. 5.

625. ब्रह्मचर्यमागमित्याह । ... ब्रह्मचार्यसंतीत्याह । अथैनमाह को नामासीति ।
अथास्य हस्तं शुक्लति । इन्द्रस्य ब्रह्मचार्यसि अग्निराचार्यस्तवाहमाचार्यस्तवासाविति ।
अथैनं सूतेत्यः परिददाति । अङ्ग्यस्त्वौषधीन्यः परिददामीत्याह । अपोऽशान...
कर्म कुश समिधमाधेहीति मा सुषुप्या इति । अथास्मै सावित्रामन्वाह । तां ह स्मैतां
पुरा संवत्सरेऽन्वहः । । अथ षट्सु मासेषु । अथ चतुर्विंशत्यहे अथ द्वाद-
शाहे । अथ त्र्यहे । तदपि श्रेयोको भवति । आचार्यो गभी ब्राह्मण इति । सद्यो ह
वा त्वाव ब्राह्मणायास्तुभ्यादाग्नेयो वै ब्राह्मणः । तं वै पच्छोऽन्वाह अथार्ध-
चंशोऽन्वाह अथ कृत्स्नाय । तद्वाहुः । न ब्रह्मचारी सन् मध्वदनीयात् । शतपथ
XI. 5. 4. 1-17.

The word 'antevāsi' (lit. one who dwells near a teacher) occurs in the Śaṭ. Br. V. 1. 5. 17 and in the Tai. Up. I. 11. The Śaṭ. Br. (XI. 3. 3. 2) says⁶²⁶ 'he who takes to *brahmacarya* indeed takes upon himself a sacrificial session of long duration.' It further says (XI. 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 Śaṭ. 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'.⁶²⁷

Janamejaya Pāriṣita asks the hamsas (who were the Āhavanīya and Dakṣiṇā 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 ceremonial⁶²⁸ 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 *brahmacārī* with the idea that he may not deprive her of her wealth, of merit due to *iṣṭāpūrta*. 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.⁶²⁹

626. दीर्घमन्त्रं वा एष उच्यते यो ब्रह्मचर्यमुपैति । शतपथ XI. 3. 3. 2. This is quoted in Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 52. The words 'अपोऽशन' refer to sipping water before and after *bhojana* respectively with the words 'amrtopastaranamasi svāhā' and 'amrtāpidhānam-asi svāhā.' Vide संस्कारतत्त्व p. 893. These two mantras occur in आप. न. पा. II. 10. 3-4.

627. तस्माद् ब्रह्मचारिण आचार्य गोपायन्ति गृहान्यञ्जलौऽपहरानति । शतपथ III. 6. 2. 15.

628. अष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षं सर्ववेदब्रह्मचर्यं तेऽनुवर्षा वेदेषु त्वुह द्वादशवर्षं ब्रह्मचर्यं द्वादशवर्षाण्यवर्षमपि रत्नास्यंश्चैरथयाशांति । गोपथ 2. 5.

629. तस्माद् ब्रह्मचारिणो अहरहर्भिक्षं दद्याद्गृहिणी मा मायामिष्टापूर्तुष्टुद्वि-
गमवचन्यादिति । गोपरिशायी स्याज्जायन्तो न नर्तनो न सरणो न निष्ठावेद्... न दमशान-
मातिष्ठेत् । गोपथ 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 *samīdh* 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 brahmacarya occurs in the Kātha. Up. I. 1. 15, Muṇḍaka II. 1. 7, Chāndogya VI. 1. 1 and other Upaniṣads. The Chāndogya 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 Chāndogya V. 11. 7⁶³⁰ that when Āsvapati Kekaya was approached by Prācīnāsāla 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 Satyakāma⁶³¹ Jābāla tells the truth about his gotra to Gautama Hārīdrumata, the latter says 'fetch, dear boy, fuel, I shall initiate you. You have not swerved from the truth' (Chāndogya 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 brahmacarya) only in words (i. e. without any further solemn rite or ceremony).⁶³² In the most ancient times it is probable that the father himself always taught his son.⁶³³ 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 Āruṇi who was himself a profound philosopher of *brahma* asks his son Śvetaketu to enter upon brahmacarya and sends him to a teacher to learn the Vedas.⁶³⁴ The same Upaniṣad describes the

630. ते ह समित्पाणयः पूर्वाङ्गि शतिचक्रमिरे तान्दासुपनीयेवैतदुवाच । छान्दोग्य V. 11. 7.

631. समिधं सोम्याहरोप त्वा नेष्ये न सत्यादाग इति । छान्दोग्य IV. 4. 5.

632. उपैभ्यहं भवन्तमिति वाचा ह स्मैव पूर्वं उपयन्ति स होपायनकीर्त्योवास । बृह. उ. VI. 2. 7.

633. Vide बृह. उ. VI. 2. 1 'अनुशिष्टोन्वसि पित्रेत्यमिति होवाच.' विश्वरूप on या. I. 15 remarks गुरुग्रहणं तु मुख्यं पितृरूपेणेतत्त्वमिति । तथा च श्रुतिः । तस्मात्पुत्रमनुशिष्टं लोक्यमाहु रिति । आचार्योपनयनं तु ब्राह्मणस्यानुकल्पः ।

634. श्वेतकेतुर्हारीणेय आस तं ह पितोवाच श्वेतकेतो वस ब्रह्मचर्यं ... स ह द्वादश वर्षं उपेत्य चतुर्विंशतिवर्षः सर्वान्वेदानधत्त्य महामना अनुचानभानी स्तब्ध एषाय तं ह पितोवाच श्वेतकेतो ... उत तमादेशमप्रादयः येन श्रुतं श्रुतं भवति । छान्दोग्य VI. 1. 1-2.

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 *varṇas*; the *yajñopavita*; the preliminaries of *upanayana*, such as *homa*, taking of curds by the boy, *añjalipūrāṇa*, *aśmārohaṇa*; the principal rites of *upanayana* viz. taking of the student's hand by the teacher, touching the chest of the student expressive of acceptance as pupil, handing the boy to *Savitr* and other gods (*paridāna*), instruction in the duties of the student (such as putting fuel on fire, begging &c.), instruction in the famous *Sāvitrī* mantra; *medhājanana*; study of the Vedas and daily recitation of Vedic texts; special *vratas* of the *brahmacārī*; *Patitasāvitrīka* (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 Āśv. 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 *vaiśya* in the

635. छान्दोग्य II. 23. 1. This refers to the नैष्ठिकब्रह्मचारिन्.

636. अष्टमे वर्षे ब्राह्मणमुपनयेत् । गर्भाष्टमे वा । एकादशे क्षत्रियम् । द्वादशे वैश्यम् । आ चोदशाद् ब्राह्मणस्यानन्तरितः कालः । आ द्वाविंशत्क्षत्रियस्य । आ चतुर्विंशद्द्वैत्यस्य । आश्व. गृ. I. 19. 1-6.

12th and that to the 16th, 22nd and 24th years respectively for the three varṇas it cannot be said that the time for upanayana has passed. Āp.⁶³⁷ (10. 2), Śāṇ. (II. 1), Baud. (II. 5. 2) and Bhār. (1. 1), Gobhila (II. 10. 1) gr̥hya sūtras, Yāj. I. 14, Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 19 expressly say that the respective years are calculated from conception. The Mahābhāṣya⁶³⁸ also refers to the rule that a brāhmaṇa's upanayana is to be performed in the 8th year from conception. Pār.⁶³⁹ gr̥. (II. 2) allows upanayana in the 8th year from birth or conception and adds that in the case of all varṇas family usage may be followed. Yāj. I. 14 also refers to family usage. Śāṇ. gr̥. (II. 1. 1) allows upanayana in the 8th or 10th year from conception, the Mānava gr̥. (I. 22. 1) allows it in the 7th or 9th year, the Kāṭhaka gr̥. (41. 1-3) prescribes 7th, 9th and 11th years for the upanayana of the three varṇas 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. गर्भादिभ्यु ज्ञात्वाण्युपनीयते गर्भादशेषे राजन्यं गर्भादशेषे वैश्यम् । आप. य. 10. 2-3. Vide सं. प्र. pp 340-341 for discussion whether there is option of counting the years from conception or birth in the case of kṣatriyas and vaiśyas. Āp. and several others employ the Ātmanepada 'उपनीयते' while Āśv., Khādira (II. 2. 1) and Pār. employ the Parasmaipada उपनीयत. It should be noticed that in the Atharvaveda XI. 7. 3., शतपथ XI. 5. 4. 1, छा. उ. IV. 4. 5 and elsewhere in the Vedic texts it is the Ātmanepada that is found. Pāṇini (I. 3. 36) lays down that the root 'nī' takes the Ātmanepada alone in the case of several senses one of which is आचार्यकरण (and so we should have उपनीयेत only). हरदत्त quotes a कारिका that the परस्मैपद is a mistake 'परस्मैपदपाठोऽयमभ्येतृणां प्रवादतः । आचार्यकरणे यस्मात्प्रामोत्यत्रात्मनेपदम् ॥'. Vide संस्कारप्रकाश p. 339 for criticism of हरदत्त's view. Vide शबर quoted above (p. 269 f. n. 619).

638. गर्भादिमे ज्ञात्वाण उपनीय इति सञ्ज्ञुपनीय कृतः शास्त्रार्थः । महाभाष्य vol. III. p. 57.

639. अष्टवर्षे ज्ञात्वाण्युपनीयेद्गर्भादिमे वैकादशवर्षे राजन्यं द्वादशवर्षे वैश्यं यथामन्त्रं वा सर्वेषाम् । पारस्कारय. II. 32. जी. य. adds त्रयोदशे मेधाकां चतुर्विंशे धृष्टिकामं पञ्चदशे आतृण्यवन्तं षोडशे सर्वकाममिति ।

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 varṇas are the principal time for upanayana; while the years from 5th onwards up to 11th are the secondary time (*gaṇa*) for a brāhmaṇa, 9th to 16th are secondary for kṣatriya and so on. From 12th to 16 is *gaṇatara* for brāhmaṇas and after 16 *gaṇatama* for them. Vide Samskāra-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 varṇas. 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 śīsira for all. Śabara in his bhāṣya on Jaimini VI. 1. 33 where upanayana is denied to śūdras quotes 'vasante brāhmaṇam upanayita' as a Vedic text. Āśv. gr. I. 4. 1 (quoted above in f. n. 494), Hir. gr. (I. 1. 5, S. B. E. vol. 30 p. 137) 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. आपूर्यमाणपक्षे पुण्ये नक्षत्रे विशेषेण पुंनामधेये । भारद्वाज I. 1. For पुंनामधेयनक्षत्र see note 512.

641. भासानाह वृद्धगार्ग्यः । माघादिमासषट्के तु मेखलावच्छन्ने मतम् । quoted in संस्कृतिकाल p. 355 ; तथा च ज्योतिःशास्त्रम् । माघादिषु च मासेषु मौखी पञ्चमशरवते । एतच्च वर्जयसाधारणम् । स्मृतिच० I. p. 27.

days and on galagraha⁶⁴² (the tithis specified above). Jupiter, Venus, Mars⁶⁴³ 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 nakṣatras⁶⁴⁴ the proper ones are Hasta, Citrā, Svāti, Puṣya, Dhanīṣṭhā, Āśvinī, Mrgāśiras, Punarvasu, Śravaṇa 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 Bharanī, Kṛttikā, Maghā, Viśākhā, Jyēṣṭhā, Śatātārakā 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 pakṣa (the half) of the month in which he was born. There are other rules about the Lagna (the rising

642. नष्टे चन्द्रेऽस्तगे शुक्रो निरंशो चैव भास्करे । कर्तव्यमौपनयनं नानव्याये गलग्रहे ॥ त्रयोदशीचतुष्कं तु सप्तम्यादित्रयं तथा । चतुर्थ्येकादशी भोक्ता अष्टायेते गलग्रहाः ॥ स्मृतिच. I. p. 27 ; अपरार्क p. 32 cites the first as from बुराण.

643. The निर्णयसिन्धु quotes नारद as to गलग्रह differently ' कृष्णपक्षे चतुर्थी च सप्तम्यादित्रयम् । त्रयोदशीचतुष्कं च अष्टायेते गलग्रहाः ॥'. शुभशुभलक्षणो धात्रीपुत्रः शशधरात्मजः । स्मृते कश्यपुःसामाथर्वणामधियाः कर्मात् ॥ स्मृतिच. I. p. 27.

644. हस्ताश्रये पुष्यधनिष्ठयोश्च पौष्णान्विसौम्यादिति विष्णुमेतु । सत्ते तिथौ चन्द-चलोपयुक्तो कार्षी द्विजानाद्युपनायनो विधिः ॥ अपरार्क p. 32, स्मृतिच. I. p. 27.

zodiacal sign at the time of upanayana) which are not set out here. There are other prohibited astrological conjunctions like Vyatipāta, Vaidhṛti &c. For detailed rules on these, works like the Sam. Pr. (pp. 355-385), Nirṇayasindhu and Dharmasindhu may be consulted.

For persons who are entitled to perform the upanayana of a boy, vide note 480.

A brahmacāri had to wear two garments, one for the lower part of the body (vāsas), another for covering the upper part of the body (uttariya). Āp. Dh. S. (I. 1. 2. 39-I. 1. 3. 1-2) says that 'the garment⁶⁴⁵ (vāsas) for a brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya or vaiśya brahmacāri 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 brāhmaṇas; dyed with madder for kṣatriyas, dyed with turmeric for vaiśyas.' Pār. gr. (II. 5), Manu (II. 41) speak of 'āvika' (made of wool-) for vaiśya instead of 'ajina'. Vas. Dh. S. (XI. 64-67) says that a brāhmaṇa (brahmacāri) should wear a (lower) garment which is white and unblemished (or new) and for a kṣatriya or vaiśya it should be the same as in Āp. Dh., but for vaiśya 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 brāhmaṇas and madder-red and yellow for kṣatriya and vaiśya. Āśv. 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 brāhmaṇa should be the skin of a black deer, for kṣatriya the skin of ruru deer and for a vaiśya of cow-skin or of goat skin. Baud. and Āśv. prescribe only goat skin. Pār. gr. adds that if any one cannot secure a skin suited to one's varṇa, 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. वासः । शाणिकौमाजिनानि । काषायं चैके वस्त्रमुपदिशन्ति । माखिडं राजन्यस्य । हारिद्रं वैश्यस्य । आप. घ. 1. 1. 2. 39-41-I. 1. 3. 1-2; शुक्लमहत् वासो ब्राह्मणस्य । माखिडं क्षत्रियस्य । हारिद्रं कौशेयं वा वैश्यस्य । सर्वेषां वा तान्तवस्त्रम् । वसिष्ठ XI. 64-67; what is अहत्त is defined by मचेतम् 'ईषद्भौतं नवम् श्वेतं सवशं यज्यपरितम् । अहतं तद् विजानीयात्सर्वकर्मसु पावनम् ॥' quoted in स्मृतिच. I. p. 29.

646. श्रेष्ठियमजिनमुत्तरीयं ब्राह्मणस्य रौरवं राजन्यस्याजं गन्धं वा वैश्यस्य सर्वेषां वा गन्धमसति प्रधानत्वात् । पारस्कर II. 5.

circumstances. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 1. 3. 7-8) gives the option to all varṇas to use a sheep skin (as upper garment) or a woollen plaid (*kambala*). Āśv. 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 varṇas 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 yajñopavīta 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'.

Daṇḍa (staff):—There is some divergence of view about the trees of which the staff was to be made. Āśv. gr. (I. 19. 13 and I. 20. 1) says 'a staff of the palāśa wood for a brāhmaṇa, of udumbara for a kṣatriya and of bilva for a vaiśya or all the varṇas 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 kṣatriya, 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 varṇa. 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 āśvattha and pilu wood staff should be used respectively for kṣatriya and vaiśya or of any sacrificial tree for all varṇas. Baud. gr. prescribes nyagrodha or rauhītaka for kṣatriya, and badara or udumbara for vaiśya. Pār. gr.

647. ऐमेवं चर्म ब्राह्मणाय प्रयच्छति वैश्यां राजन्याय रौरवं वैश्याय । काठकग्रन्थ 41. 13.

648. ब्रह्मवृद्धिमिच्छन्नजिनान्येव वसीते क्षत्रवृद्धिमिच्छन्वस्त्राप्येवोभयवृद्धिमिच्छन्नुभयमिति हि ब्राह्मणम् । अजिनं त्वेवोत्तरं धारयेत् । आप. ध. I. 1. 3. 9-10; compare भारद्वाजग्रन्थ I. 1 यदजिनं धारयेद्ब्रह्मवर्चसवद्वासो धारयेत्क्षत्रं वर्धयेदुभयं धारयन्नुभयोवृद्धयौ इति विज्ञायते ।; compare the गोपथब्रा. 2. 4 न तान्तवं वसीत यस्तान्तवं वस्ते क्षत्रं वर्धते न ब्रह्म तस्मात्तान्तवं न वसीत ब्रह्म वर्धतां मा क्षत्रमिति ।

(IL 5) recommends a staff of palāśa, bilva and udumbara respectively for the three varṇas (or any of these for all). Kāṭhaka gr. (41. 22) recommends palāśa, aśvattha and nyagrodha respectively for the three. Manu (II. 45) prescribes bilva and palāśa for brāhmaṇa, vaṭa and khadira for kṣatriya, pilu 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. Āśv. 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, kṣatriya or vaiśya boy respectively the staff should be as high as his head, forehead or the tip of the nose. The Śān. gr. (II. 1. 21-23, S. B. E. vol. 29. p. 260) 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 Śān. gr. (II. 13. 2-3) prescribes that the brahmacārī should not allow any one to pass between himself and his staff and that if the staff, girdle or the yajñopavīta 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 brahmacarya, he should sacrifice in water the yajñopavīta, staff, the girdle and the skin⁶⁵⁰ 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), Āśv. gr. (I. 19. 11), Baud. gr. (II. 5. 13), Manu II. 42, Kāṭhaka gr. (41. 12), Bhār. gr. (I. 2) and others prescribe that a girdle made of muñja grass should be

649. दण्डाजिनोपवीतानि मेखलां चैव धारयेत् । या. I. 29; 'तत्र दण्डस्य कार्यमेवल-
म्बनं गवादिनिवारणं तमोवगाहनमप्यु प्रवेशनमित्यादि' अपरार्क. As the carrying of a
staff has a seen result, it need not be carried at all times, according to
Aparārka (p. 57), but the others having unseen results must be worn
always.

650. उपवीतं च दण्डं बध्नाति । तदप्येतत् । यज्ञोपवीतदण्डं च मेखलामजिनं तथा ।
उद्धृतादप्यु व्रते पूर्णं वाच्यं चार्त्तं रसेन । शा. गृ. II. 30. 31. रस means 'ओम्'.

tied round a brāhmaṇa boy's waist, one made of mūrvā grass (which is used for making a bowstring) for a kṣatriya and one of hemp cords for a vaiśya. Pāraskara says that the string of a bow should be used for a kṣatriya and of mūrvā grass for a vaiśya and adds that in the absence of these the girdle should respectively be made of kuśa, āśmantaka and balvaja grass (for brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya 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 kṣatriyas and woollen string or the yoke-string or a string of tāmala bark for vaiśyas (according to some). Baud. gr. (II. 5. 13) allows mauñji 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 Āśv. 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 brāhmaṇa, ruru skin if a kṣatriya, goat's skin if a vaiśya; if they put on garments they should put on dyed ones, reddish-yellow, red and yellow (for a brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya, 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 Savitr' (Rg. V. 82. 1) the teacher drops down the water in his own folded hands on to the water in the folded

651. ज्या राजन्यस्य मौञ्जी चायोमित्रा । आवीक्षत्रं वैदयस्य । सेरी तामली चेरयेके । आप. घ. सू. I. 1. 2. 34-37. तामल is explained as रज्ज (hemp) in the com. on गोमिल II. 10. 10 and by हरद्वज as 'तामलो मूलोदकसंज्ञो वृक्षः । तस्य लवचा ग्रथिता तामली'.

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 Āśv. gr. and for a very concise form prepared recently.

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 Savitr, with the arms of the two Āśvins, with the hands of Pūṣan, I seize thy hand, oh! so and so';^{653a} with the words 'Savitr 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 Savitr! this is thy brahmacārī, protect him, may he not die'⁶⁵⁴ 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 give⁶⁵⁵ thee to Ka (to Prajāpati)'. With the half verse (Rg. III. 8. 4.) 'the young man, well attired and dressed, came⁶⁵⁶ 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'.⁶⁵⁷ 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 saṃhitās. Vide for this वाज. सं. II. 11, तै. सं. II. 6. 8. 6. A similar formula occurs in आप. मन्त्रपाठ II. 3. 24 and II. 9. 5, हिरण्य. गृ. I. 11. 17, मानवगृ. I. 22. 5, बौ. गृ. II. 5. 28 (देवस्य.....इत्यादिवाधुपनयेऽसौ), काठकगृ. 41. 16 (reads as in बौ. गृ.)

654. देव मा सुत. This मन्त्र occurs also in the आप. मन्त्रपाठ II. 3. 31 (असावेच ते देव सूर्य सुत) and in मानवगृह्य I. 22. 5, श्रा. गृ. II. 18. 4 and others.

655. The words कस्य परिदूदामि occur in आप. म. पा. II. 3. 29, मानवगृह्य I. 22. 5, पारस्कर II. 2 (with variations in all)

656. For the whole verse युवा सुवासः vide note. 620 above.

657. अग्नये समिधमाहर्षि &c—The first half occurs in आप. म. पा. II. 6. 2, पारस्कर II. 4, हिरण्य. गृ. I. 7. 2, गोमिलगृह्य II. 10. 46, भारद्वाजगृ. I. 8, all of which have a long latter half like यथा त्वमग्ने समिधा समिधसे एवं मामाधुषा ... मेधया मजया etc.

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 (indriya); 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'.⁶⁵⁸ 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 hemistich by hemistich (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'⁶⁵⁹ unto duty to me; may thy mind follow my mind; may you attend on my words single-minded; may Brhaspati 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'⁶⁶⁰ 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."⁶⁶¹

The whole procedure of upanayana is more elaborately described in the Āp. gr., in Hir. gr. and Gobhila. A few points

658. भवि मेधां &c. These mantras occur in तै. सं. III. 3. 1. 2 and III. 5. 3. 2; also in हिरण्य. गृ., चौ. गृ. II. 5. 62 &c.

659. मम ब्रूते &c. These words also occur in पारस्करयु. II. 2., मानवयु. I. 22. 10, हिरण्ययु. (where we have मम हृदये). These words also occur in the marriage ceremony (as addressed by the husband); vide पारस्करयु. I. 8.

660. ब्रह्मचारिणि &c. These words (with some additions and omissions) occur in आप. म. पा. II. 6. 14, पारस्करयु. II. 3, काठकयु. 41. 17 and several others. These are based on the शतपथ passage quoted in note 625 above. In some it is said simply 'do not sleep' and this is explained in आप. घ. सू. I. 1. 4. 28. as 'अथ यः पूर्वोत्थायी जघन्यसंवेशी तमाहुर्न स्वपिषाति'.

661. अनुभवचरिण्य sacrifice is to be performed after a part of the Veda has been learnt; vide आश्व. गृ. I. 22. 10-16, गोभिलयुक्ता III. 2. 46-47.

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.⁶⁶² (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. smārta (II. 5) says that the teacher gives the upper garment to the boy with⁶⁶³ the verse 'paridam vāsaḥ', the sacred thread with the mantra 'Yajñopavītam' and the black antelope skin with the mantra 'the eye of Mitra'. Sudarsana 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) before⁶⁶⁴ 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 Samskāratattva p. 934 says the same. Late works like the Samskāratnamālā (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.⁶⁶⁵ (II. 5. 7) say that the boy also is made to take food; according to later works (e. g. Samskāratnamālā) 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. स्नात शुचिवाससं वद्धशिश्वं यज्ञोपवीतं प्रतिशुश्रूषन् वाचयति 'यज्ञोपवीतं परमं पवित्रं प्रजापतेर्यत्सहजं पुरस्तात् । आयुष्यमगम्यं प्रतिशुश्रूषन् शुश्रूषं यज्ञोपवीतं बलमस्तु तेजः ॥' इति । यज्ञोपवीतनिमग्न आचमय्याथ देवयजनमुद्दानयति । बौ. गृ. II. 5. 7-8; the verse यज्ञोपवीतं is quoted as from शुद्धपरिशिष्ट in स्मृतिच० (I. p. 31) and is repeated even in the island of Bali by the *pedandas*. In some mss. of Pār. gr. this mantra occurs, but it is an interpolation, as Karka, Jayarāma and Harihara say 'यथाप सूत्रकारेण यज्ञोपवीतधारणं न सूत्रितम्' (हरिहर).

663. परिदं वासः—this is आप. म. पा. II. 2. 8; मित्रस्य चक्षुः is आप. म. पा. II. 2. 11.

664. Acc. to शाङ्खायनश्रुति II. 2. 3 the आचार्य says 'यज्ञोपवीतमासि यज्ञस्य स्वा यज्ञोपवीतेनोपनयामि.'

665. बौ. गृ. सू. 'कुमारं भोजयित्वा तस्य चालैवत्सुर्जी केशानोप्य स्नातं शुचि-
प...तं वद्धशिश्वम्' &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 ⁶⁶⁶ 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 *Āśv.* 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), *Khādīra 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 'Dadhikrāvṇo akāriṣam' (*Rg. IV. 39. 6* = *Tai. S. I. 5. 4. 11*).

(c) *Pār. gr.* (II. 2), *Bhār. gr.* (I. 7), *Āp. gr.* (11. 1-4), *Āp. Mantrapāṭha* (II. 3. 27-30), *Baud. gr.* II. 5. 25 (quoting *Sātyāyanaka*), *Mānava gr.* I. 22. 4-5, and *Khādīra 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 *brahmacārī* the boy is.

A person was given (as shown above at pp. 246-247) an *abhivādaniya* 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. *त्रींक्षीन् दुर्भानन्तर्धायोत्तरामिञ्चतश्चमिः चतश्चमिः प्रतिमन्त्रं प्रतिदिशं भवपति । वपन्तश्चतुरयासु मन्त्रयते दक्षिणतो माता ब्रह्मचारी वा । आनङ्गुहं सङ्कल्पिष्ये यवाक्षिष्याय तस्मिन्नेसासु पयःपयोत्तरयोद्गच्छरभुले दुर्मस्तन्वे वा निद्वयाति । आप. गृ. X. 6-8. सुदर्शन on sūtra says 'पशवद्वकरणाल्लुसलीकरणमप्याचार्यस्यैव' and on sūtra 8 'केचित्—आचार्यः पूर्वं वपनमारभते ततो नापितः संसृष्टामिरेवाग्नेरवर्थं कुर्वन् केशान् भवपति । तं च वपन्तश्चतुरया आचार्योऽसु मन्त्रयते । दक्षिणतो मातेत्युक्तार्थमेव । तच्च । एतद्वपनं नापितः समापयतीत्यत्र वचनाभावात् तत्कल्पनायां चासुपपत्त्यभावात् ।' इदञ्च on आप. गृ. X. 6 says 'पूर्वं मन्त्रवद्वपनं करोत्याचार्यः पश्चात् नापित इत्युक्तं भवति,' which is combated by सुदर्शन.*

667. आतिष्ठेन्नमस्मानमस्मेव त्वं स्थिरी भव । अमि तिष्ठ धृतन्यतः सुदृक् धृतनायतः । आप. म. पा. II. 2. 2, which is the मन्त्र in आप. गृ., भार. गृ., वा. गृ.

668. Vide Keay in 'Ancient Indian Education' p. 23 where he says 'it was still the rule for brāhmanas 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 Kādambarī 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 añjalipūrāṇa (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 'suśravaḥ &c.' is employed by Āp. at the time of taking the staff by the boy (XI. 14 and Mantrapāṭha 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 suvāsāḥ' (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 Nāndīśrāddha 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, puṇyāhavācana, the worship of Mātṛs 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 saṁkalpa of upanayana is given below ⁶⁶⁹.

Yajñopavīta ⁶⁷⁰ :—A few words must be said on the history of *yajñopavīta* from ancient times. Among the earliest references is one from the Tai. S. II. 5. 11. 1 ' the nivīta ⁶⁷¹ is (used in actions) for men, the prācīnāvīta (is 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 prācīnāvīta 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 upavīta form and offer in the north only, since both gods and pitṛs are worshipped (in this rite)'. ⁶⁷² The three words nivīta, prācīnāvīta and upavīta are explained in the Gobhila gr. (I. 2. 2-4) which says ' raising his right arm, putting the head into (the upavīta) he suspends (the cord) over his left shoulder in such a way that it hangs down on his right side ; thus he becomes yajñopavītin. Passing his left arm, putting the head (into the upavīta) he suspends it over his right shoulder, so that it hangs down along his left side ; in this way he becomes prācīnāvītin ; a person becomes prācīnāvītin only in the sacrifice offered to the Manes' ⁶⁷³. To the same effect is

669. आचम्य मण्डपानामभ्यर्च्य देशकालौ संकीर्त्यारभ्य कुमारस्य द्विजत्तसिद्धिपूर्वकवेदाभ्ययनाधिकारसिद्धिद्वारा श्रीपरमेश्वरप्रतिपदमाचार्यपैतृकसावित्रीमातृकमुपनयनाख्यं संस्कारं करिष्ये इति सङ्कल्पं कुर्यात् ।

670. Vide ' Orion ' by the late Mr. Tilak pp. 145-148 for discussion on this.

671. निर्वीतं मनुष्याणां प्राचीनावीतं पितृणामुपवीतं देवानाम् । उपव्ययते देवलश्चममेव तच्छुचते । तै. सं. II. 5. 11. 1.

672. दक्षिणतः प्राचीनावीती निर्बपति । दक्षिणावृद्धिं पितृणाम् । अनाहृत्य तत् । उत्तरत एवोपवीय निर्वपेत् । उभये हि देवाश्च पितरश्चेज्यन्ते । अथो यदेव दक्षिणार्धेधिअयाति तेन दक्षिणावृत् । तै. ब्रा. I. 6. 8.

673. दक्षिणं बाहुमुद्धृत्य शिरोऽवधाय सव्येऽं प्रतिष्ठापयति दक्षिणं कक्षमन्ववलयं भवत्येवं यज्ञोपवीती भवति । सव्यं बाहुमुद्धृत्य शिरोऽवधाय दक्षिणेऽं प्रतिष्ठापयति सव्यं कक्षमन्ववलयं भवत्येवं प्राचीनावीती भवति । पितृयज्ञे त्वेव प्राचीनावीती भवति । गोभिल शुक्ल I. 2. 2-4.

Khādira gr. I. 1. 8-9, Manu II. 63, Baud. gr. paribhāṣā sūtra II. 2. 7 and 10, Vaik. 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: *ṛṣi-tarpana*, sexual intercourse, *samśkāras* 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 *pitṛs* approached him, being *prācīnāvītins* 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 namaḥ* '.

It seems to follow from a passage in the Tai. Ā. (II. 1) that a strip of black antelope skin or of cloth was used in ancient times as *upavita*⁶⁷⁷ 'the sacrifice of him who wears the

674. उपरिष्टाद्गताभ्यां धीर्वां हृदयं च संपरिशुद्धं हृदयस्याधस्तादूर्ध्वं नाभेरङ्गुष्ठान्यां परिशुद्धाति तज्जिवीतं मनुष्याणामिति ऋषीणामित्येवेदशुक्ते भवति । अथ निर्वीतकार्याणि ऋषीणां तर्पणं व्यवयः प्रजासंस्कारोऽप्यत्र होमात्, मूत्रपुरीषोत्सर्गः भेतोद्धनं यानि चान्यानि मनुष्याकार्याणि कण्ठोऽवसक्तं निर्वीतमिति । बौ. शु. परिभाषासूत्र II. 2. 3 and 6.

675. ततो देवा यज्ञोपवीतिनो भूत्वा दक्षिणं जान्वाचार्योपासीदुस्तानमवीथज्ञो वोऽङ्ग-मश्रुतत्वं च ऊर्ध्वः सूर्यो वो ज्योतिरिति । अथैनं पितरः माचीनावीतिनः सभ्यं जान्वाच्य अथैनं मनुष्याः प्रावृता उपस्थं कृत्वोपासीदन् ' शतपथ II. 4. 2. 1.

676. एतावति ह गौतमः यज्ञोपवीतं कृत्वा अधो निपपात नमो नम इति । तै. ब्रा. III. 10. 9. सायण remarks 'स्वकीयेन वस्त्रेण यज्ञोपवीतं कृत्वा'.

677. मधुतो ह वै यज्ञोपवीतिनो यज्ञोऽमधुतोऽमुपवीतिनो यत्किं च नान्मणो यज्ञोपवीत्यधीते यजत एव तत् । तस्माद्यज्ञोपवीत्येवार्थाधीतं याजयेद्यजेत वा यज्ञस्य मधुतयै । अजिनं वासो वा दक्षिणत उपवीथ दक्षिणं बाहुशुद्धरतेऽवधत्ते सभ्यमिति यज्ञोपवीतमेतदेव विपरितिं माचीनाधीतं संवीतं माधुचक्षुः । तै. आ. II. 1. This passage is quoted as from the Kāṭhaka in the दन्त्रावतक on जैमिनि I. 3. 7 (p. 201).

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 prācīnāvīta; the position called samvīta 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) quotes⁶⁷⁸ 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 Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtra (III. 1. 21) it is established (with reference to the words) in the Tai. S. II. 5. 11. 1 (upavyayate etc. quoted in f. n. 671) that one has to be an upavītin throughout all the actions, prescribed in the sections on the Darśa-Pūrṇamāsa sacrifice and not only when the Sāmīdhenī 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 Darśa-Pūrṇamāsa which is devakarma and that the reference to prācīnāvīta and nivīta is only an *anuvāda* intended to emphasize the desirability of the wearing of upavīta in sacrifices to gods. The Tantravārtika⁶⁷⁹ explains that *niivīta* is tying the upavīta round the throat like a braid of hair (according to some), while 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. तत्रैतिकर्तव्यतारूपेण कृश्याजिनवाससोरन्यतरेणोपवीतित्वं तैत्तिरीयके विधीयते । परा. मा. I. 1. p. 173.

679. निवीतं केचिद्गलेणिकावन्धं स्मरन्ति । केचित्तुनः परिकरवन्धम् । तत्र गलेणिकावन्धो युद्धादन्धत्र न प्राप्नोति । परिकरवन्धस्तु सर्वकर्मस्वस्थताकारत्वात्प्राप्तः । तन्त्रवार्तिके on जैमिनि III. 4. 2 (p. 891).

upavīta meant an upper garment and not merely a cord of threads. In another place the same sūtra 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 yajñopavīta 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.⁶⁸⁰ While another view is that he must wear the sacred thread and the upper garment both in the fashion of upavīta. 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 yajñopavīta 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 yajñopavītin 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 'yajñopavīta 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 yajñopavīta'.

The Gobhila gr. (I. 2. 1) in treating of upanayana⁶⁸¹ says 'the student takes as yajñopavīta a cord of threads, a garment

680. नित्यसुत्तरं वासः कार्यम् । अपि वा सूत्रमेवोपवीतार्थे । आप. ध. सू. II. 2. 4. 22-23 ; सोत्तराच्छादनश्चैव यज्ञोपवीती युज्यते । आप. ध. सू. II. 8. 19. 12 ; हरदत्त explains "उत्तराच्छादनसुपरिवासः । तेन यज्ञोपवीतेन यज्ञोपवीतं कृत्वा युज्यते । नारद भोजने 'अपि वा सूत्रमेवोपवीतार्थे' इत्ययं कल्पो भवतीत्येके । ससुख्य इत्येते ।"; यज्ञोपवीती द्विवस्त्रः । अधोनिवीतस्त्वेकवस्त्रः । आप. ध. सू. I. 2. 6. 18-19 ; उपासने शुक्लां वृद्धानामतिथीनां होमे जप्यकर्मणि भोजन आचमने स्वाध्याये च यज्ञोपवीती स्यात् । आप. ध. सू. I. 5. 15. 1, where हरदत्त says 'वासोविन्यासविशेषो यज्ञोपवीतम् । दक्षिणं बाहुमुद्धरत इति ब्राह्मणविहितम् । वाससोऽसंभवेऽनुकल्पं वक्ष्यति अपि वा सूत्रमेवोपवीतार्थे इति । एषु विधानात् कालान्तरे नावर्यं भावः ।'; vide औशनसस्मृति (Jivānanda, part I. p. 502) 'अग्न्यगारे गवां गोष्ठे होमे जप्ये तथैव च । स्वाध्याये भोजने नित्यं ब्राह्मणानां च संनिधौ । उपासने शुक्लां च संध्ययोश्चमयोरपि । उपवीती भवेन्नित्यं विधिरेष सनातनः ॥'

681. यज्ञोपवीतं कुरुते वस्त्रं वापि वा कुशरज्जुमेव । गोभिलश्रुतम् I. 2. 1 ; सूत्रमापि पञ्चाभावाद्देवित्यमिति । अपि वाससा यज्ञोपवीतार्थान् कुर्वत्तदभावे त्रिवृता सूत्रेणेति ऋष्यशृङ्गस्मरणात् । स्मृतिच. 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 yajñopavīta, 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 upavīta 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 'upavīta' means a particular mode of wearing a garment or a particular position of it and therefore here by upavīta is meant that which can be worn in that mode. The Sm. C. quotes a prose passage from R̥ṣyaśṛṅga 'or one may carry out all the purposes for which yajñopavīta 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 gṛhyasūtras are entirely silent about the giving or wearing of the sacred thread in upanayana and from the fact that no mantra⁶⁸² is cited from the Vedic Literature for the act of giving the yajñopavīta (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 yajñopavīta may now be stated here.⁶⁸³ The yajñopavīta is to have three threads of nine strands well

682. The mantra 'यज्ञोपवीतं परमं &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 स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 4 and सं. प्र. pp. 416-418 as to how the upavīta is to be manufactured and who is to manufacture it, one interesting fact being that an upavīta prepared by a maiden was to be preferred to one prepared by a widow. मदनरत्न quoted in the आचाररत्न defines ऊर्ध्ववृत् in Manu II. 44 as 'करेण दक्षिणेनोर्ध्वगतेन त्रिशुलीकृतम् । वलितं मानवे शाले धृतमूर्ध्ववृत् स्मृतम् ॥' (p. 2).

twisted (for each thread). Vide Baud. Dh. S.I. 5. 5., Devala quoted in the Sm. C.⁶⁸⁴ The nine devatās of the nine *tantus* (strands) are given by Devala viz. Omkāra, Agni, Nāga, Soma, Pitr̥s, Prajāpati, Vāyu, Sūrya,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 *ahīna*, *ekāha*, and *sattra* sacrifices as they required three fires and in the seven *somasamsthās* seven-fold and five-fold when viewed with reference to the three savanas and two saṁdhyās. The yajñopavīta should reach as far as the navel, should not reach beyond the navel, nor should it be above the chest.⁶⁸⁶ Manu II. 44 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 27. 19 prescribe that the yajñopavīta for brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya 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 kṣumā, hair of cow's tail, hemp, tree bark or kuśa according to the availability of the material.⁶⁸⁷ The remarks of the Saṁskāramayūkha after quoting Manu II. 44 are interesting 'we do not know the origin of (or authority for) the practice of present-day kṣatriyas and vaiśyas, viz. of wearing cotton yajñopavīta'. This shows that in the 17th century A. D. many kṣatriyas and vaiśyas put on yajñopavīta.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 brahmacārī was to wear only one yajñopavīta and saṁnyāsins, when they kept yajñopavīta at all, also wore

684. कौशं सूत्रं वा त्रिस्त्रिवृत्तजोपवीतम् । आ नाभेः । बौ. ध. सू. I. 5. 5-6; उक्तं देवलेन यज्ञोपवीतं कुपित सूत्रेण नवतन्तुम् । इति । स्मृतिच. I. p. 31.

685. अत्र प्रतितन्तु देवतामेदमाह देवलः । ओंकारः प्रथमतस्तुर्द्वितीयोऽग्निस्तथैव च । तृतीयो नागदैवत्यश्चतुर्थो सोमदैवतः । पञ्चमः पितृदैवत्यः षष्ठश्चैव प्रजापतिः । सप्तमो वायुदैवत्यः सूर्यश्चाष्टम एव च ॥ नवमः सर्वदैवत्य इत्येते नव तन्तवः । स्मृतिच० I. p. 31

686. कात्यायनस्तु परिमाणान्तरमाह । पृष्ठवंशे च नाभ्यां च घृतं यदिद्वन्द्वे कटिम् । तद्वार्यमुपवीतं स्यात् । अतिलम्बं न चोच्छ्रितम् । ... देवलः । स्तनादूर्ध्वमधो नाभिर्न कर्तव्यं कथंचन । स्मृतिच० I. p. 31

687. कार्पासक्षौमगोत्रालशणवल्कतृणोद्भवम् । सदा संभवतः कार्यमुपवीतं द्विजातिभिः ॥ स्मृतिच० I. p. 32; परा. मा. I. 2. p. 36; बृहद्हरित (VIII. 47-48) has a similar verse.

688. एवं च यदिदानीतनानां क्षत्रियवैद्यानां कार्पासोपवीतधारणं तत्र मूलं न विद्मः । संस्कारमयूक्ष.

only one. A snātaka⁶⁸⁹ (i. e. one who has returned from the teacher's house after brahmacarya) 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 yajñopavītas, should have a stick and a pot filled with water'. Kāśyapa allowed a householder to wear any number up to ten. Whether yajñopavīta 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 yajñopavīta and have his top-knot (of hair) always tied up; if he did any act without observing this rule, it was inefficacious.⁶⁹⁰ Vas.⁶⁹¹ and Baud. Dh. S. (II. 2. 1) both say that a man must always wear yajñopavīta. If a brāhmaṇa took his meals without wearing yajñopavīta, he had to undergo prāyaścitta 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 prāyaścitta for answering calls of nature without having the yajñopavīta placed on the right ear (as Yāj. I. 16 prescribes). Manu IV. 66 forbids the wearing of another's yajñopavīta along with several other things (such as shoes, ornament, garland and kamaṇḍalu). In Yāj. (I. 16 and 133) and other smṛtis the yajñopavīta is called brahmasūtra.

An interesting question is whether women ever had upa-nayana performed or whether they had to wear the yajñopavīta. Several smṛtis contain instructive dicta on this point.⁶⁹² The

689. स्नातकानां तु नित्यं स्यादन्तर्वासस्तथोत्तरम् । यज्ञोपवीते द्वे यष्टिः सोदकश्च कमण्डलुः ॥ वसिष्ठ XII. 14; विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 71. 13-15 has similar rules; the verse of Vasiṣṭha is quoted by the Mit. on Yāj. I. 133; compare मनु. IV. 36; एकैकशुपवीतं तु यतीनां ब्रह्मचारिणाम् । शुद्दिणां च वनस्थानाशुपवीतद्वयं स्मृतम् । सोत्तरीयं त्रयं वापि विभूष्याच्छुभ्रतन्तु वा । वृद्धहारीत VIII. 44-45. Vide देवल quoted in स्मृतिच. I. p. 32 and त्रीणि चत्वारि पञ्चाष्ट शुद्दिणः शुद्धशापि वा । सर्वेषां शुचिभिर्धार्य-शुपवीतं द्विजातिभिः ॥ कश्यप quoted in the संस्कारमयूख.

690. Vide note 609 above.

691. नित्योदकी नित्ययज्ञोपवीती नित्यस्वाध्यायी पतितानवर्जा । ऋतौ च गच्छन् विधिवच्च शुद्धज ब्राह्मणश्चर्यते ब्रह्मलोकात् ॥ वसिष्ठ 8. 9, बौ. ध. सू. II. 2. 1, उद्योगपर्व 40. 25; the first pāda is quoted in the तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 896.

692. 'यत्तु हारीतेनोक्तं द्विविधाः स्त्रियो ब्रह्मवादिन्यः सद्योवध्वश्च । तत्र ब्रह्मवादिनी-नाशुपनयनमग्नीधर्न वेदाध्ययनं स्वशुद्धे च भिक्षाचर्येति । सद्योवधूनां तु उपस्थिते विवाहे कथंचिदुपनयनमात्रं कृत्वा विवाहः कार्यः ॥' quoted in स्मृतिच. I. p. 24; संस्कार-मकाश p. 402.

Hārītadharmaśūtra as quoted in the Sm. C. and other digests says 'there are two sorts of women, those that are brahmavādinīs (i. e. students of sacred lore) and those that are sadyovadhūs (i. e. who straightway marry). Out of these brahmavādinīs 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) he (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 commentator to whom this procedure naturally seemed strange explains 'yajñopavitinīm' as meaning 'whose upper garment is worn in the fashion of the sacred thread'. In the Saṁskāratattva 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 explanation. In the ceremony of Samāvartana, Āśv. gr. III. 8, ⁶⁹⁴ on the subject of applying ointment says 'after having smeared the two hands with ointment a brāhmaṇa should salve his face first, a kṣatriya his two arms, a vaiśya his belly, a woman her private parts and persons who gain their livelihood by running, their thighs'. It is improper to say, as some do, that as to women this is a general rule interpolated in the treatment of samāvartana and has nothing to do with the latter. We should rather hold that Āśv. knew of women undertaking Vedic study and so prescribed what they should do in their samāvartana. In the Mahābhārata (Vanaparva 305. 20) ⁶⁹⁵ a brāhmaṇa is said to have taught to the

693. प्रावृतां यज्ञोपवीतिनीमभ्युदानयन् जपेत् सोमो ददद्वन्धवायेति ।' गोमिलशब्द II. 1. 19; the com. says 'यज्ञोपवीतवत्कृतोत्तरीयम्'; 'न तु यज्ञोपवीतिनीमित्यनेन श्रीणामपि कर्मोद्धत्वेन यज्ञोपवीतधारणमिति हरिशर्मोक्तं उक्तं श्रीणां यज्ञोपवीतधारणानुपपत्तेः ।' संस्कारतत्त्व p. 896.

694. अञ्जलेपनेन पाणी प्रलिप्य मुखमध्ये नाभ्यङ्गोऽञ्जलिष्येत् । बाहू राजन्यः । उदरं वैश्यः । उपस्थं स्त्री । ऊरु सरणजीविना । आश्व. गृ. III. 8. 11.

695. ततस्ताननवचाङ्गीं आदयामास स द्विजः । मन्त्रधामं तदा राजजथवशिरोसि ऋतम् ॥ वनपर्व 305. 20.

mother of the Pāṇḍava heroes a number of mantras from the Atharvaśiras. Hārīta⁶⁹⁶ prescribes that in the case of women samāvartana took place before the appearance of menses. Therefore brahmavādinī women had upanayana performed in the 8th year from conception, then they studied Vedic lore and finished student-hood at the age of puberty. Yama⁶⁹⁷ 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 Nirṇayasindhu and others say that this practice belonged to another yuga. In Bāṇa-bhaṭṭa's Kādambarī,⁶⁹⁸ Mahāśvetā (who was practising *tapas*) is described as 'one whose body was rendered pure by (wearing) a brahmasūtra (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. प्रायजसः समावर्तनम् । इति हारीतोक्त्या-संस्कारप्रकाश p. 404.

697. यमोपि । पुराकल्पे कुमारिणा मौञ्जीवन्धनमिष्यते । अध्यापनं च वेदानां सावित्री-वाचनं तथा ॥ पिता पितृव्यो भ्राता वा तैनामध्यापयेत्परः । स्वशुद्धे चैव कन्याया भैक्षचर्या विधीयते ॥ वर्जयेद्दजिनं चीरं जटाधारणमेव च ॥ संस्कारप्रकाश pp. 402-403; these verses are ascribed to Manu in the स्मृतिचन्द्रिका (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. ब्रह्मसूत्रेण पवित्रीकृतकायात् in para 133 of कादम्बरी (पूर्वार्ध)

(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).⁶⁹⁹

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 *Raghuvamśa* (XI. 64)⁷⁰⁰ 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 *Veṇīśambhāra* (Act III) when *Karṇa* resented the attitude of *Aśvatthāman*, who raised his left foot for kicking *Karṇa*, 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'.⁷⁰¹ That shows that in the days of the *Veṇīśambhāra* (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 *Saṃskāra-ratnamālā* (p. 188) says that yarn spun by a *brāhmaṇa* or his maiden daughter is to be brought, then one is to measure first 96 *āṅgulas* of it with the syllable *bhūḥ*, then another 96 with *bhuvah* 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 sṭhā* ' (*Rg. X. 9. 1-3*), with the four verses ' *Hiranyavarṇāḥ* ' (*Tai. S. V. 6. 1* and *Atharva I. 33. 1-4*) and with the *anuvāka* beginning with ' *pavamānaḥ suvarjaṇaḥ* ' (*Tai. Br. I. 4. 8*) and with the *Gāyatrī*, 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. यज्ञार्थः परमात्मा य उच्यते चैव होतुमिः । उपवीतं ततोऽप्येदं तत्संवाद्योपवीत-
कम् ॥ सं. प्र. p. 419.

700. पित्र्यभंशस्तुपवीतलक्षणं मातृकं च धनुर्जितं दधत् । रघुवंश XI. 64.

701. आत्मा चेदवश्योऽहमिदं सा जातिः परित्यक्ता । वेणीसंहार III.

with the three verses 'bhūragnim ca' (Tai. Br. III. 10. 2) and then the knot is to be tied with the formula 'Bhūrbhuvah svascandramasam ca' (Tai. Br. III. 10. 2) and the nine deities 'omkāra, 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 tamasaspari' (Rg. I. 50. 10) and then the yajñopavīta is to be put on with the verse 'yajñopavītam &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.⁷⁰²

The Baudhāyana-grhyaśeṣasūtra (II. 8. 1-12) gives a few insignificant points of difference as to the upanayana of kṣatriyas, vaiśyas, ambastha and karaṇa (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 limb⁷⁰³ 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, Viṣṇu. Dh. S. 15. 32 ff. lay down that persons who are impotent, *palīta*, 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 ceremony 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. śeṣasūtra (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 'āpo hi ṣṭhā' (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 *vyāhrtis*, as 'om bhūr bhuvah svaḥ') and then the yajñopavīta is to be put on with the mantra 'yajñopavītam paramam' (cited above in note 662).

703. अङ्गहीनश्च दक्षर्ना । उत्पत्तौ नित्यसंयोगात् । जै. 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 ⁷⁰⁴ 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 Nirṇayasindhu 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 Sam. Pr. (pp. 399-401) and S. R. M. (pp. 273-274) also quote the passage and explain it. The purāṇa ⁷⁰⁵ says that those who cannot repeat the Gāyatrī (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 Gāyatrī himself, but that in other cases such as lunatics, they should be made to repeat the Gāyatrī 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 kuṇḍa 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 kuṇḍa and golaka. Manu (II. 174) defined them as above. Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 13. 1, Manu (10. 5) and Yāj. (I. 90, 92) ⁷⁰⁶ 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 kuṇḍa and golaka being the offspring of adultery

704. वेणुजडङ्गीबान्धव्यसनिन्यायितोन्मसहीनाङ्गवधिराधिकाङ्गामयावि-अपस्मारि-
भित्रि-कुडि-द्विघोरोमिगन्धतेन स्वास्याता इत्येके । बौ. शु. शेषश्च II. 9. 14.

705. ध्वस्तपुंस्त्वेषु चैतेषु संस्काराः स्युर्व्योचितम् । मत्तौन्मतौ न संस्कार्याविति
कोचितेष्वक्षते । कर्मस्वनाथकाराश्च वातित्यं नास्ति चैतयोः । तदुपत्यं च संस्कार्यमपरेत्वाहु-
रन्यथा । संस्कारमन्त्रदोषादीन् करोत्याचार्य एव तु । उपनेथांश्च विधिवदाचार्यः स्वसमीपतः ।
आनीयाभिसमीपं वा सावित्रीं स्युश्च वा जपेत् । कन्यास्वीकरणादन्यत्सर्वं विधेयं कारयेत् । एव-
मेव द्विजेजातौ संस्कार्यौ कुण्डगोलकौ ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण quoted in निर्णयसिन्धु and संस्कार-
मन्त्राः ; the स्मृत्यर्थसार (p. 4) quotes some of these verses.

706. नि-नारवेष विधिः स्मृतः ॥ वा. I. 92.

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 *golaka* 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 *golaka* 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 Yāj. 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 kṣatriyas, vaiśyas and of mixed castes like rathakāra, ambastha &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 *ekoṇḍī* 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 *Āśvattha* tree. Vide Baud. gr. śeṣasūtra II. 10. In modern times also rarely this upanayana is performed. To the west of the *Āśvattha* tree *homa* is performed, the *saṃskāras* from *pūṇsavana* are imitated but with the *vyāhrtis* only, the tree being touched with Rg. III.

707. Vide स्मृतिचन्द्रिका on आश्व (II. pp. 399-400, Gharpure's ed.) for this elaborate discussion; vide also संस्कारप्रकाश pp. 397-398.

708. अतश्च भूर्वाचसि कादीनां क्षत्रियादेरुक्तैरेव दण्डाजिनोपवीतादिभिरुपनयनादिकं कार्यम् । मित्ता० on या. I. 92 and 'एवं ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियोत्पन्नभूर्वाचसिकमाह्वयादनुलोमसंकारे जात्यन्तरता उपनयनादिप्रसिद्धं वेदितव्या तयोर्दिजातित्वाद् ।' मित्ता० on या. I. 95.

709. प्रतिलोमास्तु धर्महीनाः । सूत्रायां च । गौतम IV. 20-21; अनुसूत्यानामुष्ट-
कर्माण्युपायनं वेदोत्पन्नमन्याधेयं फलवन्ति च कर्माणि । आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 1. 6.

8. 11 'vanaspate'. A piece of cloth is held between the tree and the performer, then eight auspicious verses are repeated (maṅga-lāṣṭaka), the cloth is removed and then the hymn called Dhruva-sūkta (Rg. X. 72. 1-9) is repeated. Other mantras (like Rg. X. 62-63) are also recited. Then a piece of cloth, yajñopavīta, 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 Āśvattha trees performed by one Bāchappa in 1358 A. D.

Sāvitrīrupadeśa :—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 devirabhiṣṭaye' (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 ajya in sacrifices.⁷¹⁰ The same rule⁷¹¹ 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 Savitrī and the teacher imparts to him first one pāda at a time, then two pādas and then the whole. According

710. ब्रह्मचारिकर्तुं कथं वा करणीयं तन्त्राणां शं नो देवीरित्येवमादीनां श्रुत्यन्यत्रा-
स्पृष्टेन शिक्षणं कर्तव्यं सूत्रवृत्तिरुच्यते इति चेत् । एतस्या यथाऽनेक्षणादिमन्त्राणां । सं.
रत्नमाला p. 194.

711. संवत्सरे सावित्रीमन्त्राद् निरात्रमन्त्रं वा । शां. श्रु. II. 5 ; तां सत्त्वमां
सावित्रीं संवत्सरादेक आहर्द्धादशरात्रादेके निरात्रादेके सत्य एके । भारद्वाज श्रु. I. 9.

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 *vyāhrtis* 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 *brahmayajña*), but it is not necessary in *japa*’ &c. In the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa chap. 42, Vāyu chap. 20, Vṛddha-Hārita-smṛti VI. 59-62 and in numerous other places there are hyperbolic or esoteric identifications of the three letters of *om* with Viṣṇu, Lakṣmī and the *jīva*, with the three Vedas, with the three worlds, with three fires &c. In the Kāthopanīṣad 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 Savitr (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 Savitr who may inspire our intellects (or actions)’. Some gṛhya sūtras prescribe the same verse for all students, whether brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas or vaiśyas. But others say that for brāhmaṇa the Sāvitrī verse is the Gāyatrī, but for kṣatriyas and vaiśyas, a sāvitrī (verse addressed to Savitr) in the *Trīṣṭubh* (having 11 syllables in each quarter) or *Jagatī* (12 syllables in each quarter) should be the proper one. Here again there is difference. According to the commentators on the Kāthaka gr. (41. 20), the verse ‘*adabdhēbhīḥ savitā*’ (Kāthakam IV. 10) and the verse ‘*Viśvā rūpāṇi*’ (Kāthakam XVI. 8) are cited as the Sāvitrī for a kṣatriya and a vaiśya respectively; while the commentator on Śāṇ. gr. (II. 5. 4-6) says that the *Trīṣṭubh* which is to be taught as the Sāvitrī to the kṣatriya students is ‘*ā kṛṣṇena rajasā*’

Rg. I. 35. 2) and the *Jagatī* Sāvitrī for the vaiśya is ‘*Hiranyapāṇiḥ savitā*’ (Rg. I. 35. 9) or ‘*hamsaḥ śuciśad*’ (Rg. IV. 40. 5). According to the Vārāhagṛhya (5) ‘*devo yāti savitā*’ and ‘*yuñjate manaḥ*’ (Rg. V. 81. 1) are the *Trīṣṭubh* and *Jagatī* meant as Sāvitrī for the kṣatriya and vaiśya respectively. According to Śātātapa quoted in the Madanapārijāta (p. 23) the verse ‘*Deva savitaḥ*’ (Tai. S. I. 7. 7. 1, Kāthakam XIII. 14) is the sāvitrī for the kṣatriya. According to Medhātithi on Manu II. 38 ‘*ā kṛṣṇena*’ (Rg. I. 35. 2) and ‘*viśvā rūpāṇi*’ (Kāthakam XVI. 8)

are the two Sāvitrīs respectively for kṣatriya and vaiśya. That all these rules about the Sāvitrī being in the Gāyatrī, Trīṣṭubh and Jagatī metres for the three varṇas respectively are probably very ancient follows from the text 'gāyatrīyā brāhmaṇamaśraṇajata trīṣṭubhā rājanyam &c.' (quoted in note 356 above). The Āsv. 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, Trīṣṭubh and Jagatī respectively.⁷¹⁵ 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 'bhūh, bhuvaḥ, svaḥ' are the truth (essence) of speech and that Savitā in the Gāyatrī means 'one who engenders glory'.⁷¹⁶ Atharvaveda 19. 71. 1 calls it 'vedamātā' and prays that it may confer long life, glory, children, cattle &c. on the singer.⁷¹⁷ The Br. Up. V. 14. 1-6⁷¹⁸ contains a sublime eulogy of Gāyatrī which word is there derived from 'gaya' meaning 'prāṇa', and the root 'traī' (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 (bhūh &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, Śaṅkhaśmṛti XII, Saṁvarta (verses 216-223),

715. गायत्रीं ब्राह्मणायाजुष्यादाग्नेयो वै ब्राह्मण इति श्रुतेऽस्मिन् राजस्यस्य जगतीं वैश्यस्य सर्वेषां वा गायत्रीम् । पार. सू. II. 3.

716. त्रीनेव प्रायुक्कं धृष्टुवः स्वरित्याहृतैर्देवाचः सत्यं यदेव वाचः सत्यं तत्प्रायुक्कम् । अथ सावित्रीं गायत्रीं त्रिष्वह पञ्चोऽर्चसोऽनवानं सविता अयः असविता । तै. आ. II. 11 (अनवानं means 'without stopping or break').

717. स्तुता मया वरदा वेदमाता मचोदयन्ती पावमानि द्विजानाम् । आयुः मायं प्रजं पशुं कीर्तिं द्रविणं ब्रह्मवर्चसम् । मह्यं दत्त्वा व्रजत ब्रह्मलोकम् ॥ अथर्ववेद 19. 71. 1.

718. सा देवा गवांस्तन्ने माणा वै गवास्तत्माणांस्तन्ने तद्धृषांस्तन्ने तस्माद्वायवी नाम स गामेवान् सावित्रीमन्वाहेष्वेव सा स यस्मा अन्वाह तस्य माणांजायते । बृ. उ. V. 14. 4.

Bṛhat-Parāśara chap. V (where the mystical significance of each of the 24 letters of the Gāyatrī is explained) and numerous⁷¹⁹ other works contain hyperbolic eulogies of Gāyatrī. Parāśara V. 1 calls it 'Vedamātā'. The words 'Āpo jyoti rasomṛtam brahma bhūr-bhuvaḥ svarom' are said to be the *śiras* (head) of the Gāyatrī (vide Śāṅkhaśmṛti XII. 12). Manu (II. 104) and others prescribe that every day a brahmacārī (as well as others) must perform japa of Gāyatrī. Baud. Dh. S. II 4. 7-9 prescribes that in the evening Saṁdhyā adoration one should murmur the Gāyatrī a thousand times, or a hundred times with prāṇāyāma each time or ten times with 'om' and the seven vyāhrtis.⁷²⁰ Vas. Dh. S. 26. 15 prescribes that a man desirous of purifying himself from sin should repeat the divine Gāyatrī 1000 times (daily) as the maximum or 100 times (as the middle way) or at least ten times. There are mantras for invoking the Gāyatrī and for taking leave of it.⁷²¹

Brahmacārī-dharmāḥ :—Certain rules and observances are prescribed for all brahmacārins⁷²². 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. 17⁷²³ 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 Gāyatrī; on p. 145 there is a *dhyaṇa* of the 24 letters of the sacred verse. याज्ञ. I. 23 refers to the *śiras* of Gāyatrī.

720. विश्वरूप on या. I. 25 quotes a verse of हारीत 'देवी सहस्रशीर्षा तु सप्तमध्या दशावरा । जपेदतः सहस्रान्तां सप्तमध्या दशावराम् ।' and adds तत्तु कार्थोपरोधादभिहितविषयं दृष्टव्यम् । मास्व सूर्योदयादुपस्थानाद्यप्यपरोक्षकर्म इति केचित् । न त्वेवं समाचारः ।

721. The आवाहनमन्त्र acc. to गोभिल is 'आयाहि वरदे देवि अक्षरे ब्रह्मवादिनि । गायत्री छन्दसां मातर्ब्रह्मयोगे नमोऽस्तु ते ॥' quoted in स्मृतिच० (I. p. 143) and the विसर्जनमन्त्र is 'उत्तरे शिखरे जाता भूयः पर्वतवासिनि । ब्रह्मणा समनुज्ञाते गच्छ देवि यथासुखम्' quoted in the गृहस्यारत्नाकर p. 241. The स्मृतिच० (I. p. 151) quotes from गोभिल 'महेश्वरसुखोत्पन्ना विष्णोर्हृदयसंभवा । ब्रह्मणा ... यथेच्छया' and also 'उत्तमे शिखरे जाते &c.' These are recited in the modern *Saṁdhyā* also.

722. अथ एवासीताद्यः सयीताद्यस्तिष्ठेदधो व्रजेत् । गोपथ 2. 4.

723. अत ऊर्ध्वमक्षारलवणाग्नी ब्रह्मचार्यधर्मः सायी त्रिरात्रं द्वादशरात्रं संवत्सरं वा । आश्व. गृ. I. 22. 17; उपहमेतमाग्निं धारयन्ति क्षारलवणवर्जमधःसत्या च । बौ. गृ. II. 5. 55; त्रिरात्रं क्षारलवणदुग्धमिति वर्जयेत् । सादिर गृ. II. 4. 33. There is great divergence of views on the meaning of क्षारलवण. According to Nārāyaṇa on आश्व. गृ. I. 8. 10 क्षार means certain cereals 'हृदिम्बका राजमाषा माषा सुद्धा मसुरिकाः । लङ्क्यादव्याथ निष्पावास्तिलाद्याः क्षारसंज्ञिताः ।' ; मातृदत्त on हिरण्यकोशिगृ. I. 8. 1 explains 'शुद्धादिरिक्षुविकारः क्षारः' ; मेधा० on मनु V. 72 explains that क्षार means such salts as यवक्षार and लवण means सैन्धव. हरदत्त on आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 15. 12 explains 'यद् भक्ष्यमाणं पश्यतो लालोत्पद्यते तत् क्षारं शुद्धलवणम् ।' कुल्लुक on मनु V. 72 explains क्षारलवण as 'manufactured salt'.

the brahmacārī 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, Khādira 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 pitṛs &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, guruśuśrūṣā, vāksamyama (silence), samidādhāna. 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, Śāṅ. gr. II. 6. 8, Gobhila gr. III. 1.27, Khādira 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), samdhyopāsana, study of Veda and its methods and duration, avoidance of certain foods and drinks and other matters like singing &c., guruśuśrūṣā (including honouring him and his family and other elders), and the special *vratas* of the brahmacārī. 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 Medhājanana⁷²⁴ (generation of intelligence) by virtue of which

724. Compare मेधाजननं in जातकर्म above (on p. 233). 'वेदग्रहणसामर्थ्य-युक्ता मेधाजुजायते । येन तन्मेधाजननकर्मोपदिशति स्वयम् ॥' संग्रह quoted in सं. प्र. p. 446. Three directions viz. south, south-east and south-west are objectionable (निन्दित); the rest are unobjectionable. शौनक (quoted in संस्कारप्रकाश p. 445) 'स्ववासपेक्षयाग्नेर्वी दिशं यान्यां च नैर्ऋतीम् । वर्जयित्वा दिशोऽग्निन्वास्ति श्रो-त्रस्य स्थितिः ॥'

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'⁷²⁵. 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 'suśravaḥ' (the same as in Āśv.) is to be muttered. Kāṭhaka gr. 41. 18, Mānava gr. I. 22. 17 also refer to this. The Śam. 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 Āp. 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 Āp. 11. 24 speaks of palāśa-karma on the fourth day. The boy goes out with his ācārya to the east or north and three sthaṇḍilas are prepared to the north or east of a palāśa tree and on these three praṇava (om), śraddhā and medhā are invoked, are worshipped with unguents, flowers, lamp &c. (as in the regular worship of an image), then the praṇava is worshipped with the formula 'yaś-chandasām' to 'śrutam me gopāya' (Tai. Up. I. 4.1), śraddhā with the hymn '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 (Marāṭhi) name 'Palasulā'.

725. सुश्रवाः 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 आप. म. पा. II. 5.1 also (but in आप. नृ. XI. 14 it is the मन्त्र for taking the staff).

We have seen above that the student has to offer *samidh* (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 *samidh* was to be offered in the ordinary fire (vide Baud. gr. II. 5. 55-57, Āp. gr. 11. 23). The student is required to offer every day after upanayana a *samidh* into fire in the evening and in the morning. Āśv. gr. I. 22. 6 prescribes this and the commentator Nārāyaṇa adds that in so doing he has to observe the procedure prescribed in Āśv. gr. I. 20. 10-I. 21. 4 for the putting on of *samidh* on the first day. Śān. gr. II. 10, Manu II. 186, Yāj. I. 25 and almost all others prescribe the offering of *samidh* 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 student⁷²⁶ 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 smārta rites) unless water has been sprinkled over it. The student had not only to offer *samidhs* 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 Āśv. gr. I. 9. 1 says⁷²⁷ 'beginning from marriage a householder should worship *grhya* 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 Kāmalāyana 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. सदृक्पयादेधानाहृत्वाधो निदध्यात् । नास्तमिते समिद्धारो गच्छेत् । अग्निमिदृच्चा परिसमूह समिध आदध्यात्सायं प्रातर्यथोपदेशम् । सायमेवाग्निपूजेत्येके । समिद्धमाग्निं पाणिना परिसमूहेन समुहुर्या । आप. घ. सू. I. 1. 4. 14-18; नागोक्षितमिन्धनमग्नावादध्यात् । आप. घ. सू. I. 5. 15. 12.

727. पाणिग्रहणादि गृह्ये परिवरेत्स्वयं पत्यपि वा पुत्रः कुमार्यन्तेवासी वा । आश्व. गृ. I. 9. 1; vide also ज्ञा. गृ. 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 samidh⁷²⁸ must be of palāśa or some other yajñīya tree (used in sacrifices). Such trees are palāśa, āśvattha, nyagrodha, plakṣa, vaikāṅkata, udumbara, bilva, candana, sarala, śāla, devadāru and khadira. The Vāyupurāṇa quoted by Aparārka (p. 51) says that palāśa samidhs should be preferred, in their absence samidhs of khadira, in the absence of the first two, of śamī, rohitaka and āśvattha and in the absence of all these of arka and vetasa. The Trikāṇḍa-maṇḍana (II. 82-84) has several rules on this point. The principal trees for fuelsticks (samidh) are palāśa and khadira, but samidhs of kovidāra, bibhitaka, kapittha, karabha, rājavarṣa, śakadruma, nīpa, nimba, karañja, tilaka, śleṣmātaka or śālmali 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 (prādeśa) nor having two branches, it was to be without leaves and was to be strong.⁷²⁹ According to Hārīta 'when death wanted to seize the brahmacārī formerly, Agni saved him from death and so a brahmacārī should serve fire'.⁷³⁰

The number of samidhs varied as shown above and not only in the worship of Agni by the brahmacārī, but also elsewhere.

Bhikṣā:—The Āśv. 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

728. पलाशाश्वत्ययग्रोधकृत्सर्वैकङ्कतोद्भवः । अश्वत्थोदुम्बरौ चित्तवृक्षद्वयः सरलस्तथा । शालश्च देवदारुश्च खादिरश्चेति यज्ञियाः ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण quoted in कृत्यरत्नाकर p. 61, where अश्वत्ययग्रोध is said to mean अश्वत्यसंयुक्तो वटः ; the same verses are quoted in हेमाद्रि, व्रतखण्ड part 1 p. 76 as शमीपलाशाग्रोधः ; compare या. I. 302 for the nine समिधः for the nine grabhas. याज्ञ. I. 302 is the same as मत्स्यपुराण 93. 27. Vide वायुपुराण vol. II. 13. 70-72 for similar verses.

729. नाङ्गुष्ठद्वयिका कार्या समित्स्थूलतया कञ्चित् । न विमुक्ता त्वया चैव न सकीटा न पाटिता । प्रादेशाजधिका नोना तथा न स्याद्विशालिका । न सपर्णा न निर्वीर्या होमेषु च विजानता ॥ quoted by अपरार्क p. 51 and स्मृतिच. (I. p. 33) as कात्यायन's (= गोमिलस्मृति I. 114-115).

730. पुरा जगद्ब्रह्म वै धृत्वा हिंसयन् ब्रह्मचारिणम् । अग्निस्तं मोक्षयामास तस्मात्परिचरेद्वि तम् ॥ ब्रह्मचारी यदा त्वन्नावाद्यत्सामिधो नहि । गृह्णीयात्तं तदा धृत्वा दद्यात् समिधस्ततः ॥ हारित quoted in स्मृतिच. I. p. 33.

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 adds⁷³¹ 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, Yāj. I. 30 and others contain the same rules about addressing the ladies for alms.⁷³² 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 persons⁷³³ 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.⁷³⁴ I. 1. 3. 25 prescribes that

731. अथास्मै अरिक्तं पात्रं प्रयच्छन्नाह । मातरमेवाग्रे भिक्षुरवेति । स मातरमेवाग्रे भिक्षेत । भवति भिक्षां देहीति ब्राह्मणो भिक्षेत । भिक्षां भवति देहीति राजन्यः । देहि भिक्षां भवतीति वैश्यः । तत्समाहृत्याचार्याय प्राह भैक्षमिदमिति । तत्सुभैक्षमितीतरः प्रतिगृह्णाति । बौ. सू. II. 5. 47-53.

732. Vide शौ. सू. II. 6. 5-8, गोभिलयु. II. 10. 42 44, स्वादिरयु. II. 4. 28-31 for similar rules.

733. गौतम II. 43-44 'आचार्यज्ञातिशुश्रूषवेवलामेऽन्यत्र । तेषां पूर्वं पूर्वं परिहरेत् ।'; मनु II. 184 has the same rule.

734. सर्वे लाभमाहरन्त्येवे सायंप्रातरमत्रेण भिक्षाचर्यं चरेन्नैक्षमाणोऽन्यत्रापपात्रेभ्योऽभिशस्ताद्य । आप. घ. I. 1. 3. 25; सार्ववाणिकभैक्षचरणमभिशस्तपतितवर्जम् । गौ. II. 41. अपपात्र is variously explained; on आप. घ. सू. I. 7. 21. 6 'न पतितेः संव्यवहारो विद्यते तच्चापपात्रैः' हरद्वज explains as चाण्डालादयः (with whom no social inter-

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he could beg food from anybody except *apapātras* (persons like *cāṇḍālas*) 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 *śūdras* is allowed only in *āpad* (time of distress or difficulty). Auśanasa (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 Aṅgiras 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 *śūdras*. The Madanapārijāta p. 33 quotes a passage from the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa to the effect that a *brahmacārī* may beg food from anybody except a *śūdra*.

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 Bṛhat-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-

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course was possible), while on आप. घ. सू. I. 1. 3. 25 he explains अपपात्र as पतितलोभाः राजादयः'. The word literally means those who cannot be allowed to use the vessels out of which members of other castes are to take food (i. e. those vessels when used by them have to be broken or thrown away). अपपात्र p. 720 explains अपपात्र as पतितत्वात् ज्ञातिभिर्न हि कृतः (i. e. one who has lost caste through the commission of some mortal sin). According to Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 24. 7-9 an *abhiśasta* is one that kills any *brāhmaṇa* or kills a *brāhmaṇa* woman who is Ātreya. According to Āp. Dh. S. I. 7. 21. 8 ' *abhiśastya* ' is one of the grave sins and is explained by हृदय as ब्रह्महत्या, but हृदय explains अभिशास्ताः as अपपात्रकृत्; on गौ. II. 41.

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 *bali* 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 Śātātapa⁷³⁵ 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.⁷³⁶ 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. भिक्षा च प्राप्तसंमिता । प्राप्तश्च भूराण्डपरिमाणः । प्राप्तमात्रा भवेद्भिक्षा पुष्कलं तच्छतुर्थ्यम् । हन्तस्तु तैश्चतुर्भिः स्यादग्रं तत् त्रिगुणं भवेत् ॥ इति शाततपस्मरणात् । मिता० on Yāj. I. 108. अपरार्क p. 153 quotes a verse from the मार्कण्डेयपुराण where अग्र and हन्त are defined differently 'प्राप्तममाणा भिक्षास्याग्रं प्राप्तश्चतुर्थ्यम् । अग्रं चतुर्थ्यं तत्तु हन्तकारं विदुर्बुधाः । भोजनं हन्तकारं वा अग्रं भिक्षामथापि वा । अदत्त्वा तु न भोक्तव्यं यथाविभवमारमनः ॥' लघुशाततप 57 is very similar to the verse quoted by the मिता०

736. भैक्षस्याचरणे दोषः पावकस्यासमिन्धने । सत्तरात्रमकुर्वैतदवकीर्णितं चरेत् ॥ बौ. ध. सू. I. 2. 54. Manu (XI. 118-123) explains who is *avakīrṇin* 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 brāhmanas and eat with their permission. Vide Āp. 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 (Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 3. 37-41). Āp. 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 āhavanīya fire.⁷³⁷

Other miscellaneous acts that the students had to do were bringing⁷³⁸ water for the ācārya in pots, collecting flowers, cowdung, earth, kuśa grass &c. (vide Manu II. 182).

Saṁdhyā :—On the day of upanayana there is no morning *saṁdhyā*. Jaimini⁷³⁹ says 'as long as there is no imparting of the Gāyatrī there is no *saṁdhyā*.' So the student begins his *saṁdhyā* in the noon of the day of upanayana. As however on that day he knows no Vedic text except the Gāyatrī, his whole *saṁdhyā* worship consists of the Gāyatrī.

The word 'saṁdhyā' literally means 'twilight', but also indicates the action of prayer performed in the morning and evening twilight. This act is generally styled 'saṁdhyopāsana' or 'saṁdhyāvandana' or simply 'saṁdhyā.'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. Atri⁷⁴¹ says 'a twice-born person possessed of the knowledge of the Self should perform three saṁdhyā adorations.' These are respectively named Gāyatrī (morning one), Sāvitrī (noon) and Sarasvatī

737. मनु II. 231 also calls the guru āhavanīya fire.

738. आप. घ. सू. I. 1. 4. 13 सायं प्रातश्चदकुम्भमाहरेत् ।

739. यावद् ब्रह्मोपदेशो न तावत्संस्थादिकं न च । ततो मध्याह्नसंस्थादि सर्वं कर्म समाचरेत् ॥ जैमिनि quoted by सं. प्र. p. 439.

740. विश्वरूप on या. I. 25 says 'संध्येति चोपस्थानकर्मणो नामधेयं कालस्य चात्यतः प्राप्तत्वात्' and the भित्ति. (on the same verse) says 'अहोरात्रयोः संघौ या क्रिया विधीयते सा संस्था'. मेधा. on मनु II. 101 says 'न सर्वे तमः क्षीणं नापि परिपूर्णः प्रकाश एवा संस्था' and on IV. 94 'सहचरिते जपादिविधौ संस्थाशब्दो वर्तते'.

741. संस्थात्रयं तु कर्तव्यं द्विजेनात्मविदा सदा । उभे संध्ये च कर्तव्यं ब्राह्मणैश्च ग्रहेष्वपि ॥ अत्रि quoted by अपरार्क p. 49; पूर्वा संस्था तु गायत्री सावित्री मध्यमा स्मृता । या भवेत्पश्चिमा संस्था सा विज्ञेया सरस्वती ॥ योगया. (in अपरार्क p. 49). Aparārka says that मध्याह्नसंस्था should not be performed in the house.

(evening one) by Yoga-yājñavalkya. Generally however the saṁdhyā 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 morning⁷⁴² 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 muhūrta (i. e. two ghaṭikās, according to Yoga-yājñavalkya) whatever the length of the day may be.⁷⁴³ 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 saṁdhyā prayers.⁷⁴⁴

According to most writers *japa* of Gāyatrī and other sacred mantras is the principal thing in saṁdhyā and other things such as mārjana are merely subsidiary, but Medhātithi on Manu II. 101 (where the words are 'japaṁstīṣhet' and not 'tīṣṭhan japeṭ') 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 saṁdhyā' 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 saṁdhyā prayer is outside the village (Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 30. 8, Gaut. II. 16, Mānava gr. I. 2. 2), in a lonely place (Śān. gr. II. 9. 1 'araṇye') or on a river or other sacred spot (Baud. gr. II. 4. 1). But this does not apply to the agnihotrin,⁷⁴⁵ who has to perform vedic rites and repeat homa

742. तिष्ठेत्पूर्वाभासीतोत्तरां सज्योतिष्या ज्योतिषो दर्शनाद्वाग्यतेः । गौ. II. 17; सायणचर्यापरमिश्रलोऽप्यटमदेशं सावित्रीं जपेद्वर्षास्तमिते मण्डल आ नक्षत्रदर्शनात् । एवं यातः । माण्डूक्यसहितञ्चा मण्डलदर्शनात् । आश्व. गृ. III. 7. 4-6; vide also मनु II. 101.

743. ब्राह्मणवृद्धी तु सततं दिवसानां यथाक्रमम् । संख्या सुदुर्लभा न तु ज्ञाते वृद्धौ तु सा रक्षता ॥ योगयाज्ञवल्क्य quoted by अपराको p. 49 (on या. I. 25) and by कुल्लूक on मनु II. 101.

744. अथ यो दीर्घसंध्यत्वाद्दीर्घमायुरवाप्नुयुः । अज्ञां यज्ञश्च कीर्तिश्च मनुष्यसमेव च ॥ मनु IV. 94. This is the same as अष्टाशतनपर्व 104. 18 (नित्यसंध्यं for दीर्घसंध्यं) and शङ्खरसि X. 20.

745. Vide मेधा. on मनु. II. 101 and हरद्वच on भाष. च. I. 11. 30. 8 about अभिहोत्रेभ्यः. The रघुसिच. I. p. 136 quotes Vyāsa 'ते तत्रैव महाराज दक्षिता एण-भूयन्ति । संघामन्तं सदृशं क्षुभमिदिव्यस्तस्थिरे' to show that warriors, when engaged in battle, performed only the *upasthāna* and omitted all else.

mantras at sun-rise and who therefore may perform *saṁdhyā* adoration in his house. Vasiṣṭha quoted by Aparārka says that *saṁdhyā* performed in a cowpen or on a river or near the shrine of Viṣṇu (or other deity) respectively is ten times, 100000 of times or numberless times better than *saṁdhyā* vandanā in the house.⁷⁴⁶ All prescribe that the morning *saṁdhyā* is to be performed standing and the evening one in a sitting posture (Āśv. gr. III. 7. 6, Śān. gr. II. 9. 1 and 3, Manu II. 102) and the morning *saṁdhyā* is to be performed facing the east and the evening one facing the northwest (Āśv. 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. should be silent and not talk in the midst of *saṁdhyā*).

The principal constituents of *saṁdhyopāsana* are these : *ācamanas* (sipping of water), *prāṇāyāma*, *mārjana* thrice (sprinkling himself with water to the accompaniment of several mantras), *aghamaṣṇa*, offering of water to the sun (*arghya*), *japa* of *Gāyatrī*, and *upasthāna* (reciting mantras by way of worship of the sun in the morning and generally of *Varuṇa* in the evening). Among the earliest references to *Samdhyopāsana* is the one in the *Tai. Ār.* II. 2,⁷⁴⁷ where it is said that when *brahmavādins* facing the east throw up water consecrated by the *Gāyatrī*, the evil spirits that fight with the sun are sent tumbling into the country (called) *Mandeha Aruṇa* (of the evil spirits). This shows that in ancient times *saṁdhyā* consisted principally of offering water (*arghya*) to the sun in worship and *japa* of *Gāyatrī*. Āśv. gr. III. 7. 3-6, Śān. gr. II. 9. 1-3 and others refer only to the *japa* of the *Gāyatrī* mantra in

746. गृहे त्वेकशुभा संस्था गोष्ठे द्वाशुभा स्मृता । शतसाहसिका नद्यामनन्ता विष्णु-
संनिधौ ॥ वसिष्ठ quoted in अपरार्क p. 50, while गृहस्थरत्नाकर p. 224 quotes
शतातपः ' गृहेषु आकृती संस्था गोष्ठे शतशुभा भवेत् । नदीषु शतसाहस्री अनन्ता शिवसंनिधौ ॥'
(आकृती एकशुभाफलका).

747. तानि ह वा एतानि रक्षांसि गायत्रियामिमन्त्रितेनाम्भसा शान्तिं तदु ह वा एते
ब्रह्मवादिनः पूर्वमिच्छन्तः संस्थायां गायत्रियामिमन्त्रिता अप ऊर्ध्वं विक्षिपन्ति ता एता आपो
वज्रीभूत्वा तानि रक्षांसि मन्देहायणे द्वीपे भक्षयन्ति । तै. आ. II. 2 . The स्मृति-चं I.
p. 134 quotes some verses from योमयाज्ञवल्क्य (which are almost the same
as वायुपुराण vol. I. 50. 163-65) ' त्रिशक्तोऽथस्तु विख्याता मन्देहा नाम राक्षसाः ।
माद्रयन्ति सहस्रांस्तुदयन्तं दिने दिने ॥ अहयन्ति ते सर्वे क्षयन्ति स्मादितुम् । अतः
सूर्यस्य तेषां तु शुद्धमासीत्सुदायनम् ॥ ततो देवगणाः सर्वे ऋषयश्च तपोधनाः । संस्थां तु
समुपासीना यत्किंपन्ति मज्जन्तम् । ब्रह्मवादिनस्तु संयुक्तं गायत्र्या चामिमन्त्रितम् । तेन दक्षन्ति
ते दैत्या वज्रभूतेन वारिणा ॥ १. Similar verses occur in लङ्कशरीत IV (Jiv. part I.
p. 183), गृहस्थरत्नकर p. 64, द्वायौतम p. 560.

Saṁdhyopāsana. Mānava gr. (I. 2.1-5) refers only to the *arghya* offering to the sun and *japa* of Gāyatri. It is in the Baud. Dh. S. II. 4 that we find an elaboration of *saṁdhyopāsana* into various components such as *ācamana*, *mārjana*, *japa* of Gāyatri and *upasthāna* (worship) of Mitra and Varuṇa (respectively in the morning and evening with only two verses in each case).⁷⁴⁸ 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 *saṁdhyopāsana*, 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 *Nārāyaṇamantra* of 25 letters on 25 parts of the body (*Vṛddha-Hārta* VI. 16-19) and of the letters of the Gāyatri *Bṛhatparāśara* chap. V. p. 83). In modern times *ācamana* is performed with the three names of Viṣṇu, viz. Keśava, Nārāyaṇa and Mādhava in the form 'om Keśavāya namaḥ.' The 24 names are given below.^{748a}

A few words on each of the principal components of *saṁdhyā* may be said here. Elaborate rules about *ācamana* 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 *ācamana* with water that is in a cleft of the earth. *Āp. Dh. S.* (1. 5. 15. 5) says the same thing.⁷⁴⁹ One should perform

748. वाङ्मनीयां रात्रिपतिष्ठते । इमं मे वरुण तत्त्वायामिषिं हि द्वाभ्याम् । एवमेव मातः
मातृसुखस्तिष्ठत्य ॥ मन्त्रीयामहस्पतिष्ठते मित्रस्य चर्षणीधृतो मित्रो जनान्पातयतीति द्वाभ्याम् ।
जो. घ. सू. II. 4. 11-14. The verses इमं मे वरुण and तत्त्वायामिषिं are respectively
Rg. I. 25. 19 and I. 24. 11; and मित्रस्य चर्षणीधृतो and मित्रो जनान् are respec-
tively Rg. III. 59. 6 and 1. Gobhila-smṛti II. 11-12 prescribes the two
verses 'udu tyam' (Rg. I. 50. 1 and in other Vedas also) and 'citram
devānām' (Rg. I. 115. 1 and in other Vedas also) as the *upasthāna* in
both *saṁdhyās*. In modern times the usages vary, many recite the
whole of Rg. III. 59 in the morning adoration and Rg. I. 25. 1-10
(addressed to Varuṇa) in the evening. The *Sm. C.* (I. p. 139) says
that the worship of the Sun should be done by the mantras from that
sākhā of the Veda to which one belongs.

748a. केसव, नारायण, माधव, गोविन्द, विष्णु, मधुसूदन, त्रिविक्रम, वामन,
जीवर्ध, हृषीकेश, यमनाभ, दामोदर, लंकर्षण, वासुदेव, मधुगण, अनिरुद्ध, पुरुषोत्तम,
अधोलक्ष्म, नारसिंह, अच्युत, जनार्दन, उषेन्द्र, हरि, श्रीकृष्ण. They are enumerated
in the *अग्निपुराण* chap. 48. Vide note 567 for the first twelve names.

749. तस्मात्पुत्रादुक्तां नञ्चाभेत् । तै. ब्रा. I. 5. 10; compare आप. घ. सू. I. 5.
15. 4-5. न वर्षाभारत्वाच्चाभेत् । न प्रवृत्तोक्ते ।

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 vaiśyas ; 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 brāhmaṇa (i. e. from the root of the thumb).⁷⁵⁰ The further elaborate rules laid down in such smṛtis as Gobhila gr. (I. 2. 5-6), Śaṅkhaśmṛti 10 are not set out here. The occasions for ācamana are many. According to Gobhila⁷⁵¹ gr. I. 1. 2 one must do every grhya rite with yajñopavīta 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, Sm. 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 upaniṣad passages and says that water is looked upon as the garment of prāṇa.⁷⁵² 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 *prāṇa* (or काय), *pitṛya*, *manuṣya* and *deva* tīrthas. Vide Yāj. I. 19. Viṣṇu 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 *pitṛya* is between the forefinger and the thumb, and that *mānuṣya* tīrtha is at the tips of the fingers. Others say that the roots of the four fingers constitute *āra* tīrtha (Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 18).—Vaik I. 5. and Pār. gr. *pariṣiṣṭa* mention five tīrthas (the 5th being in the palm is called *āgneya*). *Āgneya* is also styled *Saumya* by others.

751. यज्ञोपवीतना आचमन्तोदकेन कृत्यम् । गोभिलग्रन्थ I. 1. 2.

752. तद्दिवांसः श्रोत्रियो अक्षिप्यन्त आचामन्त्यक्षित्वा चोचामन्ति एतेमेव तद्वनमनसं कुर्वन्तो मन्यन्ते । बृह. उप. VI. 1. 14 ; तस्माद्वा एतदक्षिप्यन्तः पुनस्ताञ्चोपरिटाञ्चाग्निः परिप्यति सन्धुका इ वातो भवत्यनशो इ भवति । छान्दोग्य V. 2. 2.

Prāṇāyāma (restraint of breath) is defined by the Yoga-sūtra⁷⁵³ (II. 49) as the regulation of inhalation and exhalation of air. Gaut. I. 50 prescribes three prāṇāyāmas, each of which lasts for 15 mātṛās (moras). Baud. Dh. S. IV. 1. 30 (= Vas. Dh. S. 25. 13=Sāṅkhaśmṛti VII. 14) and Yāj. I. 23 say that the śīras of Gāyatrī, the three vyāhrtis 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 vyāhrtis, each preceded by 'om,' then the Gāyatrī and then the śīras of Gāyatrī.⁷⁵⁴ 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.

Mārjana 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 vyāhrtis, Gāyatrī and the three verses 'āpo hi śṭhā' (Rg. X. 9. 1-3). Baud. Dh. S. II. 4. 2 adds more Vedic mantras for mārjana.⁷⁵⁵ Mānava gr. I. 1. 24, Yāj. I. 22 and others prescribe mārjana only with the three verses 'āpo hi śṭhā' (Rg. X. 9. 1-3).

Aghamarṣaṇa (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. तस्मिन्सति (आत्मनेजये सति) आत्मप्रश्वासयोगातिविच्छेदः प्राणायामः । योगसूत्र II. 49.

754. सूर्यवःस्वर्महर्जनस्तपः सत्यं तथैव च । प्रत्योकारसमायुक्तस्तथा तत्साविर्तुर्वरम् । ओमापोऽप्यतिरिच्येव शिरः पञ्चात्मयोजयेत् । त्रिरावर्तनयोगात् प्राणायामस्तु सन्निदतः । योग-शास्त्रवल्क्य quoted in स्मृति-चो I. p. 141.

755. सुरभिर्मत्स्या अल्लङ्काभिर्वाङ्गीभिर्हृत्पुष्पवर्णभिः पावमानाभिश्चाहुतिभिरेवैश्च पवित्रैरात्मानं मोदय प्रयतो भवति । बौ. ध. सू. II. 4. 2. सुरभिर्मती is the verse दधिकालम् &c. (Rg. IV. 39. 6), अल्लङ्का verses are Rg. X. 9. 1-3, वाङ्गी verses are इमं मे वक्ष्य (Rg. I. 25. 19), तत्त्वा यामि (Rg. I. 24. 11), अव ते देवो (Rg. I. 24. 14) and वत्सिचेद् (Rg. VII. 89. 5). पावमान्यः are all verses like स्वादिष्टया मदिष्टया (Rg. IX. 1. 1) of the IX maṇḍala of the Rgveda or according to some Rg. IX. 67. 21-27. शिरसो मार्जनं क्षुर्पात्क्षुण्णैः सोदक-विन्दुभिः । मग्नवो सूर्यवः स्वश्च सावित्री च तृतीयका । अन्वेतस्तत्पुत्रश्चैव चतुर्थ इति मार्जनम् । नाभिस्तृप्तये II. 4-5; अन्वेतस्तत्पुत्रश्चैव X. 9. 1-3. The तै. ब्रा. III. 9. 7 has आपो हि इा मयोमुव इत्यादिर्भोजयन्ते । आपो वै सर्वा देवताः ।

*Arghya*⁷⁵⁶ (offering water out of respect to the sun) consists in taking water in one's joined hands, repeating the Gāyatrī verse over it and standing facing the sun and casting it up thrice. If a man cannot have water (being at the time of Saṁdhyā 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 Gāyatrī, vide above under Sāvītryupadeśa (p. 304). There is an extensive literature about the greatness of the *japa* of Gāyatrī 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, Āhnikaprakāśa pp. 311-316. A few details will be given under āhnika.

As to *upasthāna* vide above (p. 315, note 748). According to Baud. the worship⁷⁵⁷ of the sun is done with the verses 'udvayam' (Rg. I. 50.10), 'Udu tyam' (Rg. I. 50.1), 'citram' (Rg. I. 115.1), 'tac-caksur' (Rg. VII. 66.16), 'ya udagāt' (Tai. Ār. IV. 42.5). Manu II. 103 prescribes that he who does not perform the Saṁdhyopāsana in the morning and evening should be excluded from all actions meant for the benefit or honour of dvijas. Gobhila⁷⁵⁸ smṛti II. 1 says the same and adds that *brāhmaṇya* resides in the three saṁdhyās and that he who has no concern for saṁdhyopāsana is not a brāhmaṇa. Baud. Dh. S. II. 4. 20 calls upon the religious king to make brāhmaṇas, who do not engage in saṁdhyopāsana thrice a day, perform the work peculiar to śūdras. The Kūrma-purāṇa⁷⁵⁹ goes so far as to say that even if a person engages in other actions which are religious but gives up the performance of saṁdhyopāsana, 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. उद्यन्तमस्तं यन्तमादित्यमभिधायन् कुर्वन् ब्राह्मणो विद्वान् सकलं भद्रमश्नुतेऽ-
सावादित्यो ब्रह्मेति । तै. आ. II. 2.

757. अथादित्यमुपतिष्ठतोद्धृत्य तमसस्तपि उदुर्यं चित्रं तच्चक्षुर्देवहितं य उदुमादिति ।
बौ. quoted in संस्काररत्नमाला p. 237 which adds एतदेव तैत्तिरीयैः स्वीकार्यम् । इतर-
शास्त्रापेक्षया बोधायनोक्तस्याप्यर्हितत्वात् ।

758. अनर्हः कर्मणां विभः संख्याहीनो यतः स्मृतः । गोमिलस्मृति II.1.; एतत्संख्यात्रयं
प्रोक्तं ब्राह्मण्यं यत्र तिष्ठति । यस्य नास्त्यादुरस्तत्र न स ब्राह्मण उच्यते ॥ गोमिलस्मृति II.
15-16; बौ. ध. सू. II.4.19 is similar 'संख्यां नोपासते विभः कथं ते ब्राह्मणाः स्मृताः'.
Vide note 741 above.

759. योऽप्यत्र कुर्वते यत्नं धर्मकार्ये द्विजोत्तमः । विहाय संख्यामपतिं स पाति
नरकाद्युत्पन्नं ॥ कूर्मपुराण quoted in स्मृतिच० I. p. 139.

morning *sāṃdhyā* and the sins committed in the day are removed by the evening *sāṃdhyā*. Baud. Dh. S. II. 4. 25-28, Yāj. III. 307 are to the same effect. When a person is impure owing to mourning or birth in the family, he is to perform *sāṃdhyā* only up to *arghya* to the sun but not *japa* nor *upasthāna*.

In modern times the *sāṃdhyopāsana* has become a lengthy business by the addition of materials from *purāṇas* and the *tantras*. But as observed by the *Saṃskāraratnamālā* rituals like *nyāsa* are non-Vedic⁷⁶⁰ and many do not perform them. For various *nyāsas* and *mudrās* (postures of the fingers, hands etc.) one may consult the *Smṛti-muktāphala* (āhnikā pp. 328-333), Sm. C. I. pp. 146-148.⁷⁶¹

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* (Rg. 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.⁷⁶² 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 'namaḥ' on the several parts of the

760. एषोऽङ्गन्यासः । एतमेके नेच्छन्ति । सह विधिरवैदिक इति । संस्काररत्नमाला p 229.

761. For the influence of tantra rites on the *smṛtis* and Indian practice, the following may be consulted : The Introduction to *Sādhana-mālā*, vol. 2 (Gaikwad's Oriental Series), Indian Historical Quarterly vol. 6. p. 114, vol. 9. p. 678, vol. 10 pp. 486-492, Sylvain Levi's Introduction to 'Sanskrit texts from Bali', Modern Review for August 1934 pp. 150-156.

762. कृतस्वाङ्गन्यासो मन्त्रान्यां वाच्यतः श्रुतिः । नारायणमयं वर्म संनक्षेद्भय आनते ॥ यावद्योर्जातुनोरुर्ध्वोर्द्वे हृद्योरसि । सुखे शिरस्याधुपूर्यां ओंकारादीनि विन्यसेत् ॥ मानवत VI. 8. 4-5. अङ्गुष्ठान्ते तु गोविन्दं तर्जनीं तु महाधरम् । मध्यमायां हृषीकेशमनामिकायां त्रिविक्रमम् ॥ कान्तिष्ठिन्यां न्यसेद्विष्णुं करमध्ये तु माधवम् । एवं च करविन्यासं सर्वपापनाशनम् ॥. Vide स्मृतिश्रु. (आह्निक p. 331) for these latter verses.

body. Vṛddha-Hārīta VI. 16-19 speaks of the nyāsa of the twenty-five letters of the mantra about Nārāyaṇa 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 'Om Keśavāya namaḥ' to 'kṣam Nṛsiṃhāya namaḥ.' One well-known mode is to assign Govinda, Mahādhara, Hṛṣīkeśa, 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 Saṁgraha⁷⁶³ quoted in the Pūjāprakāśa (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. (āhnika pp. 331-332) quote passages defining the following *mudrās* viz. sammukha, saṁputa, vitata, vistīrṇa, dvimukha, trimukha, adhomukha, vyāpakāñjalika, yama-pāśa, grathita, sammukhonmukha, vilamba, muṣṭika, mīna, kūrma, varāha, siṁhākrānta, mahākrānta, mudgara and pallava. The Nityācārapaddhati p. 533 derives the word *mudrā* from 'mud' (joy) and the root 'rā' (to give) or 'drāvay' (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, sthāpinī, saṁnidhāpanī, saṁrodhīnī, prasādamudrā, avagun-ṭhana-mudrā, sammukha, prārthana, śaṅkha, cakra, gadā, abja, (or padma), musala, khadga, dhanus, bāṇa, nārāca, kumbha, vighna (for Vighneśvara), saura, pustaka, lakṣmī, saptajihva (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

763. संभवे । अर्चने अपकाले तु व्याने कान्ये च कर्मणि । तत्तन्मुद्राः प्रयोगा-
देवतार्थनिर्वाहकाः ॥ पूजामकाश p. 123.

work called⁷⁶⁴ *Mahāsambhita* 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 *Śāradātīlaka* (23. 106) states that all deities are gladdened by the mudrās and in verses 107-114 describes the following mudrās, viz. āvāhani, sthāpani, saṃnidhāpani, saṃrodhīni, sammukha, sakala, avagunṭhana, 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 works⁷⁶⁵ 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. अत्र महासंहितोक्तो विशेषः । न जातु दर्शयेन्मुद्रा महाजनसमागते । शुभ्यन्ति देवतास्तस्य विफलं च कृतं भवेत् ॥ स्मृतिच० 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 ⁷⁶⁶ boys to learn from an ācārya had become usual. The Chān. Up. itself says in one passage (VI. 1) that Śvetaketuś Aruṇeya was placed by his father for twelve years as a student with a teacher. The same upaniṣad (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 ⁷⁶⁷ 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 Śvetāśvataraupaniṣad ⁷⁶⁸ (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 ⁷⁶⁹ God.' The story of Ekalavya, whom Droṇa refused to take as a pupil because he was a niṣāda 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 Ādiparva 132 for the story and also Droṇaparva 181. 17). The Mahābhārata condemns him who learns the Vedas at home and says that Raiḍhya became superior to Yavakṛita ⁷⁷⁰ 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. अञ्जलिं नमसि पित्रेत्येवमिति होवाच । बृह. उ. VI. 2. 1; यदहं किंच वेद् सर्वमहं तत्तुभ्यमवोचम् । बृह. उ. VI. 2. 4; कुमारान्त्वाशिपयितेति । छान्दोग्य V. 3. 1. मेधाः on मनु III. 3. says 'यस्य पिता विद्यते स एव तस्याचार्यः । अभावे पितुरशक्तौ वा तस्याधिकारः । आचार्यान्तरोपादानेन पितुरधिकारो निवर्तत एव ।'. मनु II. 142 and याज्ञ I. 34 show that guru primarily means the father; but मनु II. 69 and 149 show that the word guru was also applied to the ācārya and upādhyāya. Vide भित्ति. on या. III. 259.

767. श्रुतं ह्येव मे भगवद्ब्रह्मस्य आचार्याश्चैव विद्यां विदित्वा साधितं प्रापयतीति छान्दोग्य IV. 9. 3; आचार्यवान्पुरुषो वेद् । छान्दोग्य VI. 14. 2; vide कठोप. II. 9, मुण्डकोप. I. 2. 3 for the importance of guru in brahmavidyā. Also छान्दोग्य III. 11. 5 'इदं वा तज्येष्टाय पुत्राय पिता ब्रह्म प्रन्यायत्पणायय वान्तेवासिने ।'.

768. यस्य देवे परा भक्तिर्यथा देवे तथा गुरौ । तस्यैते कथिताः ह्यर्थाः प्रकाशन्ते महात्मनः ॥ श्वेताश्व. उप. VI. 23.

769. देवमिवाचार्यमुपासीत । आप. ध. सू. I. 2. 6. 13.

770. Vide अञ्जलिस्तनपर्व 36. 15 'अपि च ज्ञानसंपन्नः सर्वान् वेदान् पितुर्गृहे । श्रमायमान इवाधीयाद् ग्राम्य इत्येव तं विदुः ॥'; वनपर्व 138. 25-26 'ऋते युष्मधीता हि सुखं वेदस्त्वया पुरा । अनेन तु युक्त्युः सुखात् तोषयित्वात्मकर्मणा । कालेन महता क्लेशाद् ब्रह्माधिगतश्च त्वमम् ॥

greatness of the ācārya. Manu II. 146 (= Viṣṇu Dh. S. 30. 44) says that both the father (*janaka*) and the teacher are called father (*pitā*) 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 Manu⁷⁷¹ 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 define⁷⁷² the ācārya as one who performs the upanayana of the student and imparts the whole Veda to him. The Nirukta⁷⁷³ (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 śauca (bodily purity), ācāra (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*⁷⁷⁴ 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 Vedāṅgas⁷⁷⁵ (subsidiary lore of the

771. धत्ति 13. 48 quotes मनु II. 145 (but the 3rd पाद in वसिष्ठ is पितुर्दशसह माता); शास्त्रिपर्व (108. 18-19) says 'गुरुर्गरीयाच्च पितुर्नो मातुतश्चेति मे मतिः । उभौ हि मातापितरौ जन्मन्येवोपयुज्यतः । आचार्यशिष्टा या ज्ञातिः सा दिव्या सा जगामरा ॥'; तद्यत्मात्मा आचार्यः । वेदाङ्गवचनाच्च । गौ. I. 10-11.

772. स गुरुः क्रियाः कृत्वा वेदमस्मै प्रयच्छति । उपनीय द्ददद्देमाचार्यः स उदाहृतः ॥ या. I. 34.

773. आचार्यः कल्पादाचारं ग्राहयत्याचिनोत्पथानचिनोति बुद्धिमिति वा । निरुक्त I. 4; यस्माद्बुद्धिर्नाचिनोति स आचार्यः । आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 1. 14; vide वायुपुराण vol. I. 59. 30.

774. Vide निता on या III. 259 for a discussion of the meaning of the word *guru*.

775. The वेदाङ्ग have been six from very ancient times, viz. शिक्षा (phonetics), कल्प (ritual of solemn Vedic and domestic sacrifices), व्याकरण (grammar), निरुक्त (etymology), छन्दः or छन्दोविचिन्ति (metrics), ज्योतिष (astronomy). The छन्दोकोषनिबद्ध I. 1. 5 names these six; आप. ध. सू. II. 3. 8. 10-11 पञ्चको वेदः । छन्दः कल्पो व्याकरणं ज्योतिषं निरुक्तं शिक्षा छन्दोविचिन्तिरिति ।

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. Devala 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 brahmacharya) as long as the teacher does not fall off from the path of dharma. Vyāsa (quoted in Sam. P. p. 408) says ⁷⁷⁹ that the ācārya should be a brāhmaṇa who is solely

776. त्रयः पुरुषस्यातिगुरवो भवन्ति। पिता माताचार्यश्च। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 32. 1-2; मनु II. 225-232 are the same as मत्स्यपुराण 211. 20-27; मनु 230, 231, 234 are the same as ज्ञानिपूर्व 108. 6, 7, 12; मनु 11. 230, 233, 234 = विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 31. 7, 9, 10.

777. गुरुणामपि सर्वेषां पूज्याः पञ्च विशेषतः। यो भावयति या सूते येन विद्यापदि-
श्यते ॥ ज्येष्ठो भ्राता च भर्ता च पञ्चैते गुरवः स्मृताः। तेषामाचार्यः श्रेष्ठस्तेषां माता सुपूजिता ॥
देवल in स्मृतिच- I. p. 35; वनपर्व (214. 28-29) speaks of five gurus, but they
are पिता, माता, अग्नि, आत्मा and गुरु. Vide अपरार्क pp. 398-401 for a long
quotation from नन्दिपुराण on the greatness of *guru*.

778. तमसो वा एष तमः प्रविशति यमविद्वानुपनयते यश्चाविद्वानिति हि ब्राह्मणम्।
तस्मिन्मिजनविद्यासमुद्धृतं समाहितं संकर्तारमीप्सतेत्। तस्मिन्नेव विद्याकर्मान्तमविप्रतिपक्षे
धर्मन्यः। आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 1. 11-13.

779. वेदैकनिष्ठं धर्मज्ञं कुलीनं श्रोत्रियं ब्रुचिम्। स्वशास्त्राज्ञमनालस्यं विप्रं कर्तारमी-
प्सितम् ॥ व्यास in सं. प्र. p. 408.

devoted to the Veda, who knows dharma, is born of a good family, who is pure, is a *śrotriya* that has studied his Vedic *śākhā* and who is not lazy. *Śrotriya* has been defined above (f. n. 290). Āp. Dh. S. II. 3. 6. 4 and Baud. gr. I. 7. 3 define a *śrotriya* as one who has studied one *śākhā* of a Veda. Vide *Vāyupurāṇa* vol. I. 59. 29 also.⁷⁸⁰ 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 *sūdra*. *Sāntiparva* 165. 31 does the same.⁷⁸¹ 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.⁷⁸²

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 *vyāhrtis* and the *Gāyatrī*. 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 *Sān. 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.⁷⁸³ The student should not sit on a high seat

780. धर्मेण वेदानामेकैकं शास्त्रमधीत्य ओत्रियो भवति । आप. घ. सू. II. 3. 6. 4; एका शास्त्रमधीत्य ओत्रियः । बौ. सू. I. 7. 3; इन्द्रा ह्यलोलुपाश्चैव आत्मवन्तो ह्यदम्भकाः । सम्प्रतिर्णिता राजपस्तानाचार्यान् प्रचक्षते ॥ वायुपुराण vol. I. 59. 29.

781. अद्भुतानां क्षमां विद्यां ह्यिनादपि समाप्नुयाद् । सुवर्णमपि चोपेक्ष्याद्वाददीत-विचोदयत् ॥ सान्तिपर्व 165. 31.

782. अध्यापनं तु क्षत्रियैश्च योर्नाह्नयिषितयोर्भवति न स्वेच्छया । मिता on या. I. 118; तद्व्यापनमात्रकर्तृत्वमनाह्नयस्यावश्यकजानाति न तु वृत्तित्वमपि । अपरार्क p. 160.

783. Compare आप. घ. सू. I. 2. 6. 24-25 एकाध्यायी दक्षिणं बाहुं प्रत्युपसीदेत् । व्यापकां पश्यः । Vide also मनु II. 193.

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,'⁷⁸⁴ 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 Prātiśākhya,⁷⁸⁵ 15th paṭala, there is a description of the method of teaching the Veda, which closely agrees with the above quotation from the Śāñ. 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 *praśna* is finished and all the pupils repeat again the whole of it. A *praśna* generally has three mantras and each *adhyāya* has about sixty *praśnas*. 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 hands⁷⁸⁶ 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. नारायण on Śāñ. gr. II. 5. 10-11 (S. B. E. vol. 29 p. 67 f. n.) the words 'अधीहि भोः' are uttered by the teacher. But this does not seem to be correct. In तै. उ. III. 1 we read 'अधीहि भवो ब्रह्मेति।' and in छान्दोग्य VII. 1. 1 we have 'अधीहि भव इति होषससाद् सनत्कुमारं नारदः'. The ऋक्षप्रतिशाख्य supports the above translation.

785. अभिक्रान्ते द्वैपदे वाधिके वा पूर्व पदं प्रथमः प्राह शिष्यः।...गुरुः शिष्यस्य पदमाह सुख्यं समासश्चदमासो यदि द्वे। एतेन कल्पेन समाख्य प्रश्नं प्रत्याम्नायुस्तत्पुनरेव सर्वे॥. ऋक्षप्रतिशाख्य, 15th पटल. Vide Max Muller's History of A. S. L. p. 503 ff. for further details.

786. ब्रह्माञ्जलि is explained differently from Manu by आपस्तम्बस्मृति (in verse) quoted in सं. प्र. 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. संवत् quoted in स्मृतिच. (I. p. 51) reads 'इत्तो तु संवतो कार्वाणायुष्यसुपरि स्थितौ'.

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. 49-58) 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 (dvijāti). 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 dvijāti. 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 āṅgas.'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 dvijātis by enabling them to understand and perform sacrifices, austerities and auspicious acts (like saṃskāras). The Mahābhāṣya (vol. I. p. 9) contains the traditional extent of the four Vedas, viz. that there were 101 śākhās of the Yajurveda, 1000 of the Sāmaveda, 21 of the Rgveda and nine of the Atharvaveda.⁷⁹⁰ Concessions had to be

787. तपः स्वाध्याय इति ब्राह्मणम् । ... अद्यापि वाजसनेयिब्राह्मणम् । बल्यज्ञो ह वा एष यत्स्वाध्यायः । आप. घ. सू. I. 4. 12. 1 and 3; compare मनु II. 166 वेदान्वासो हि विमस्य तपः परमिहोच्यते ॥ ; दक्ष II. 33 is to the same effect; अधीयत इत्यध्यायः वेदः । स्वध्यायः स्वाध्यायः स्वपरंपरागता शास्त्रेत्यर्थः । सं. प्र. p. 504.

788. ब्राह्मणेन निष्कारणो धर्मः षडङ्गो वेदोध्येयो ज्ञेय इति । महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 1. मेची० on मनु III. 1 explains निष्कारण as कारणं प्रयोजनमनुद्दिश्य नित्यकर्मवत् कर्तव्यम् ।

789. परिनिष्ठितकार्षो हि स्वाध्यायेन द्विजो भवेत् । कुर्यादप्यज्ञ वा कुर्यान्मैत्रो ब्राह्मण उच्यते ॥ शान्तिपर्व 239. 13; the latter half is मनु II. 87.

790. एकशतमध्वर्युशाखाः सहस्रवर्मा सामवेद एकविंशतिधा चाङ्गुचं नवधाथर्वणो वेदः । महाभाष्य I. p. 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, Yāj. 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 śākhā of another Veda or other Vedas. The rule laid down by many smṛtis is that one should study the śākhā of the Veda which his ancestors studied and should perform religious rites with mantras derived from that śākhā. Vide Medhātithi on Manu III. 2 and Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 51.⁷⁹¹ That person who does not study a Vedic Śākhā studied by his ancestors and studies another śākhā altogether was called 'śākhāraṇḍa'. Whatever religious rites a man did with the procedure and mantras of another śākhā giving up his own śākhā becomes fruitless. But an exception was made to the effect that if some⁷⁹² religious rite was omitted in one's śākhā, but was dealt with in another śākhā and was not opposed to the teaching of one's śākhā, it may be performed as in the case of Agnihotra (which is not dealt with in all śākhās, 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 Kauś. Br. Up. IV. 1 we find that the famous Bālāki Gārgya moved about in the countries of Uśīnara, Matsya, Kuru-Pāñcāla and Kāśivideha. In the Br. Up. III. 3. 1 Bhujyu Lāhyāyana 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 slope⁷⁹³ (Tai. Up. I. 4. 3). There were also students who wandered from teacher to teacher and were

791. पिनादयश्चयः पूर्वे संस्कृताः शास्त्रा यया । सा स्वशास्त्रेति विज्ञेया तथा कर्माणि कारयेत् ॥ quoted in स्मृतिच० I. p. 49. या एव पिनादिभिः शास्त्रा अधीता सा न त्याजेति । मेधा० on मनु III. 2; वेदमिति चैकवचने शास्त्रान्तराध्ययनस्यावृत्त्यर्थम् । विश्वरूप on या. I. 57. हित्वा स्वस्य द्विजो वेदं यस्त्वधीते परस्य तु । शास्त्रारण्डः स विज्ञेयः सर्वकर्म-बहिष्कृतः ॥ लघ्वाश्वलायन 24. 19; हरदत्त on गौतम IX. 53 quotes a verse which extends the rule to giving up one's सूत्र.

792. Vide गोमिलस्मृति I. 34-35 quoted by Aparārka p 8 and स्मृतिच० I. p. 50 and गृह्यसंमह (B. I. ed) II. 91 and 93 आत्मतन्त्रेषु यन्नोक्तं तत्कुर्यात्पारतन्त्रिकम् । विशेषाः खलु सामान्या ये चोक्ता वेदादिभिः ॥ यः स्वशास्त्रोक्त-स्तुल्य परशास्त्रोक्तमाचरेत् । अत्रमाणाभुवि कृत्वा सोऽन्धे तमसि भजति ॥

793. यथापः भवता यन्ति यथा मासा अहर्जरम् । एवं मां नम्रचारिणो धातरायन्तु सर्वतः ॥ तै. उ. I. 4. 3. अहर्जरा means संवत्सर.

therefore derisively called 'tirthakāka (crows at a sacred place),' as the Mahābhāṣya states.⁷⁹⁴

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 text⁷⁹⁵ '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' (Chān. Up. IV. 10. 1-2). The Praśna Up.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.'⁷⁹⁷ Āp. Dh. S. (I. 2. 8. 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 Dronaparva (50. 21) says that a pupil comes only after the son according to the idea of those

794. यथा तीर्थे काका न चिरं स्यातारो भवन्ति एवं यो शुश्रूषालानि भत्वा न चिरं तिष्ठति स उच्यते तीर्थकाक इति । महाभाष्य I. p. 391 (on पा. II. 1. 41).

795. अध्यापनमप्यधीतवेदेनावश्यं कर्तव्यं न केवलं दृश्यम् । तथा च श्रुतिः । यो हि विद्यामयीत्यधीने न ब्रूयात्स कार्यहा (कर्महा ?) स्यात् श्रेयसो ह्यारमपावृण्यत् । अध्यापयेन्महदेतच्छस्यम् । मेधा० on मनु II. 113. The portion 'यो हि...कर्महा स्यात्' is quoted as from बसिष्ठ by the स्मृतिच० I. p. 53.

796. 'तमहं कुमारमन्यं नाहमिमं वेदं यद्यहमिममवेदिचं कथं ते नावदयामिति समूलो वा एव परिश्रुयति योद्धतममिवदति तस्माज्जाह्नान्यद्वतं वक्तुम् । प्रश्नोप. VI. 1.

797. अध्ययनार्थेन यं चोदयेत् जैनं प्रत्याचक्षति । न चास्मिन् दोषं पश्येत् । आप. ध. सू. I. 4. 14. 2-3; संवत्सरोपि ते शिष्ये शुश्रूषानमनिदिशन् । हस्ते कुण्डलं तस्य शिष्यस्य वसतो युरोः ॥ कूर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्ध 14. 39) quoted in परा. मा. I, part 1. p. 146 and as यमो's in स्मृतिच० 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 teacher⁷⁹⁸ 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 Āp. I. 1. 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 smṛtis lay down rules about the qualifications of a student who deserves to be taught. In the Vidyāsūkta quoted in the Nirukta⁸⁰⁰ (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 brahmacharya (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. षड्विंशत्युपशेषो जह्याद्विज्ञां नावमिवाभसि । अथवकारमाचार्यमनभियानसु-
खिजम् ॥ उद्योगपर्व 33. 79 ; अज्ञानादुपशेषापनादृत्विगाचार्यो पतनीयसेवायां च हयौ ॥
गौतम 21. 12 ; vide also वसिष्ठ 13. 50.

799. श्रुतेरप्यवलिप्तस्य कार्याकार्यमजानतः । उत्पद्यतेतिपक्षस्य परित्यागो विधीयते ॥
उद्योगपर्व 178. 48 ; शास्त्रपर्व 57. 7 ; 140. 48 &c. In some places the last पाद्
is read as कार्यं भवति ज्ञासनम्. अपरार्क p. 67 quotes it as यमस्य. Vide कूर्म-
पुराण (उत्तरार्क 14. 25) for the same.

800. अशुक्रायावृज्वेदयताय न मा ब्रूया वीर्यवती तथा स्याम् ॥ यमेव विद्याः शुचि-
ममत्तं मेधाविनं महत्त्वयौपयन्तम् । यस्ते न दुष्टोत्कतमश्ननाद् तस्मै मा ब्रूया निधिपाय महान् ॥
निरुक्त II. 4 (= वसिष्ठ II. 8-9 = विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 29. 9-10). मनु (II. 114-115) 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 *guru*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. Ār. I. 30). The Āp. Dh. S. (I. 1. 2. 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 नङ्गचारिणो विद्यार्थस्य परोपवासोऽस्ति । आचार्यधीमः स्वाध्यायन पतनी-
येभ्यः । हितकारी क्षुरोऽप्यतिशयमन्वाचा । आप. ध. I. 1. 2. 17, 19-20; 'अस्वतन्त्रः स्मृतः
शिष्य आचार्येण स्वतन्त्रता ।' नारद (अनादाय verse 33).

802. छा. उप. VIII. 15. 1 'आचार्यकुलाद्देवमधीत्य पयविधानं क्षुरोः कर्माति-
शेषेणामिहमावृत्त्यः'

803. उपानहौ छत्रं यानमिति वर्जयेत् । आप. I. 2. 7. 5, but when on a
journey the student may sit in a cart, if ordered by the teacher
'यानशुकोऽव्यवन्वारोहेत्' आप. ध. I. 2, 8. 12.

should bathe in it motionless like a stick. Āp. not only prohibits for him sexual intercourse (I. 1. 2. 26) but ordains that he should speak with women only as much as is absolutely necessary. The student was not to⁸⁰⁴ 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 (ucchiṣṭa),⁸⁰⁵ 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

804. Vide Yāj. I. 33 which contains many of the above. Yāj. forbids the eating of ucchiṣṭa (leavings of food) of anybody (except the teacher). Manu (II. 177-179) practically contains the same rules as those of Gautama set out above. Aśānasa-smṛti III. (ed. by Jiv. pp. 512-513) contains a long list of what the student should eschew. न स्मयेत् । यदि स्मयेत् अपि शुद्ध स्मयेतेति ब्राह्मणम् । आप. घ. सू. I. 2. 7. 7-8.

805. The word ' ucchiṣṭa ' is used, as exhaustively pointed out by Medhātithi 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 ācamana is said to be ucchiṣṭa. 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.⁸⁰⁶ 28. 26 says the same.

Some rules are laid down as to how the brahmacārin 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 brahmacārin 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).⁸⁰⁷ Āp. 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 śikhā, while on the public road.⁸⁰⁸

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, bhāṭṭa, ācārya). 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 names⁸⁰⁹ and then says that when it is absolutely necessary

806. यत्रापि निन्द्यपरिवादौ स्यातां न तत्र तिष्ठेत् । विप्रुधर्मयुज 28. 26. निन्द । is declaring faults that really do not exist and परिवाद is pointing out faults that do exist.

807. शुद्धजटिलशिखाजटाश्च । गौतम I. 26 ; जटिलः शिखाजटो वा वापयेदितरान् आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 2. 31-32.

808. न यथि शिखा विप्रुजेत् । हारीत quoted by अपरार्क p. 225.

809. आचार्यतत्पुत्रस्त्रीद्वीक्षितनामानि । नामगोत्रे श्रुतेः समानतो निर्दिशेत् । गौतम II. 24 and 28. If the dīkṣita is present he may be addressed as 'भ्रातृक्षित (or भो यजमान) एवं कुरु' and when absent as 'तत्रभवता द्वीक्षितेनैवं कृतम्' &c. Of Gaut. II. 28 Haradatta gives two explanations (समानतः either means मानेन सह or सम्यग् आगतः) and he takes 28 to refer to the pupil's name. Vide मेधा. on मनु. II. 128 for explanations. सं. प्र. p. 492 explain समाननाम्नः पुत्रपुत्रराज्ञौ. Vide मनु II. 199 and विप्रुधर्मयुज 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 Deveśvara the pupil should respectively say Devarāta or Sureśvara). Āp. 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 'bhoḥ' and 'bhavat' when addressing him or speaking about him and may refer to him by words like dikṣita &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 smṛti⁸¹⁰ that one should not mention by name only one's teacher, teacher's son and wife, a dikṣita, 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.⁸¹¹ 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.

Upasamgrahaṇa 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 *abhivādana* there is no clasping of the feet with the hands; one

810. आचार्यं चैव तत्पुत्रं तन्नेारीं दीक्षितं युवम् । पितरं वा पितृव्यं च भातुलं मातरं तथा ॥ हितैषिणीं च विद्वांसं श्वशुरं पतिमेव च । न शूयात्मानतो विद्वान्मातुश्च भगिनीं तथा ॥ स्मृतिच० I. p. 45 and हरदत्त on गौ. II. 29.

811. स्वकारं नामधेयं च ज्येष्ठानां परिवर्जयेत् । अवरानां समानानामुभयेन न कुप्यति ॥ शान्तिपर्व 193. 25; vide also Viṣṇu Dh. S. 32. 8; आत्मनाम श्रोत्राणि यक्ष्माश्च उपनय च । श्रेयस्कामो न शूङ्गीयाज्येष्ठापत्यकलत्रयोः ॥ quoted by the मदनपारिजात p. 27 (but in अभिवादन one has to take one's name) and on p. 119 (1st स्तवक) it quotes from नारद 'श्रोत्र्येष्टकलत्रस्य आतुर्ज्येष्ठस्य चार्त्तनः । आशुष्कामो न शूङ्गीयात्मातिशयस्य च ।'

may or may not touch the feet of the person to be honoured. *Abhivādana* must always be preceded by *pratyutthāna*.⁸¹²

Very detailed rules were laid down about *pratyutthāna* (rising from one's seat to receive a person), *abhivādana* (saluting a man), *upasaṃgrahaṇa* (saluting by clasping the feet of the teacher or another with one's hands), *pratyabhivāda* (returning a salutation), and *namaskāra* (bowing with the word ' *namaḥ* '). According to Āp. 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 Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 20 on other occasions whenever the student meets the teacher only *abhivādana* is sufficient, though according to some teachers (Āp. I. 2. 5. 21) clasping the teacher's feet is necessary on each occasion. Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 22 states that in *upasaṃgrahaṇa* 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, Viṣṇu 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. Kullūka on Manu II. 72 quotes Paithīnasi 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. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 4. 14. 7-9) says that even after finishing

812. उपसंमृहणं नाम अशुक्लानो देवदत्तसर्गाहं भो अभिवादाये इत्युक्त्वा कर्णौ स्पृष्ट्वा दक्षिणोत्तरपाणिभ्यां दक्षिणेन पाणिना शूरोर्दक्षिणं पादं सत्येन सत्यं श्रद्धया शिरावनमनम् । अभिवादाने पादसंमृहणं नास्ति । वादस्पर्शनं कार्यं न वा । स्मृत्यन्तर P. 7 ; बौ. ध. सू. (I. 2. 26 असंवादं भो इति श्रोत्रे संस्पृश्य मनःसमाधानार्थम्) says that the ears are touched for concentrating one's mind ; विश्वरूप on या. I. 26 says that touching the ear is the usage in some countries only, सर्वत्र तु प्रसृत्या पाणिवादनम् । आप. ध. सू. I. 4. 14. 16.

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 abhivādana 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 brāhmanas) 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 prāṇas (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. 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. सदा महान्तमपरात्रस्तुत्याय श्रोतुरितष्ठमातरमिवावममिवाद्गीतासावहं भो इति । समानग्रामे च वसतामन्नेषामपि वृद्धतराणां मान्मातराणात् । आप. ध. सू. I. 2. 5. 12-13 ; compare मनु II. 122, 124.

814. ऊर्ध्वं प्राणा ह्युक्तामन्ति यूनाः स्थविर आयति । मृत्युत्यानामिवादाभ्यां पुनस्ता-
मपतिपद्यते ॥ मनु II. 120. This verse occurs in उद्योगपर्व 38. 1 and अनुशासनपर्व 104. 64-65 and also in the महाभाष्य vol. III. p. 58, where we have तथापूर्व-
वया ब्राह्मणः मृत्युत्येव इति पूर्ववत्सोऽमृत्युत्याने दोष उक्तः मृत्युत्याने च शुणः । कथम् । ऊर्ध्वं
... पद्यते इति । Vide घञ्मपद 109 (ed. by Fausbøll, 1900) for a verse closely
parallel to Manu II. 121.

815. ऋत्विक्श्चक्षुरपितृव्यमातुलानवरवयसः मृत्युत्यायामिवदेत् । तूर्णीं वोपसंशुद्धी-
यात् । आप. ध. सू. I. 4. 14. 10-11; बौ. ध. सू. I. 2. 44 ऋत्विक्...मातुलानां तु यवीयसां
मृत्युत्यायामिवावयन् । (but some mss. read 'मिवावयन्'); मनु II. 130 says
'असावहमिति ज्ञयात्, while गौतम VI. 9 is ऋत्विक्श्चक्षुरपितृव्यमातुलानां तु यवीयसां
मृत्युत्यायामिवावयन् ।

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-ham⁸¹⁶ bhoḥ ' (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 śūdra 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 स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 7 says that in उपसंग्रहण (and in अभिवादन also) the person saluting says अक्षुक्रगोत्रो देवदत्तशर्माहं भो अभिवादये; मेधा. on मनु II. 122 says the words are अभिवादये देवदत्तनामाहं भोः; हरदत्त on गौ. VI. 5 states that अभिवादन should be ' अभिवादये हरदत्तशर्मा नामाहमास्मि भोः ' ; while कुल्लुक on मनु II. 124 says it should be अभिवादये ह्युभयशर्माहमास्मि भोः (i. e. he omits the word नाम, which मनु II. 122 appears to require and which गौ. VI. 5 does not require)

817. सर्वनाम्ना स्त्रियो राजन्यवैश्यौ च । न नाम्ना । मातरमाचार्यद्वारं चैके । आप. घ. सू. I. 4. 14. 20-22.

818. दक्षिणं बाहुं ओत्तममं प्रसार्य ब्राह्मणोऽभिवादयतीतरेःसमं राजन्यो मध्यमं वैश्यो नीचैः शूद्रः । प्राञ्जलि । आप. घ. I. 2. 5. 16-17 ; vide सं. प्र. p. 454.

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 ācārya and leaves him, which are here passed over for want of space. Vide Āp. 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 abhivādana to a kṣatriya or a vaiśya however learned the latter may be, but one should simply say 'svasti'; those who are of the same caste should do abhivādana.⁸¹⁹ The Mit. on Yāj. III. 292 and Aparārka p. 1188 quote sūtras of Hārīta prescribing as prāyaścitta a fast of one, two or three days respectively for a brāhmaṇa saluting a kṣatriya, 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 abhivādana. One should not salute with the shoes on or when one's head is wrapped up or one's hands are full (Āp. 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 āsauca or other causes) no salutation is to be made or returned (Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 17). Gaut. IX. 45 says that one should not occupy a seat or perform abhivādana 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 (Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 14). Āp. 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 kṣatriya even 100 years old and so deserves salutation from the kṣatriya.

819. नामिवाद्यास्तु विभेज क्षत्रियाद्याः कथंचन । ज्ञानकर्मक्षुण्णोपेता यद्यप्येते बहुश्रुताः ॥
 आह्वानः सर्ववर्णानां स्वस्ति कुर्वादिति श्रुतिः । सर्वैस्तु सर्ववर्णानां कार्यमेवामिवादनम् ॥ सातातप
 quoted by अपरार्क p. 52; vide स्मृतिच० I. p. 37 quoting भविष्यपुराण and
 वम for the meaning of स्वस्ति; समित्युपकुशाज्यान्धुधुक्षक्षितपाणिकम् । जपं होमं च
 कुर्वानं नामिवादेव वै द्विजम् ॥ आपस्तम्ब quoted by मिता. on या. III. 292;
 गोदुग्धमहस्तोमिष(द्वयेन मेरुं चरज दुग्धाज्यादेहस्तो नाशुचिर्न जपज देवपितृकार्यं कुर्वज
 सवानः । इह quoted by मिता. on या. III. 292.

Āp. 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 śrottriya being three years older entitles the friend or śrottriya 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 'bhoḥ' 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 śrottriya 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 Smṛtyarthasāra 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 one (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 oldest⁸²⁰ is the rule in Āp. 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'. Vasiṣṭha'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'. 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 *pluta* (i. e. lengthened to three moras) and if the name ends in a consonant, the preceding vowel is made *pluta*."

That these rules are very ancient follows from 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 pratyabhivāda) becomes 'pluta.' The Mahābhāṣya comments on this and two 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 kṣatriya or vaiśya. All these rules are exemplified in the foot-note below.⁸²¹ Āp. Dh. S. agrees with this rule of the ancient grammarians. The verse of Manu (II. 125) also really means the same thing; but there the word 'akāra' is only

820. प्रत्यभिवादनं चाभिवादितां युवादिना विहितशब्देनाशीर्वचनम् । सं. प्र. प. 453; क्लृप्तं च नास्मिन्प्रतिवादनप्रत्यभिवादाने च पूर्वेषां वर्णानाम् । आप. ध. सू. I. 2. 5. 18; प्रत्यभिवादमामन्त्रिते स्वरस्त्यः क्लृप्तं संख्यक्षरमप्रत्युक्तमायावभावं चापद्यते यथा भो भाविति । वसिष्ठ XIII. 46; आयुष्मान्भव सौम्येति वाच्यो विधेःप्रतिवादाने । अकारश्चास्य नास्मिन्स्ते वाच्यः पूर्वक्षरः क्लृप्तः ॥ मनु II. 125. Some MSS. read पूर्वक्षरक्लृप्तः as one word.

821. प्रत्यभिवादेऽशब्दे । पाणिनि VIII. 2. 83; if it is a brāhmaṇa who performs अभिवादन (as in अभिवाद्ये देवदत्तो ह भोः) pratyabhivāda is आयुष्मानेधि देवदत्ता ३ (3 indicates that the vowel preceding it is pluta i. e. drawn out to the length of three moras). If the name ends in a consonant the प्रत्यभिवाद will be आयुष्मान्भव सोमशर्मा ३ नृ. If a woman salutes (as in अभिवाद्ये गार्ग्यं ह भोः) the return is आयुष्मती भव गार्गी (i. e. there is no क्लृप्त). If a kṣatriya इन्द्रवर्मन् salutes the return is either आयुष्मानेधीन्द्रवर्मा ३ नृ or आयुष्मानेधीन्द्रवर्मन्. If a वैश्य इन्द्रपालित salutes, the प्रत्यभिवाद is आयुष्मानेधीन्द्रपालिता ३ or-धीन्द्रपालित. If it is a शूद्र दुष्यज्ज who salutes, the प्रत्यभिवाद is आयुष्मानेधि दुष्यज्ज (i. e. there is no pluta).

illustrative⁸²² and stands for all vowels. The ancient commentator Medhātithi interprets Manu so as to agree with Pāṇini and says 'in the realm of the use of words and their senses Pāṇini has higher authority than Manu, that the *pratyabhivāda* words containing the benediction about long life are not stereotyped, that when a *kṣatriya* returns the salutation of a *kṣatriya* or a *vaiśya* of a *vaiśya*, the same rules hold good'. As a person of a higher *varṇa* was not to do *abhivādana* to one of lower *varṇa* (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).⁸²³ This view is opposed to Pāṇini, the *Mahābhāṣya*, the *Kāśikā*, *Āpastamba* and several writers of digests. *Aparārka* and the *Sm. C.* condemn the interpretation put upon Manu's verse by commentators like Haradatta.⁸²⁴

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. अभिवादिता एव वाच्य आयुष्मान्भव सौम्येति । इतिशब्दः प्रकारे । आयुष्मानेति दीर्घाद्युर्ध्वयाश्चिरं जीवित्येवमादिशब्दपरिग्रहः शिष्टाचारप्रसिद्धो भवति । शब्दार्थप्रयोगे च मन्वादिभ्योऽधिकतरः प्रामाण्ये भगवान्पाणिनिः । विग्रहणमेविवक्षितम् । क्षत्रियादीनामप्येव एव विधिः स्मृत्यन्तरसमाचारो ह्येवमेव स्थितो न चैषां विध्यन्तरमस्ति । मेधा० on मनु II. 125.

823. The *प्रत्यभिवाद्* according to हरदत्त will be 'आयुष्मान् भव सौम्य देवदत्ता 3 अ'. If the name is चक्रपाणि or विष्णु it will be आयुष्माच्च भव सौम्य चक्रपाणा 3 च or विष्णो 3 व. If the name ends in a consonant, the *प्रत्यभिवाद्* will be like आयुष्मान्भव सौम्य अग्निची 3 द् (the name is अग्निचित् and so चि is made वृत्त and अ is added to the consonant त्). Vide संस्कारम्. pp. 451-454.

824. अतश्च पूर्वार्क इति विशेषणोपादानाद् व्यञ्जनसहित एव स्वरः ह्रास्वीयः । न पुनर्पूर्वोऽकारो नामान्ते विधीयत इति निश्चीयते । अपरार्क p. 53; स्मृतिच० I. p. 37 repeats the words न पुनर धीयते. अपरार्क reads पसितः सूत्र as 'आमन्त्रिते स्वरौ प्रवृत्तमायाउ भावे च' and gives as examples (आयुष्मान्भव) यज्ञभूता 3 इ (यज्ञभूते is vocative) or चित्रगा 3 उ (चित्रगो is vocative).

ayamaham'⁸²⁵ (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.⁸²⁶ 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 clasping 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 clasping her feet (with the words 'abhivādaye amukāśarmā-ham bhoḥ').

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 husbands⁸²⁷ (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 clasped on those occasions on which a teacher's feet are to be clasped 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

825. अविद्वांसः । अविद्वांसः प्रत्यभिवादे नाम्नो ये न कृतिं विदुः । कामं तेषु तु विप्रैष्य ओषिववायमहं वदेत् ॥ महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 3. This passage is quoted by मेघा- on मनु II. 123.

826. अन्यत्रोपसंग्रहणादुच्छिद्यतां नान्याचार्यवदाचार्यद्वारे वृत्तिः । आप. ध. सू. I. 2. 7. 27.

827. पतिवयसः स्त्रियः । आप. ध. सू. I. 4. 14. 18; ये चैव पादमावास्तेषां भाषां खरात्र । मातापितरौ च । वासिष्ठ 13. 42-43.

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*'.⁸²⁸

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 passage⁸²⁹ 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. 12⁸³⁰ it appears that the system of pupil teachers (who were called 'samādiṣṭa')

828. माता मातामही सुर्वी पितामहोऽसौ ददाः । श्वशुरः पितामही ज्येष्ठः । धात्री च सुखः स्त्रियः ॥ देवल in सं प्र. p. 471; almost the same verse occurs in औशनस (Jiv. ed.) I. p. 503.

829. गुरुवदस्मिन्गुरुपुत्रे वर्तितव्यमन्यत्रोच्छिष्टभोजनात्पादोपसंग्रहणाच्चेति । यदि च गुरुपुत्रोऽपि गुरुभवति तदपि कर्तव्यं भवति । महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 135 (on पाणिनि I. 1. 56, चार्तिक 8)

830. तथा समादिष्टे अस्यापयति । आप. ध. सू. I. 2. 7. 28; समादिष्टमस्यापयन्तं यावद्व्ययनमुपसंगृहीयात् । नित्यमर्हन्तामित्येके । आप. ध. सू. I. 4. 13. 12-13.

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 claspings 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 brāhmana, 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 anaṣṭa according to Āp.) and a śūdra by employing the word ārogya. 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.⁸³¹ 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' (bhavati) or 'beloved sister' and (Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 30) that one should not pass a learned brāhmana 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 Udvāhatattva⁸³² (p. 141) 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 हरेद्वय the questions would be in the case of members of the four varnas respectively, अपि कुशलं भवतः, अप्यनामयं भवतः, अप्यनक्षयमुधनोसि, अप्यरोगो भवान्. 'कुशलानामयारोग्याणामनुभूतः। अन्यं युद्धस्य।'। मा. V. 37-38; हरेद्वय on these says 'अपि कुशलमायुमाप्नोति ब्राह्मणः प्रहर्षः, अप्यनामयं अश्वभवत इति क्षत्रियः, अप्यरोगो भवानिति वैश्यः; अप्यरोगोतीति शूद्रः'.

832. देवं शुद्धं शुद्धस्थानं क्षेत्रं क्षेत्राधिदेवताः। सिद्धं सिद्धाधिकारंश्च श्रीपूर्वं सङ्क्षुद्धी-रयेत् ॥ इति राघवमहर्ष्यवृत्तमयोगसूत्रदर्शनेन स्वर्गकाम्यत्वादिना सिद्धोधिकारो येषां तानि-त्यनेन जीवतां श्रीसङ्क्षुद्धादेवं नाग्निं धृतानां तु न तथेति श्रुतिः। उद्वाहत्तव p. 144.

their names and of the śūdra caste the word 'dāsi'. 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. Honour⁸³³ 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 Viṣṇu 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 *ṛtvik* (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 Aṅgīras gotra who taught his piṭṛs 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 Mahābrāhmaṇa⁸³⁴

833. पूजा वर्णव्यायसा कार्या । वृद्धतराणां च । अप. घ. I. 4. 13. 2-3; हरदत्त says 'अध्वन्यनुगमनादिका उत्सवादिषु च गन्धलेपादिका ।; चित्तवन्धुर्कर्मजातिविद्यावयांसि मान्यानि परवलीयांसि । श्रुतं तु सर्वेभ्यो गरीयः । तन्मूलत्वाद्धर्मस्य श्रुतेश्च । गो. VI. 19-20.

834. शिशुर्वा आङ्गिरसो मन्त्रकृता मन्त्रकृदास्मि पितृन् पुत्रका इत्यामन्त्रयत् । ते पितरोऽब्रुवन्धर्मं करोषि यो नः पितृन्सतः पुत्रका इत्यामन्त्रयस इति तोषवीदृहं वाव पितास्मि यो मन्त्रकृदस्मीति । ते देवेष्वप्युच्यन्त ते देवा अनुव्रजेय वाव पिता यो मन्त्रकृदिति । तद्वै स उद्वन्यद्व्यजयति शैशवेन तुष्टवानः । ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मण 13. 3. 24. शिशु was the name of the sage.

(13. 3. 24). Manu II. 155 clinches the argument by saying 'the seniority of brāhmaṇas springs from (sacred) knowledge, of kṣatriyas from valour, of vaiśyas from (the possession) of corn and other wealth and only among śūdras is age a ground of seniority'.

Kauṭ. says that men deserve honour according to their learning, intelligence, valour, high birth and eminent deeds.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 Smṛtyarthasāra p. 8 prescribes a fast for one day as a penance for not bowing to images of gods, saṁnyāsins &c. Viṣṇu⁸³⁶ (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.'⁸³⁷

One had to show respect by circumambulating⁸³⁸ 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 aśvattha) 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, ācārya, sacred fires, houses and the king, if the latter has not heard of him before.⁸³⁹

835. पूज्या विद्याबुद्धिपौरुषाभिजन-कर्मातिशयतश्च पुरुषाः । अर्थशास्त्र III. 20.

836. विष्णुः । सप्तसु चैव सर्वासु यज्ञे राजगृहेषु च । नमस्कारं प्रकुर्वीत ब्राह्मणं नामि-
वाद्येत् । स्मृतिच० I. p. 38.

837. विद्याकरवाजपेयिधृतं वचनम् । अजाकर्णेन विद्वांसं यतिं संयुत्पाणिना । मूर्खं
चैवैकहस्तेन कनिष्ठं नामिवाद्येत् । सं. प्र. p. 468.

838. देवालयं चैत्यतरुं तथैव च चतुष्पथम् । विद्याधिकं गुरुं देवं बुधः कुर्यात्प्रदक्षिणम् ॥
मार्कण्डेयपुराण 34. 41-42 ; शुचिं देशमनङ्गाहं देवं गोष्ठं चतुष्पथम् । ब्राह्मणं धार्मिकं चैत्यं
नित्यं कुर्यात्प्रदक्षिणम् ॥ शान्तिपर्व 193. 8 ; vide also 163. 37 for a similar verse
and ब्रह्मपुराण 113. 40, वामनपुराण 14. 52, गौतम IX. 66, मनु IV. 39, या. I. 133.

839. मातरं पितरमाचार्यमग्निंश्च गृहाणि च रिक्तपाणिर्नोपगच्छेद्वाजानं चेच श्रुतमिति ।
आप. ध. 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 brāhmanas 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, jaṭā and other formations. Great care was taken to preserve the proper accentuation of the Vedic texts. There is a well known story how Tvaṣṭr repeating the words 'Indraśatrur-varḍhasva'⁸⁴⁰ 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 Pāṇiniyaśikṣā. The same work (in verse 32) 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 Pāṇiniyaśikṣā). 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 Pāṇini and whether the Brāhmī 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 Pāṇini (p. 507). Later on that position

840. मन्त्रो ह्रीनः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा निश्चयाम्युक्तो न तन्मर्थमाह । स वाग्वक्त्रो यजमानं हि विस्ति यथेन्द्रशत्रुः स्वरतोपराधात् ॥ verse 52 of the पाणिनीयशिक्षा; गीतो शीघ्रो शिरः कम्पी तथा लिखितपाठकः । अनर्थज्ञोऽल्पकण्ठश्च षड्देते पाठकाधमाः । पाणिनीयशिक्षा verse 32. The legend is narrated in the तै. सं. II. 4. 12. 1 and the शतपथ I. 6. 3. 8. त्वष्ट्र wanted to pronounce the word इन्द्रशत्रुः (meaning 'destroyer of Indra') as a Tatpuruṣa compound (in which the last syllable of the compound has the udātta accent), while he actually pronounced the word as a Bahuvrīhi (meaning ' whose killer would be Indra'), in which case the first word of the compound has the udātta accent (as in इन्द्रशत्रुः). Vide पाणिनि VI. 1. 223 and VI. 2. 1.

was given up. Then Bühler wrote his famous work 'on the origin of the Brāhmī 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 Brāhmī 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 unbiassed and cautious scholar should have ordinarily advanced viz. that the Semitic script might have been derived from the Brāhmī 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 Brāhmī 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 *pada*⁸⁴¹ 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 effect⁸⁴² ' what is learnt from reliance on books and is not learnt from

841. The *pada* text of the Rgveda is the work of Śākalya and the *padapāṭha* is supposed to be *pauruṣeya* (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. पुस्तकमन्वयाधीनं नाधीतं श्रुतसंनिधौ । आजते न सभामध्ये जायते न ह्यत्र क्षिप्राः ॥
नारद in परा. मा. I. part 1 p. 154 ; स्मृति-च० I. p. 51 also quotes this verse.

a teacher does not shine in an assembly'. Vṛddha-Gautama⁸⁴³ condemns to hell those who sell the Veda, who condemn the Veda and those who write it down. Aparārka (p. 1114 on Yāj. III. 267-268) quotes verses from the Caturvimsatimata which prescribe various prāyaścittas for selling the Vedas, the aṅgas (of the Veda), the smṛtis, itihāsa and purāṇa, the secret pañcarātra (system), gāthās, nṛtiśāstras &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.⁸⁴⁴ Aparārka (p. 390) quotes a long passage from the Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa 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.⁸⁴⁵ In the Kādambari (para 88) the queen Vilāsavati is described as surrounded by ascetic women who held books in their hands and read itihāsa.⁸⁴⁶ 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.⁸⁴⁷

The Duration of studenthood (brahmacharya).—It appears from certain passages of the Upaniṣads that the usual duration of brahmacharya was 12 years⁸⁴⁸. Śvetaketu Āruṇeya is said to have become a brahmachārī when he was twelve and to have mastered all the Vedas at the age of 24 (vide Chān. Up. VI. 1. 2

843. वेदविक्रयिणश्चैव वेदानां चैव दूषकाः । वेदानां लेखिनश्चैव ते वै निरययामिनः ॥ बुद्धगौतम p. 582; the same verse occurs in अनुशासनपर्व 23. 72 (वेदानां लेखकाश्चैव).

844. द्यूतं पुस्तकशुश्रूषा । नाटकासक्तिरेव च । श्रियस्तन्मयी च निद्रा च विद्याविघ्नकराणि च । नारद quoted in the स्मृतिचं I. p. 52.

845. I. A. vol. VII. p. 67.

846. 'इतिहासाग्राहयन्तीभिः पुस्तकानि दधतीभिः...जरत्प्रजिताभिर्विनोद्यमान...मातरं ननाम । कादम्बरी para 88.

847. संस्कृतैः प्राकृतैर्वाजपैर्यैः शिष्यमनुसूयतः । देशभाषाद्युपायैश्च बोधयेत्स गुरुः स्मृतः ॥ quoted from the विद्युद्धर्म by वीरभद्रोदय (व्यवहार, ed. by Jivananda, p. 72).

848. उपकोसलो ह वै कामलायनो सत्यकामे जाबाले ब्रह्मचर्यशुवास वस्य ह द्वादश वर्षाण्यग्निं परिचचार स ह रमाभ्यानन्तेवासिनः समावर्तयन्तं ह रमेव न समावर्तयति । छा. उप. IV. 10. 1.

quoted in *f. n.* 634). Similarly Chān. 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 Upaniṣads. Chāndogya (VIII. 11. 3) declares that Indra remained as a student with Prajāpati for 101 years (three periods of 32 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 ⁸⁴⁹ (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 gṛhya 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 saṃhitās 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. 3 Śābara states the objection (among other similar matters) that the smṛtis speaking of brahmacarya for fortyeight 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). Śābara gives his opinion that such smṛtis being opposed to śruti are to

849. तस्मा एतन्मोवाचाष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षं वेदमहाचर्यं तच्चतुर्धा वेदेषु ध्युह्य द्वादशवर्षं महाचर्यं द्वादशवर्षाण्यवराध्वमपि स्नात्यंश्चरेद्यथाशक्तचेवम् । गोपथब्रा. II. 5 quoted in *f. n.* 628 above; आप. घ. सू. I. 1. 2. 16 has the सूत्र ' द्वादशवराध्वम् '.

850. अष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि वेदमहाचर्यं चरेद् द्वादश द्वादश वा मतिवेदं यावद्महर्षं वा । पारस्कर II. 5; अष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि पुराणं वेदमहाचर्यं संमदिसन्त्या वेदाध्ययनमित्येक आहुता भिक्षानकर्येण इत्येके । भारद्वाजश्रुत्य I. 9; vide also हिरण्यकेशिश्रुत्य I. 8. 14; गौतम II. 51-53; शाङ्खायनश्रुत्य II. 10; मानवश्रुत्य I. 2. 6, आप. घ. सू. I. 1. 2. 12-15 अष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि । पाद्मन्यु । अथेन । त्रिभिर्वा ।

be disregarded⁸⁵¹ and makes fun of them by saying that some persons desirous of concealing their lack of manhood observed brahmacarya for forty-eight years and the prescriptions in these smṛtis to that effect are due to this fact.⁸⁵² The very orthodox Kumārilabhaṭṭa could not tolerate this light-hearted statement of Śābara 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 brahmacarya for 48 years only with reference to him who wants to become a sannyāsin immediately after brahmacarya or who desires to become a perpetual student.^{852a}

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 druti and Jaimini's conclusion in I. 3. 3 is that when that is the case smṛti is to be disregarded.

852. अष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि वेदब्रह्मचर्यचरणं जातपुत्रः कृष्णकोशोऽग्नीनादधीत इत्यनेन विरुद्धम् । शबर on जै. I. 3. 3. p. 169; अपुंस्त्वं मच्छाद्यन्तश्चाष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि वेदब्रह्मचर्यं चरितवन्तः । तत एषा स्मृतिरित्यवगम्यते । शबर on जै. I. 3. 4. p. 186.

852a. अष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षं वेदब्रह्मचर्याचरणस्यापि स्मृतावेव पक्षान्तरविकल्पोपनिबन्धनादाश्रमान्तरविषयत्वं संभवाद्वा निरोधाभावः । तथाहि—वेदानधीत्य वेदौ वा वेदं वापि यथाक्रमम् (मनु 3. 2) । सामर्थ्याश्रमयोग्यत्वमङ्गीकृत्यैतदुच्यते । ...तत्रैवं शक्यते वक्तुं वेदब्रह्मचर्यादयो नराः । गृहस्थत्वं न शक्यन्ति कर्तुं तेषामयं विधिः ॥ नैष्ठिकब्रह्मचर्यं वा परिवाजकतापि वा । तैरप्यर्थं गृहीतव्या तेनाद्वैतदुच्यते ॥ ...यो वा कश्चिन्नेधावितया ङीघ्रमेव वेदचतुष्टयमध्यधीत्य यथोपपत्तिकालं तदर्थं ज्ञानाभियोगमपरित्यजन् ग्रहणान्तं वेत्त्येतत्पक्षाश्रयेण गृहस्थो भवेत् प्रति द्वादशाष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षक्षावनेनैव स्मरणेन पूर्वपक्षीकृताविति नातीव क्षुतिविरुद्धत्वेनोदाहृत्यौ । तत्रवार्तिक pp. 192-193.

study must have been found even in ancient times impossible for many among the brāhmaṇas and therefore the Bhāradvāja gr̥hya (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. Āśv. gr̥. sūtra I. 22. 3-4 also prescribes only two alternatives for brahmacarya viz. for 12 years or as long as one could learn the Veda (so Āśv. contemplated brahmacarya 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 brahmacarya for three years at least for each Veda and when it is said that one may observe brahmacarya till one learns the Veda, that means beyond three years for each Veda. This appears somewhat opposed to the words of Āśv. and Bhāradvāja.

Not only was the study of the Veda made an absolute duty for all persons belonging to the three higher varṇas, 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 śākhā or śākhās.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 Vedāntasūtra (I. 3. 28-29) says that the Vedas are eternal and the whole universe (including the gods) emanates from the Veda

853. विद्यया ज्ञातीत्येतस्मिन् पक्षे नातित्वरितेन ज्ञातव्यमित्येवमर्थमिदमारभ्यते । एतेन एकस्य वेदस्य त्रीणि वर्षाणि ब्रह्मचर्यमवश्यं भावीत्यर्थात् सिद्धम् । ग्रहणात्तिकमेव वा (मनु 3. 1) इति एकैकरस्य त्रिस्य ऊर्ध्वमानयमो न प्रागित्यर्थो द्रष्टव्यः । हरदत्त on आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 2. 16.

854. ज्ञाते च वाचनं न ह्यविद्वान् विहितोऽस्ति । जै. III. 8. 18 on which अथर says ' अनारभ्य कर्माणि वेदाध्ययनं श्रूयते तस्मात् स्वाध्यायोऽध्येतव्य इति । कियता पुनर्विदितेन विद्वानधिक्रियते । यावता विदितं शक्तो भवति यथोक्तं ऋतुमभिनिर्यतेतिष्ठ तावथो वेद स तेन ऋतुनाधिक्रियते । '

855. Vide आप. श्रौ. सू. 24. 1. 31 and जो गृ. सू. II. 6. 3 ' मन्त्राश्च ब्राह्मणं च वेदः । वेदानामधेयम् ' ; अथर on जै. II. 1. 33 ' मन्त्राश्च ब्राह्मणं च वेदः । '

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. Ṛgveda, Yajurveda, Sāmaveda, yajñas and so forth. The Śvetāśvatara Up. VI. 18 says that the Supreme Being evolved Brahmā and imparted the Vedas to him.⁸⁵⁶ The Śāntiparva⁸⁵⁷ 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 śākhās (branches or recensions) of the Veda, named Kāthaka, Kālāpaka &c.⁸⁵⁸

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 Ṛgveda 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' ṛks, yajus formulae, sāmans, Atharvāṅgirasah (Atharvaveda), itihāsa-purāṇa, gāthās in praise of heroes (called Nārāsaṁsis). The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa II. 10 also says 'in this way all these Vedas were created together with kalpa, rahasya (secret doctrines),

856. यो ब्रह्माणं विदधाति पूर्वं यो वै वेदांश्च महिषोति तस्मै । तं ह देवमात्मबुद्धि-
मकारं सुखं सर्वं शरणमहं मय्ये ॥ श्वेतोत्तर. उप. VI. 18 quoted by शंकराचार्य on
वेदान्तसूत्र I. 3. 30.

857. अनादिनिधना नित्या वायुसृष्ट्या स्वयंभुवा । आदौ वेदमयी दिव्या यतः सर्वाः
प्रवृत्तयः ॥ शान्तिपर्व 233. 24; युगान्तेन्तर्हिताय वेदान्सेतिहासाय महर्षयः । लेभिरे तपसा पूर्वं
मनुजानाः स्वयंभुवा ॥ शान्तिपर्व 210. 19. Both these verses are quoted by
शंकराचार्य on वेदान्तसूत्र I. 3. 28 and 29 respectively.

858. ननु चोक्तं न हि छन्दांसि क्रियन्ते नित्यानि छन्दांसि इति । यद्यप्यर्थो नित्यो
या त्वसौ वर्णोऽपूर्वो साऽनित्या । तज्ज्ञेदीश्वेतद्भवति काठकं कालापकं मौदकं पैप्पलादकमिति ।
महानाम्य on पाणिनि IV. 3. 101, vol. II. p. 315.

Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads, itihāsa, anvākhyāna, purāṇa, anuśāsanas, vākovākya &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 Chān. Up. VII. 1. 2 Nārada tells Sanatkumāra that he had studied the four Vedas, Itihāsa-purāṇa as the fifth Veda, the Veda of Vedas (grammar), pīṭrya (treatise on śrāddhas), rāśi (arithmetic), daiva (portents), nidhi (finding out hidden treasures), vākovākya (dialogue or dialectic), ekāyana (politics), devavidyā (Nirukta), brahmavidyā (metres and phonetics), bhūtavidyā (exorcising ghosts), kṣatравид्या (dhanurveda), nakṣatравид्या (astronomy), sarpavidyā (snake charms), devajanavidyā (arts like dancing, singing, preparing unguents &c.). The same list is repeated in Chān. 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 Muṇḍaka Up. I. 1. 5 it is said that the ācārya Aṅgiras told Śaunaka who was a great householder that the four Vedas and the six āngas (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 āngas, Upavedas and Purāṇa for regulating the conduct of his subjects. Āp. Dh. S. (quoted above in note 775), Viṣṇu Dh. S. 30. 34-38, Vas. III. 19 and 23, VI. 3-4 mention the āngas of Veda. Pāṇini shows acquaintance not only with the Veda and Brāhmaṇas but he knew ancient Kalpasūtras, Bhikṣusūtras and Nāṭasūtras, 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 Vākovākya, Purāṇa, Nārāsaṃsī, ⁸⁶¹ gāthās, itihāsa, vidyās if he desired to

859. एवं वा अरेऽस्य महतो भूतस्य निःश्वसितमेतद्यद्वेदो यजुर्वेदः सामवेदोऽथर्वाङ्गिरस इतिहासः पुराणं विद्या उपनिषदः श्लोकाः सूत्राण्यनुव्याख्यानानि व्याख्यानान्यस्यैवेतानि सर्वाणि निःश्वसितानि। बृह. उ. II. 4. 10. This is the basis of वेदावत्सूत्र I. 1. 3 (शास्त्रयोनित्वात्). Śaṅkara explains these in such a way as to show that they are parts of मन्त्र and ब्राह्मण. बृह. उप. IV. 1. 2 also contains a similar enumeration of literary works.

860. चत्वारो वेदाः साङ्गः संहारया बहुधा विभिन्ना एकशतमध्वर्युशाखाः..... यवणो वेदो वाकितान्यमितिहासः पुराणं वैद्यकमित्येतावाञ्च सन्दस्य प्रयोगविषयः। महामाष्य vol. I. p. 9. संहस्रवर्त्मा सामवेदः means 'Sāmaveda that is sung in a thousand (numerous) ways and modifications'.

861. Mit. on Yāj. I. 45 takes गार्थिकाः as distinct from नारासंसीः 'नारासंसीश्च ऋद्धैवत्यान्मन्त्रान् गार्था यज्ञमायेन्द्रमायायाः'.

please the gods and manes. Fourteen vidyās are generally enumerated as in Yāj. I. 3 (= Matsya 53. 5-6), Vāyupurāṇa vol. I. 61. 78, Vṛddha-Gautama (p. 632) and other works, viz. four vedas, 6 āngas, purāṇas, nyāya (logic), mīmāṃsā and dharmaśāstra. Some added four more to these, viz. the Upavedas of Āyurveda, Dhanurveda, Gāndhārvaveda and Arthaśāstra (which were affiliated respectively to the four Vedas) and thus the vidyās are also spoken of as 18.⁸⁶² Kālidāsa in the Raghuvamśa (V. 21) expressly says that Varatantu taught his pupil 14 vidyās. In E. I. vol. VIII p. 237 (in an inscription of 199 Guptasamvat i. e. 517-18 A. D.) it is said about Suśarman, an ancestor of Mahārāja Saṁkṣobha, that 'he knew the highest truth because of his proficiency in the 14 vidyā-sthānas'. Kumārila⁸⁶³ in his Tantravārtika (p. 201) says that vidyā-sthānas that are looked upon as authoritative in knowing dharma are 14 or 18. The Vārāhagṛhya (6) refers to different preparations for different people, viz. a yājñika had to study mantra and Brāhmaṇa, kalpa (vedic ritual) and mīmāṃsā and one could study at his option grammar, the smṛtis and vaktra (?) and the śrotriya 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 Viranarasimhadeva 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, Kannaḍa, Tigula (Tamil) and Ārya (Marathi) was to receive the same salary. The Gadag inscription of the time of Vikramāditya VI. (1098 A. D.) refers to the founding of a school for teaching Prabhākara's system of Mīmāṃsā at Lakkigundi (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 Dharma-śāstra 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. वायुपुराण vol. I. 61. 79, गरुडपुराण 223. 21, विश्वपुराण (quoted by अपरार्क p. 6) name the 18 विद्याs.

863. परिमितान्येव हि चतुर्दशाष्टादश वा विद्यस्थानानि धर्मभाषणत्वेन शिष्टैः परिभूहीतानि वेदोपवेदाङ्गाष्टादशधर्मसंहितापुराणशास्त्रशिक्षादृष्टनीतिसंज्ञकानि । तन्त्रवार्तिके p. 201 on जे. I. 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 Veda receded in the background and the study of subsidiary works became more popular. Therefore the smṛtis again and again raise their voice and try to impress it upon all that the first duty of a *dvijāti* is to study the Veda. The Maitrī Up. VII. 10, though comparatively a late work, inveighs against brāhmaṇas studying non-vedic texts.⁸⁶⁴ Manu (II. 168) says that the *dvija* who, without studying the Veda, bestows labour upon another lore, is quickly reduced to the status of a śūdra in this very life together with his descendants. Kullūka on this verse cites the aphorism of Śaṅkha-Likhita⁸⁶⁵ 'one should not, without studying the Veda first, study another lore, except the Vedāṅgas and smṛtis'. Vas. Dh.S. III. 2 expressly quotes the verse of Manu II. 168 as Mānava śloka. The Tai. Up. I. 9 speaks of svādhyāya (study of the Veda) and pravacana (teaching it or daily repeating it) as *tapas* and joins these two with *ṛta*, *satya*, *tapas*,⁸⁶⁶ *dama*, *śama*, 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. Śaṅkara in his bhāṣya on Vedāntasūtra I. 3. 30 quotes a Brāhmaṇa 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 Brāhmaṇa (i. e. *vinīyoga*, employment or use) falls on a stump or in a pit.⁸⁶⁷ The Mit. on Yāj. III. 300 quotes a verse of Vyāsa to the same effect. Not only was the Veda to be committed to memory (i. e. not only was there to be *pāṭha*) but one had also to understand

864. यदेवमिहितं तत्सत्यं यद्वेदेभ्यस्तद्विद्वांस उपजीवन्ति । तस्माद्नाह्वयो ना-
पेदिकमधीयीतायमर्थः स्यादिति । मैत्री उप. VII. 10.

865. अत एव शङ्खलिखितौ न वेदमनधीत्यान्यां विद्यामधीयीताभ्यः वेदाङ्गप्रवृत्तिभ्यः ।
quoted by कुल्लुका on मनु II. 168; योन्यत्र कुरुते यत्नमनधीत्य श्रुतिं द्विजः । स वै मूढो
न संभाष्यो वेदवाह्यो द्विजातिभिः ॥ औशनस (Jir. ed. part 1 p. 517).

866. ऋतं च स्वाध्यायप्रवचने च । स्वाध्यायप्रवचने एवेति नाको भौदनस्यः ।
तद्वि तपः । तै. उप. I. 9.

867. श्रुतिरपि कृषिज्ञानपूर्वकमेव मन्त्रेणानुष्ठानं दर्शयति । यो ह वा आवेदिताभ्ये-
च्छन्दोदैवतनाह्वयेन मन्त्रेण याजयति वाच्यापयति वा स्थायुं वर्च्छति मर्त्यं वा प्रतिपद्यते इत्यु-
पक्रमः ' तस्मादेतानि मन्त्रे मन्त्रे विद्यात् ' इति । शंकर on वेदाङ्गप्रवृत्त I. 3. 30.

the meaning. The Nirukta (I. 18) quotes two verses⁸⁶⁸ 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'. Dakṣa⁸⁶⁹ 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'. Śābara⁸⁷⁰ 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. Viśvarūpa⁸⁷¹ on Yāj. I. 51 says that he alone is really vedapāraṅga 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. स्यात्पर्यं भारदारः किलादृष्टीत्य वेदं न विजानाति योऽर्थम् । यो अर्थज्ञ इत् सकलं भद्रमश्नुते नाकमेति ज्ञानविधुतपाप्मा ॥ यद्वृद्धीतमविज्ञानं निगदेनैव शब्धते । अन-
भाविष्य शुक्लैषो न तज्ज्वलति कर्हिचित् ॥ निरुक्त I. 18.

869. वेदस्वीकार्यं पूर्वं विचारोऽप्यसनं जपः । तद्दानं चैव शिष्येभ्यो वेदाभ्यासो हि पञ्चधा ॥ दक्ष II. 34 quoted by the मिता० on या III. 310 and अपरार्क p. 126.

870. दृष्टो हि तस्यार्थः कर्मावबोधनम् । न च तस्याव्ययनमात्रात्तत्रभवन्तो याज्ञिकाः फलं समामनन्ति । शबर p. 6. This passage is quoted by मेधा० on मनु III. 1.

871. वेदस्य पारम्यनमर्थतो ग्रन्थतश्च स्वीकार्यं न ग्रन्थत एव । तथा च वक्तारो भवन्ति वेदाभ्यासवर्गं न वेदपारम्यं इति । विश्वरूप on या. I. 51.

872. Two or three verses may be quoted: न वेदपाठमात्रेण संतोषं कारयेद् द्विजः । पाठमात्रावसानो हि पङ्के गौरिव सीदति ॥ ...योधीत्य विधिवद्देवं वेदार्थं न विचारयेत् । स सान्वयः श्रुतसमः पात्रतां न प्रपद्यते ॥ पाठमात्राद्विज्ञातित्वं द्विजार्थीत्यर्थवर्जितात् । पशूनि च ताम्राज्ञो वाह्यात्रेणापि नाचयेत् । अपरार्क pp. 74-75 quoting व्यास; printed कूर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्ध 14. 86-87) has the पाद 'यो...चारयेत्'. औशनसस्मृति (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*⁸⁷³ speaks disparagingly of the *śrotriya* as having an intellect dulled by the constant repetition of the *anuvākas* of the Veda. Further there was always an under-current 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 *Aghamarsaṇa*, *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.⁸⁷⁴ Similar provision for removal of sins by the muttering of the Vedic mantras is made in *Viṣṇu 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. *Āp. Dh. S. I.* 7. 21. 8 makes '*brahmojjha*' (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*⁸⁷⁵ (holding that there is no soul or no Hereafter) and the reviling of the Veda and in

873. ओत्रियस्येव ते राजन्मन्दकस्याविपश्चितः । अमुपाकहता बुद्धिर्धर्ममेवैकमीक्षिते ।
उद्योगपर्व 132. 6 and शान्तिपर्व 10. 1.

874. न चेद्वचनमात्रेण पापकर्मरतिर्भवेत् । अज्ञानाच्च प्रमादाच्च दहते कर्म नेतरत् ॥
वसिष्ठ 27. 4; this verse is also अङ्गिरस्य (Anan. ed.) v. 102.

875. Even in the *Rgveda* reference is made to people who did not look upon Indra as a god 'नेदं देवममंसत' *ऋ. X.* 86. 1. We saw above (p. 26) that the *dasyus* are often spoken of as '*avrata*, *ayajña* and *asraddha*' (vide *Rg. I.* 51. 8, *I.* 75. 3, *VII.* 6. 3). In the *Kāthopaniṣad* (*I.* 20) *Naciketas* says that people existed who thought that there was no

At 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 *patitas* 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 śāstrāṇām cābhilaṅghanam).

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 नास्तिक is derived by पाणिनि in 'अस्तिनास्वेदिदं नतिः' IV.4. 60 (the meaning being नास्ति परलोक इति नतिर्यस्य). The बृहती (of प्रभाकर) on the पूर्वमीमांसासूत्र p. 284 (Madras ed.) regards बृहस्पति as the founder of materialism and the com. अत्रुविमला on the same quotes a verse (p. 285) 'अग्निदेवं त्रयो वेदाग्निद्वन्द्वं भस्मयुष्मन् । बुद्धिपौरुषहीनानां जीविकेति बृहस्पतिः॥' This verse is quoted in the सर्वदर्शनसंग्रह (चार्वाकदर्शन) also. मेधा on मनु IV. 163 says 'वेदमयाणानामर्चानां मिथ्यात्वाच्चवसायो नास्तिवत्यम् । सध्वेन अतिपादं नित्यं पुनश्च वेदोन्मोहोऽन्यथाहृतो नात्र सत्यमस्तीति', while स्मृतिच० (II. p. 395) explaining Manu III. 150 says 'नास्ति कालान्तरे फलदं कर्म नास्ति देवतेत्यादि-मन्तो नास्ति काः'. Manu IX. 225 prescribes banishment from the capital for heretics (pāṣaṇḍastha). विष्णुपुराण III. 18. 27-28 speaks of the teaching of मायाभोह as यज्ञैरेकैर्द्वैतत्वमाधेन्द्रेण श्रूयते । सध्वादि यदि चेत्काष्ठं तद्वरं पत्रमुत्पलः ॥ निहतस्य पशोर्गले स्वर्गमाप्तिर्यदीष्यते । स्वपिता यजमानेन किं ह्युत्सवाह्वयते'. नारद (अनादान verse 180) regards a नास्तिक as an unfit witness in general. The Sarvadarśanasamgraha gives a synopsis of the views of Cārvāka and the बद्धदर्शनसमुच्चय of हरिनन्द composed about 528 (A. D.) also summarises the views of लोकायत (ed. in B. I. series by L. Suali). The Mahābhāṣya (vol. III. pp. 325-326) refers to Lokāyata. The well-known verse 'यावज्जीवं सुखं जीवेदुर्गं कृत्वा घृतं पिबेत् । मरभीभूतस्य देहस्य पुनरागमनं कुतः ॥' occurs in the सर्वदर्शनसंग्रह in its summary at the end of the section on चार्वाकदर्शन. The बद्धदर्शनसमुच्चय verse 80 succinctly expresses the लोकायत view 'लोकायता वदन्त्येवं नास्ति जीवो न निवृत्तिः । धर्मा-धर्मो न विद्येते न फलं पुण्यपापयोः ॥'. निवृत्तिः means मोक्ष. 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 Śaṅkara 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 dakṣiṇā 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 dakṣiṇā (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 eulogises *brahmavidyā* by declaring it to be more valuable than the gift of the whole earth together with all its wealth. The *smṛtis*⁸⁸⁰ declare that even if the guru teaches a single

876. सहोपाच याज्ञवल्क्यः पिता मेऽन्यत नानुशिक्ष्य हरेतेति । बृह. उप. IV. 1. 2.

877. विद्यान्ते शुश्रूषेन निमग्नः । कृत्वाऽनुज्ञातस्य वा स्नानम् । गौ. II. 54-55; विद्यान्ते शुश्रूषेन निमग्नं कृत्वाऽनुज्ञातस्य वा स्नानम् । आश्व. गृ. III. 9. 4.

878. कृत्वा विद्यां यावतीं वेददक्षिणामाहरेद्भृतो यथाशक्ति । विषमगते त्वाचार्य उग्रतः शुद्रतो वा हरेत् । सर्वदा शुद्रत उग्रतो वाचार्यार्थस्याहर्णं घर्षभित्येके । दृष्ट्वा च नानुकर्येत् । कृत्वा च नानुस्मरेत् । आप. ध. I. 2. 7. 19-23.

879. यद्यप्यस्मा इमामाद्भिः परिशुद्धितां धनस्य पूर्णां दद्यादितदेव ततो भूयः । छान्दोग्य III. 11. 6.

880. एकमप्यक्षरं यस्तु शुभः शिष्ये निवेदयेत् । पृथिव्यां नास्ति तद् द्रव्यं यद्दृष्ट्वा लब्धमीभवेत् ॥ लघुहारीत according to स्मृतिच. I. p. 66 and हारीत according to 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 Mahābhārata says (Āśvamedhika 56. 21) that the teacher's satisfaction with the student's work and conduct is indeed the proper dakṣiṇā.⁸⁸¹ Yāj. I. 51 says that one should give to his teacher what he chooses to ask as dakṣiṇā and Kātyāyana⁸⁸² quoted by Aparārka (p. 76) prescribes that a brāhmaṇa pupil may give a cow, a princely one a village, a vaiśya 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 Nṛpatuṅgavarman 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 *mattars* of land for professors lecturing to ascetics and of eight *mattars* to teachers giving lessons to the youths in a monastery (in the times of Cālukya Someśvara I at Sūdi in Dharwar District in *śaka* 981). The Peshwa distributed to learned brāhmaṇas every year dakṣiṇā 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 anything from them.

According to Manu II. 141, Śaṅkhasmṛti 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 upapātakas (lesser sins). Manu III. 156, Anusāsana 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 Medhātithi (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 beforehand that one would teach only if a certain sum or if so much

881. दक्षिणा परितोषो वै श्रुत्यां सन्निवृत्त्यते । आश्वमेधिकपर्व 56. 21.

882. गौतमिह्यस्य वरो भ्रात्रो राजन्यस्याश्वो वैश्यस्य । कात्यायन quoted by अपरार्क p. 76. The same is quoted as पादस्कर's by विश्वरूप on या. I. 51.

were paid or delivered.⁸⁸³ In distress, Manu X. 116 and Yāj. III. 42 allow even such stipulations for the purpose of securing one's livelihood.

The Mahābhārata (Ādi. 133. 2-3) shows that when Bhīṣma appointed Droṇa as the teacher of the Pāṇḍava 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 brāhmana died of hunger in his kingdom (vide Gaut. X. 9-12, Viṣṇu Dh. S. III. 79-80, Manu VII. 82-85, Yāj. 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. Kālidāsa draws in Raghuvamśa V a graphic picture how Varatantu demanded a dakṣiṇā of 14 crores from his pupil Kautsa who approached Raghu for the same and would not take more than his requirements. Sometimes the teacher or his wife, according to legends, demanded fanciful dakṣiṇās. 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 Ādiparva chap. 3 and Āśvamedhika-parva 56).

It would be interesting to see how far corporal punishment of pupils was allowed in ancient India. Gaut.⁸⁸⁴ (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 Āp. 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.⁸⁸⁵ The

883. न चैतन्मन्तव्यम् । अर्थमादाय यद्व्यापनं सा भूतिः । न हि पण्यपरिमाणसंभरण-
पूर्विका तत्र भूतिर्यदेवदत्तासि तदैवद्व्यापयामीति । एतद् भूते रूपं न पुनर्यधिकारव्यवधानात्रेण ।
मेधा० मनु II. 112.

884. शिष्यशिक्षित्वमेव । अत्रात्रौ रज्जुवेष्टविद्वलाभ्यां तद्व्याप्य । अन्येन ह्यत्र राज्ञा
सारथः । नौतम II. 48-50.

885. अपराधेषु चैनं सततशुचालमेत । अभिज्ञास उपवास उदकोपस्पर्शनमदर्शनमिति
दृष्ट्वा यथामात्रमा भिदुते । आप. ध. सू. I. 2. 8. 29-30.

Mahābhāṣya⁸⁸⁶ (vol. I. p. 41) refers to the fact that when a pupil pronounced a wrong accent (e. g. anudātta in place of udātta) the upādhyāya slapped him (on the back probably). Manu VIII. 299-300, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 71. 81-82, Nārada (abhyupetyā-śuśrūṣā, 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 Ānvikṣikī (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 Yāj. I. 311 say that a king should be proficient in the three Vedas, in metaphysics, in daṇḍanīti (the art of government and statecraft) and in vārtā (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 Droṇa was engaged by Bhīṣma) 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 Āp. 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 Arthaśāstra after

886. य उदात्ते कर्तव्येऽनुदात्तं करोति खण्डिकोपाध्यायस्तस्मै चपेटा ददात्यन्यत्र करोषीति । महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 41.

887. ब्राह्मणं च पुरोदधीतं विद्याभिजनवाग्रूपवयःशीलसंयक्तं न्यायवृत्तं तपस्विनश्च । तत्प्रसूतः कर्माणि कुर्वीत । गौ. 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 (politics). In the Hathigumpha Inscription (2nd century B. C.) there is a reference to *rūpa* (currency), *gaṇanā* (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, I. H. Q. vol. 14 for 1938 p. 459 ff.). In the Kādambārī also Bāṇa shows that prince Candrāpīḍa 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 vaiśyas who sometimes became teachers cannot be denied. Kumārilabhaṭṭa 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 vaiśyas who have given up the observation of the caste rules also do so.

About the education of vaiśyas there is still less material. Manu X. 1 lays down generally that the three varṇas (including vaiśyas) are to learn the Veda, (X. 79) that trade, cattle-rearing and agriculture are the means of the vaiśya's livelihood and that (IX. 328-332) the vaiśya 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. अध्यापनाद्यपि भिक्षाचारक्षत्रियवैश्यप्रतियोगित्वात्संदिग्धम् । सर्वे च दुष्ट-
श्रेष्ठे संभाव्यमानत्वादनित्यम् । तन्वार्तिक p. 108.

Yāj. II. 184, Nārada (abhyupetyāśuśrūṣā 16-20) indicate that boys were apprenticed with master artisans to learn several *śilpas* (crafts) like preparing ornaments⁸⁸⁹ 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 śūdra, there are hardly any rules in the dharmaśāstras. He gradually, as stated above (at pp. 120-121), 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 vaiśya apprentices. The śūdra 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 Ghoṣā Kākṣivati. 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.⁸⁹⁰ 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, Gārgī Vācaknavī occupies a very prominent position. She pursued Yājñavalkya with subtle and searching questions till ultimately he was forced to warn her

889. विज्ञानमुच्यते शिल्पं हेमकुल्यादिसंस्कृतिः। दृष्टादिकं च यत्प्राप्तं कर्म कुर्याद्भूरोर्यहे ॥ बृहस्पति उक्तं in स्मृतिच० II. p. 195. It is interesting that the मितान् on Yāj. II. 184 regards आयुर्वेद as a शिल्प to be learnt under the apprentice system.

890. सा होवाच मैत्रेयी येनाहं नाश्रुता स्यां किमहं तेन कुर्या यदेव भगवान्नेदं तदेव मे ज्ञेयमिति । बृह. 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 prescribed⁸⁹¹ 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 'paṇḍitā' 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 ṛṣitarpana (Āśv. gr. III. 4) among a host of sages water is offered to three women as teachers viz. Gārgī Vācakaṇvī, Vāḍavā Prātithēyī and Sulabhā Maitreyī. The very fact that the Kāśikā on Pāṇini IV. 1. 59 and III. 3. 21 teaches the formation of ācāryā and upādhyāyā 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 teaches⁸⁹² how and why a brāhmaṇa woman is called Āpiśalā (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). Gobhila⁸⁹³ 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

891. अथ य इच्छेद्दुहिता मे पण्डिता जायेत &c. । बृह. उ. VI. 4. 17; दुहिदुः पाण्डित्यं गृह्यतन्त्रविषयमेव वेदेऽनधिकारात् । झांकरभाष्य.

892. आपिशलमर्थेति ब्राह्मणी आपिशला ब्राह्मणी । महाभाष्य vol. II. p. 205 (on वार्तिक 3 on पाणिनि IV. 1. 14); काशकृत्स्निना भोक्ता भीमांसा काशकृत्स्नी काशकृत्स्नीमधीते काशकृत्स्ना ब्राह्मणी । अत्र प्रामोति । महाभाष्य vol. II. p. 206 on वार्तिक 5 on पा. IV. 1. 14; vide also महाभाष्य vol. II. p. 249; औदमेघयायान्छात्रा औदमेघाः । vol. II. p. 229 (on पा. IV. 1. 78).

893. पञ्चादशैः संवेष्टितं कदमेवजातीयं वात्यत्यदा प्रवर्तयन्तीं वाचयेत् प्र मे पतिवानः पन्थाः कल्पयामिति । स्वयं जयेदजपन्त्यां मास्या इति । मोमिलशृङ्गा II. 1. 19-20. The मन्त्र (मन्त्रभाष्य I. 1. 8) is 'प्र मे पतिवानः पन्थाः कल्पयात् । शिवा अरिष्टे पतिलोके भवेत्यम् 17.

should repeat it substituting the words 'to her' for 'to me'. In the *Kāṭhaka*⁸⁹⁴ gr. 25. 23 it is said that the *Anuvāka* beginning with 'sarasvati 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,⁸⁹⁵ a remarkable though in some places a filthy work, prescribes that women should study the *Kāmasūtra* and its subsidiary *aṅgas* (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), *kāvyaśamasyā-pūraṇa* (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 *Śākuntala* of women writing messages to their lovers. In the *Mālatīmādhava* Bhavabhūti tells his readers that the fathers of the hero and the heroine studied in their youth together with Kāmandakī at the feet of the same master. From anthologies like Rājasekhara's *Saktimuktāvali* we learn that there were poetesses like Vijjā, Sitā &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 *śūdras* 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 *samśkāras* (except marriage) were performed in the case of girls without Vedic mantras. Though according to the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā* the husband and wife were to perform Vedic sacrifices together (*Jaimini* VI. 1. 17-21) still women⁸⁹⁶ were only associated with their husbands and all the

894. 'ततोवाचावाच्यमिति सरस्वति देवमवेत्यनुवाकम्' । उभापित्येके । काठकपृष्ठ 25. 23.

895. धर्मार्थं विद्याकालानुपरोधवत् कामसूत्रं तदङ्गविधीश्च युववोधीषीत । प्रायश्चित्तमासीत् । यथा च पत्युरभिभावात् । कामसूत्र I. 2. 1-3.

896. तस्या यावदुक्तमासीर्निष्ठा चर्यमनुवृत्त्यात् । जै. VI. 1. 24; अनुवृत्त्या हि स्त्री युता । यजमानः पुमान् विद्वान् पत्नी स्त्री चाविद्या च । ... यास्त्वाशिषो यश्च नृणाञ्चर्यं तत्पुत्रं प्रति शुभं भूतम्... अत आसीर्निष्ठा चर्यं सोमयोरपि स्यात् । यश्चाहर्ह्योच्यते यथा पत्योर्वाच्यमवेक्षते इति । सचर.

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 patnī is a woman and has no vidyā. Medhātithi⁸⁹⁷ on Manu II. 49 raises the interesting question why brahmacārins 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 Rgveda⁸⁹⁸ 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. 15⁸⁹⁹ '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, sūdra, the dog and the black bird that are all untruth'. In Manu II. 213-214, Anuśāsanaparyā 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 Mālati-mādhava) envisage a state of society in which a woman (like Kāmandakī) learnt at the feet of the same master along with male students (like Bhūrivasu and Devarāta, who later on became ministers of states).

897. कुतः पुनः संस्कृतशब्दार्थलाभो यावता स्त्रियः संशोध्यन्ते ताश्च संस्कृतं नावबुध्यन्ते । ...एवं स्त्रियः सादृश्यात्साधुभ्योऽसाधुष्वप्यसंभवाच्च स्मृत्या तेषां ऽपि प्रत्येक्यन्ति स्वल्पाक्षरं चैव तद्वचनं सर्वप्रसिद्धं जीभिरपि सुज्ञानम् । मेधा ०० मनु. II. 49.

898. इन्द्रश्चिद्धा तद्वचनीत् स्त्रिया अशारयं मनः । उतो अहं कर्तुं रघुम् ॥ ऋ. VIII. 33. 17.

899. न वै ज्ञेयानि सख्यानानि सन्ति सालावृकाणां हृदयान्येता । ऋ. 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 Takṣasīlā (modern Taxila), Valabhi, Benares, Nālandā, Vikramaśīlā &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 Chwang (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 Nṛpatuṅga-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 Kāvya-mīmāṃsā 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, Sāhasāṅka. It also says that in Ujjayīni such poets as Kālidāsa, Meṇṭha, Bhāravi, Haricandra were examined and in Pāṭaliputra (modern Patna) such famous śāstrakāras as Pāṇini, Vyādi, Vararuci, Patañjali, Varṣa, Upavarṣa, and Piṅgala were examined.

The salient features of the educational system outlined in the Dharmasāstra 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 saṁskāras enumerated by Gautama there are four Veda-vratas (Gaut. VIII. 15). These four are also included in the 16 saṁskāras by several smṛtis. Their names and procedure differ considerably in the several grhyasūtras. Some grhyasūtras like Pār. do not describe them. A brief reference will be made to them here. The Āśv. gr. I. 22. 20⁹⁰⁰ says in general words that in the vratas all the ceremonies beginning from shaving the head up to paridāna (i. e. Āśv. gr. I. 19. 8 to I. 20. 7) that are performed at the upanayana are repeated each time with each vrata. And the four vratas according to the Āśvalāyana smṛti (in verse) were Mahānāmni vrata, Mahāvratā (Ait. Ār. I. and V), Upaniṣad vrata and Godāna. Each vrata is to be performed for a year. Vide Laghu Āśvalāyana 11th section (Ānan. Ed). The Śān. 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 R̥gveda), the Śākvara, Vratika and Aupaniṣada vratas (which three precede the study of the different sections of the Aitareya Āraṇyaka). 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 (Śān. gr. II. 11. 10-12, S. B. E. vol. 29

900. एतेन चापनादि परिदानान्तं प्रतद्वेशनं व्याख्यातम् । आश्व. गृ. I. 22. 20.

p. 77). At the beginning of each of these three vratas there is a separate upanayana, followed by a ceremony called Uddik-
 ṣaṇikā (giving up the preparatory observances) and then the
 vrata is to be performed for one year. The Āraṇyaka 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 vratas as
 Godānika, Vratika, Āditya, Aupaniṣada, Jyeṣṭha-sāmika, each
 lasting for one year. It adds that some do not observe the
 Āditya-vrata. The godāna vrata is connected by the Gobhiliya
 with the saṃskāra 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 Vratika was introductory to the study of the
 Āraṇyaka (excluding Śukriya sections) ; the Āditya vrata to
 the study of the Śukriya sections ; the Aupaniṣada-vrata to the
 study of the Upaniṣad-brāhmaṇa ; the Jyeṣṭha-sāmika to the
 study of the Ājya-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 Śākvara
 vrata was kept for one year, or for three or six or nine. Those
 who observe this vrata study the Śākvari or Mahānāmni verses.
 Vratika⁹⁰¹ on Pāṇini V. 1. 94. (tadasya brahmacarya) mentions
 the Mahānāmni and teaches the derivation of Mahānāmnikam
 (as the period of brahmacarya devoted to the vrata of the
 Mahānāmni). There were certain peculiar observances for

901. The वार्तिक 1 and 2 on पा. V. 1. 94 are तदस्य ब्रह्मचर्यमिति महाना-
 म्नादित्य उपसंख्यानम् । तत्रतीति च ।; पतञ्जलि explains महानाम्नीनां ब्रह्मचर्यं
 महानाम्निकम् । आदित्यव्रतिकम् । ... महानाम्नीश्चरति माहानाम्निकः । आदित्यव्रतिकः ।
 ... महानाम्न्यो नामर्चो न च ताश्चर्यन्ते व्रतं तासां चर्यते तस्माद्ब्रह्मचर्याच्छब्दं भविष्यति ।
 महानाम्नीसहचरितं व्रतं महानाम्न्यो व्रतमिति । महानाम्न्यो 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 Mahānāmni 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 Mahānāmni⁹⁰² (viz. the three mantras, vidā maghavan, ābhiṣṭvam, evāhi śakro) 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 *mahāvyaḥrtis*; 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 Jyeṣṭhasāmika vrata (introductory to the study of the three Āyadohas⁹⁰³ viz. 'mūrdhānam divaḥ, 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 sūdra 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 hotāraḥ⁹⁰⁴, śukriyas, upaniṣadaḥ,

902. महानामनी are verses beginning with विदा मघवन् विदा which occur in ऐतरेय आरण्यक IV, in the जैमिनीयसंहिता of the सामवेद at II. 7 (ed. by Dr. Raghu Vira) and also in several other संहिताs.

903. The mantra मूर्धानं दिवः is at सामवेद I. 67 (and Rg. VI. 7. 1), त्वां विश्वे is at सामवेद II. 491 (and Rg. VI. 7. 4), नाभिं यज्ञानाम् is सामवेद 2. 492 (Rg. VI. 7. 2).

904. The होतारः or चतुर्वीतारः are the mantras in Tai. Ār. III. 1-5 beginning with चित्तिः शुक्लं चित्तमोज्यम्.

godānam and sammitam and it describes them in detail. For want of space all these are passed over. The *Saṁskāra-kaustubha* (pp. 571-580) gives in some detail the procedure of the *Mahā-nāmni vrata*, *Mahāvratā*, *Upaniṣadvrata* and *Godānavratā*. It states that the *Mahānāmni vrata* is performed in the 13th year from birth and *Godānavratā* in the 16th. It appears, however, that these *vratas* 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* ⁹⁰⁵ (p. 6) refers to *Sāvitrīvrata*, then the *vrata* for Vedic study and then the *Āraṇyaka vratas*. The *Mit.* on *Yāj.* I. 52 (*vedam vratāni vā pāram nitvā*) explains 'vrataṁ' as simply the duties of the student already enumerated by *Yāj.* (among which the specific *vratas* of *Mahānāmni* &c. do not figure).

If the student failed in observing the specific *vratas*, he had to perform *prāyaścitta* by undergoing the *prājāpatya* penance thrice or six times or twelve times. If the *brahmacārī* is guilty of failing in his daily duties of observing *śauca* and *ācamana*, of the performance of *samdhya* prayer, of using *darbhā*, 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 loincloth, the *yajñopavīta*, 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 *kṛcchras* (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).⁹⁰⁶ If he was guilty of other more serious lapses he

905. उपनयनादुपाकामन्तं सावित्रीव्रतं तत्संपूर्त्यर्थं विप्रसंन्यविषयान्धवभोजनं शक्यं कार्यम् । ततो वेदाद्भ्रतं तत्स्थायकव्रतानि भतिव्रतं वर्पनं च । व्रतान्ते भोजने भैक्ष्य-माहार्यम् । एतेषु व्रतेषु लोपे तारतम्येन त्रीन् षड् वा द्वादश वा प्राजापत्यंश्चरित्वा पुनश्च व्रतं प्रारभेत । ततोऽनन्तरं वोदययने वा शुक्लपक्षे कृष्णेऽहनि स्वाध्यायं प्रारभेत । स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 6.

906. बोधायनः । अत्र शौचाचमन-संस्थावन्दन-दर्शनाग्निप्रकार्यराहित्य-श्रद्धादि-स्पर्शनकौपीनकटिस्त-पत्रोपवीतमेखलादण्डाजिनादित्यागनिद्विवास्वापच्यत्रधारण-पादुकाव्या-रोहणवनमालाधारणोद्धतनासुलेपनाञ्जन-जलकोषाद्युत्तुष्ट-गीतवाद्याद्यभिरतिपाद्यङ्गादिसंभा-षणमङ्गचारिभ्रतलोपादितकालदोषपरिहारार्थं मङ्गचारि कृच्छ्रत्रयं श्रेयम् । महाश्वहति-होमं च कुर्वीत् । सं. प्र. p. 563.

had to undergo heavier penance. The most reprehensible act in a brahmācārī was to have sexual intercourse with a woman. The *Tai. Ār.* II. 18 speaks of the *prāyaścitta* for such a brahmācārī who is called *avakīrṇin*. *Gaut.* 25. 1-2 quotes the *Tai. Ār.* "they (the sages)⁹⁰⁷ say 'in how many (deities) the *avakīrṇin* enters; (the answer is) he enters the Maruts with his breath, Indra with his strength, *Ṛṇhaspati* 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 '*Kāmāvadrugdhosmi*' &c., place a fuel stick on fire, sprinkle water round the fire, offer the *yajñāvāstu* oblation (for which see *Gobhila gr.* I. 8. 26-29) and standing near the fire should worship fire thrice with the verse '*sam mā siñcantu*'. *Baud. Dh. S.* (IV. 2. 10-13) contains the same rules. *Jaimini*⁹⁰⁸ (VI. 8. 22) prescribes that ordinary (*laukika*) fire is to be used for the *paśu* to be sacrificed (viz. ass to *Nirṛti*, which is symbolic of the stupid lapse the student is guilty of) and *Śābara* quotes a Vedic passage that 'a brahmācārī who has become *avakīrṇin* should sacrifice an ass to *Nirṛti*'. *Āp. Dh. S.* I. 9. 26. 8, *Vas.* 23. 1-3, *Manu* XI. 118-121, *Yaj.* III. 280 contain similar provisions (*Vasiṣṭha* allowing in the absence of an ass oblations of boiled rice with the mantras mentioned by *Gautama*). *Manu* XI. 122-123 and *Viṣṇu Dh. S.* 28. 49-50 prescribe that the brahmācārī 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 brahmācārī who without being ill gives up begging for food and offering fuel to fire continuously for seven days. *Prāyaścitta* is prescribed for loss of *yajñopavīta* or its being torn, or its being polluted by impure things

907. तै. आ. II. 18 is 'कतिधावकीर्णो भविषति चतुर्थेत्याहुर्ब्रह्मवादिनो भवतः प्राणैरिन्द्रं बलेन बृहस्पतिं ब्रह्मवर्चसेनाग्निमेवेतरण सर्वेण ... यो ब्रह्मचार्यवाकरोदमावास्यायां रात्र्यामाग्निं मणीयोपसमाधाय द्विराज्यस्योपधातं जुहोति कामावकीर्णोऽस्म्यवकीर्णोऽस्मि काम कामाय स्वाहा । कामाग्निमुद्योत्यवद्रुग्धोऽस्मि काम कामाय स्वाहोति । ... हुत्वा भवताञ्जालिः कवातिर्यङ्गिभिमन्त्रयेत् सं मा सिञ्चतु भवतः समिन्द्रः सं बृहस्पतिः । सं मायमग्निः सिञ्चतु भजया च धनेन चेति । त्रिरभिमन्त्रयेत् । वरो दक्षिणा ... ।

908. अवकीर्णेष्वप्युक्तं तद्वधाधानस्याभासकालत्वात् । जै. VI. 8. 22 ; अत्यवकीर्णेष्वप्युक्तः । ब्रह्मचार्यवकीर्णो नेकेतं गर्दममालभेतेति । तत्र संदेहः । किं तदर्थमाधानं कर्तव्यमुक्तं लौकिकेष्वग्निषु तद्वतेति । ... तस्माद्विदुमपि कर्म लौकिकेष्वपि । शबर.

like blood &c. It consists in offering homa and wearing a new one. Vide Samskāra-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 upakurvīta) and the *naiṣṭhika*⁹⁰⁹ (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 (Bṛhaspati 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 Saṁgraha persons who are

909. निष्ठः means 'end or death' and नैष्ठिक is derived by the Mit. on Yāj. I. 49 as 'आत्मानं निष्ठं उत्क्रान्तिकालं नयतीति नैष्ठिकः'.

910. नयो धर्मस्कांश्चा यज्ञोऽध्ययनं दानमिति ग्रथमस्तप एव द्वितीयो ब्रह्मचार्याचार्य-कुलवासी तृतीयोऽत्यन्तमात्मानमाचार्यकुलेऽवसादयन् सर्व एते दुष्कलोका भवन्ति ब्रह्मसंस्थोऽ-धुतत्वमेति । छान्दोग्य उप. II. 23. 1. This is quoted by विश्वरूप 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. द्विविधो ब्रह्मचारी उपकुर्वाणो नैष्ठिकश्च । तयोश्च कुर्वाणको व्याख्यातः । निष्ठः खट्वलेदाशरीरनिपाताद्गुरवासीत । हारीत quoted by अपरार्क p. 71. ब्रह्मचार्याचार्य परिचरेदाशरीरविमोक्षणात् । आचार्ये च प्रेते अग्निं परिचरेत् । विज्ञायते ह्यग्निराचार्यस्तवेति । वसिष्ठ VII. 4-6. The words 'अग्निराचार्यस्तव' occur in the उपनयन ritual; vide पाररत्न II. 2.

912. कुञ्जवामनजात्यन्धक्रीचपङ्कतारोगिणाम् । मृतचर्या भवेत्तेषां यावज्जीवमनंशतः ॥ विश्वरूप quoted in अपरार्क p. 72 and स्मृतिच० I. p. 63; पङ्कतारोगिणामनंशत्वाद्दाम-ध्याच्च शास्त्रतः । नियतं नैष्ठिकत्वं स्यात्कर्मस्वनधिकारतः ॥ संग्रह quoted by स्मृतिच. 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 Kumārilaḥṭṭa 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 Madanapārijāta (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 ⁹¹³ that if a person undertakes to be a perpetual student, but falls from that ideal, there is no prāyaścitta for that lapse. Some interpret this as applying to one who becomes a samnyāsin 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 upakurvāṇa would have to undergo.

Patitasāvitrīka (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 gr̥hya 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 Sāvitrī (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 patitasāvitrīka or sāvitrīpatita and also vrātya (Manu II. 39 and Yāj. I. 38 call them so). These works ⁹¹⁴ 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. आरुढो नैष्ठिकं धर्मे यस्तु प्रच्यवते द्विजः । प्रायश्चित्तं न पश्यामि येन शुध्यति कर्मणा ॥ अत्रि VIII. 16 ; the संस्कारप्रकाश p. 564 ascribes a very similar verse to शातताप.

914. आ वोहशाद् ब्राह्मणस्यानतीतः कालः । आ द्वाविंशत्यान्त्रियस्य आ चतुर्विंशद्विंशस्य । अत ऊर्ध्वं पतितसावित्रीका भवन्ति । नैनाहुपनयेन्नाद्यापयेन्ना याजयेन्नाभिर्व्यवहरेयुः । आश्व. गृ. I. 19. 5-7 ; बौ. गृ. (reads विवहरेयुः for व्यवहरेयुः), वसिष्ठ reads विवाहरेयुः for व्यवहरेयुः ; पार. गृ. II. 5 has almost the same words.

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. 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 a 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 *patitasāvitrika* should either perform the Uddālaka vrata or should take a bath along with the performer of an Āśvamedha sacrifice or should perform the Vrātyastoma 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 Viṣṇu Dh. S. 54. 26 prescribe a mild prāyścitta for *patitasāvitrikas*, viz. three prājāpatya⁹¹⁶ penances; while Yāj. I. 38, Baud. gr. III. 13. 7, Veda-Vyāsa I. 21 and several others prescribe only the Vrātyastoma for those who are *patitasāvitrikas*. 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 Vrātyastoma is to be performed for him whose upanayana is not

915. पतितसावित्रिक उद्दालकव्रतं चरेत् । द्वौ मासौ यावकेन वर्तयेन्मासं पयसाप्यमास-
माभिक्षयादरात्रं घृतेन चक्षुरात्रमयाचितेन त्रिरात्रमभ्यक्षोदीरात्रमुपवसेत् । अभ्यक्षेद्यथ
यच्छेत् । प्रात्यस्तोमेन वा यजेत् । वसिष्ठ XI. 76-79.

916. For the prājāpatya vide मनु XI. 211 and या. III. 320. It lasts for 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. परतस्तु षोडशाहर्षाभ्यामव येन द्विजानां येदिति । एतद्वा द्वाविंशतेर्वर्षा-
व्युपनीतस्य ब्राह्मणस्य यदि त्वया दुपनयनकालादारभ्याष्टाचत्वारिंशद् वर्षाणि नोपनी-
तस्ततोऽपि प्रात्यस्तोमः । विश्वरूप on या. III. 262.

performed for forty-eight years from the first prescribed period (viz. 8th year, 11th year or 12th). The Mit. on Yāj. III. 262 also tries to introduce vyavasthā (order) in the contradictory dicta of the smṛtis. According to Gaut. 21. 11, Yāj. III. 234 and others *vṛātyatā* (being *patitasāvitrika*) 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 Yajus pavitra (Tai. S. I. 2. 1. 1=Rg. X. 17. 10), with the *sāmapavitra* and with the *mantra* called Āngirasa (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 ⁹²⁰ 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. अथ यस्य पिता पितामह इत्यनुपेसौ रयातां ते ब्रह्महंसस्तुताः । तेषामन्यायमनं भोजनं विवाहमिति वर्जयेत् । तेषामिच्छतां प्रायश्चित्तम् । यथा प्रथमेऽतिक्रमे ऋतुरेवं संवत्सरः । अथोपनयनम् । तत् उदकोपस्थानम् । प्रतिपूरणं संख्याय संवत्सरान्यावन्तोऽनुपेताः स्युः । सप्तभिः पावमानेभिर्भक्षेत् यच्च दूरक इत्येताभिर्भक्ष्यवित्रेण सामपवित्रेणाङ्गिरसेनेति । अपि वा त्याहतिभिरेव । अथाध्याप्यः । आप. घ. I. 1. 1. 28-I. 1. 2. 1-4. पावमानि verses are those that are addressed to Soma and according to some they are all the verses of the 9th maṇḍala of the Rgveda beginning with 'svādiṣṭhayā madiṣṭhayā' (vide Haradatta on Gaut. 19. 12 and Medhātithi on Manu V. 83). The अनुपवित्र is the मन्त्र 'आपोऽस्मान्मातरः शुधन्तु', सामपवित्र is the Sāman beginning with 'kayā nascitra bbbhuvat' which is Rg. IV. 31. 1 and occurs in all other Samhitās and the Āngirasa mantra is 'Hamsaḥ śuciṣaḥ' (Rg. IV. 40. 5).

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 पितामह, पितामह, पिता 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 saṁskāra performed as in the case of one who is himself *patilasāvitrika* and then his son will be one like other āryas'. Haradatta⁹²¹ 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 *patilasāvitrika*, their offspring (i. e. the fourth generation) is excluded from the sacrament of upanayana and he cannot be taught the Veda.'⁹²² So Pār. is more restrictive than Āpastamba.

There is a famous historical example of the application of these rules. Gāgābhaṭṭa, 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 Telang⁹²³ have found fault with Gāgābhaṭṭa

921. यस्य मपितामहस्य पितुरारम्य नाबुद्धमर्थत उपनयनं तत्र मायश्चित्तं नोक्तम् । धर्मज्ञैरुहितमप्य । एवं ततः पूर्वेष्वपि । हरदत्त on आप. घ. I. 1. 2. 10.

922. त्रिपुरवं पतितसावित्रीकाणामपत्येऽसंस्कारो नास्त्ययमं च । पार. श्र. II. 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

and the other brāhmaṇas of that time ; but these scholars are wrong and Gāgābhaṭṭa 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 *patitasāvitrika* the saṁskāras (from Garbhādhāna) 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 kṣatriyas and vaiśyas existed in the kali age. In some of the purāṇas it is said in a prophetic vein that Mahāpadma Nanda will destroy the kṣatriyas 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 kṣatriya 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 Pūru, 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 *śāstric* 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 Mahārāṣṭra 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.

Kalāpagrāma, are endowed with great yogic powers, will revive the kṣatriya race when the kṛta age will start again after the present kali age comes to an end and that some kṣatriyas 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 kṣatriyas in their times. The Śuddhitattva^{923a} of Raghunandana (p. 268) after quoting the Viṣṇupurāṇa IV. 23. 4 and Manu X. 43 declares that kṣatriyas existed till Mahānandi, that the so-called kṣatriyas of his day were śūdras and that similarly there were no vaiśyas also. In the Śūdra-Kamalākara occurs this verse 'The varṇas are brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas, vaiśyas 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^{923b}) in his Vratyātāprāyaścittanirṇaya (Chaukhamba Series) examines all the relevant Purāṇa passages and states as his conclusion that real kṣatriyas do not exist and so those, in whose families no upanayana had been performed for ten or twenty generations, are not kṣatriyas 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 smṛtis 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 nibandha-kāras (authors of digests and commentaries) discuss the privileges and duties of all varṇas. The author of the Mitākṣarā, who is rightly described as the best of all nibandha-kāras, nowhere says that kṣatriyas do not exist in the kali age. Numerous kings claimed to be descended from the Sun and the Moon. Hemādri in his Caturvargacintāmaṇi states that his patron was a scion of Somavarṇśa (vide H. Dh. vol. I p. 356 for quotations). The princes of Rajputana and Central India claimed to have sprung from the Agnikuṇḍa on Mount Abu, viz. of the

923 a. इदानीन्तनक्षत्रियाणामपि श्रद्धात्पमाह मनुः। शनकैस्तु... ब्राह्मणादर्शनेन च। अत एव विष्णुपुराणम्। महानन्दिस्तुतः श्रद्धागर्भोऽवोऽतिलब्धो महापक्षो नन्दः परशुराम इवापरोक्षलक्षत्रियान्तकारी भविता ततः प्रभृति श्रद्धा भूपाला भविष्यन्ति। इति। तेन महानन्दिपर्यन्तं क्षत्रिय आसीत्। एवं च क्रियालोपादेयानामपि तथा। शुद्धितत्त्व p. 268.

923 b. अथ कलावब्राह्मणत्वे सति शस्त्रग्रहणमजापालनमात्रेण क्षत्रियसादर्येण क्षत्रियपदव्यवहार्याणां दशविंशतिपुरुषपर्यन्तमस्मर्यमाणोपनयनानां तदग्रेपि तादृशानामुपनयनसंस्कारो भवति न वेति संदेहे निर्णयः क्रियते। तत्र नैव भवतीति निर्णयः। क्षत्रियसादर्येण तथा व्यवहारेपि सुरुषक्षत्रियत्वाभावात्। ब्राह्मणतामायश्चित्तनिर्णय p. 1.

four clans of Chohan, Parmar (or Paramāra), Solanki (or Cālukya), Paḍihar (or Pratihāra). 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 Pūrnapāla dated *saṃ.* 1099 (1042-43 A. D.) in E. I. vol. IX p. 10 and the inscription of Cāmuṇḍarāja dated *saṃ.* 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 Murdun 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 Kirātas, Andhras, Pulin-

das, Mātibas, that were described as *dasyus* 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^{923c} 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. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 64. 15 is to the same effect. Viṣṇu 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). Viṣṇu 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. Viśva-rūpa 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, Śakas spoke mleccha languages and also the language of the Āryas (mlecchavācāś-cāryavācāḥ sarve te dasyavaḥ smṛtāḥ). 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 pika (a cuckoo), nema (half), sata (a wooden vessel), tamarasa (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 Nighaṇṭu and Jaimini's conclusion is that they are to be understood in the same sense in which mlecchas employ them^{923d}. Pāṇini derives the word yavanāni

923 c. तेऽसुरा आत्तवचसो हेऽलवो हेऽलव इति वदन्तः परावभूदुः । तत्रैतामपि वाचमदुः । उपजिज्ञास्यो स स्लेच्छतस्मात्त आह्वयो स्लेच्छेदस्यो वैवा वाक् । शतपथ III. 2. 1. 23-24.

923 d. अथ याच्यवदानार्था न कस्मिंश्चिदर्थे आचरन्ति स्लेच्छास्तु कस्मिंश्चित्पुञ्जत यथा पिकनेमसततामरसादिशब्दास्तेषु सदेवः । किं निगमनिक कस्याकारणवशेन धातुतर्प्यः कल्पयितव्य उत यत्र स्लेच्छा आचरन्ति स शब्दार्थ इति । शबर on जै. I. 3. 10.

and Patañjali speaks of the siege of Śāketa 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 Tuṣāṣpha 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 Droṇaparva 119. 45-46 Yavana, Kamboja, Śaka, Śabara, Kirāta and Barbara are mentioned as one group fighting against Sātyaki. In Droṇa 119. 47-48 they are referred to as dasyus and as having long and flowing beards. In the Strīparva 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, *ahimsā*, *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, Khasas, Draviḍas on the same level with doing the same things with reference to nāṭa, nartaka, śvapāka &c. Aparārka p. 923 quotes Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya to the effect that the touch of Mlecchas is on the same level with that of cāṇḍāla, Bhilla and Pārasika.

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 Guhilots 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 *Vrātyastoma*. The *Tāṇḍya-Mahābrāhmaṇa* (or the *Pañca-vimśa*, as it is called from the number of *Adhyāyas*) describes four *vrātyastomas* 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 *vrātyastomas* were *ekāhas* (i. e. sacrifices taking one day only). *Tāṇḍya* 17. 1. 1 begins with the story that when the gods went to the heavenly world some dependents of theirs who lived the *vrātya* life were left behind on the earth. Then through the favour of the gods the dependents got at the hands of Maruts the *Ṣoḍaśastoma* (containing 16 *stotras*) and the metre (viz. *anuṣṭubh*) and then the dependents secured heaven. The *Ṣoḍaśastoma* is employed in each of the four *vrātyastomas*, the first of which (17. 1) is meant for all *vrātyas*, the 2nd is meant for those who are *abhiśasta* (who are wicked or guilty of heavy sins and so censured) and lead a *vrātya* life, the third for those who are youngest and lead a *vrātya* life, and the fourth who are very old and yet lead a *vrātya* life. Some of the passages convey a tolerably clear idea of what the *vrātyas* were like. Those who⁹²⁴ lead the *vrātya* life are base and are reduced to a baser state, since they do not observe student-hood (*brahmacarya*) nor do they till the soil nor engage in trade. It is by the *Ṣoḍaśastoma* that they

924. हीना वा एते दीयन्ते ये ब्राह्म्यां भवन्ति बहिः कृच्छ्रं चरन्ति न कुर्वन्ति यथाविश्यां पोटशो वा षतस्तोमः समाधुमर्हति ॥ ताण्ड्य 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 *vaiśyas* do. Another passage says 'those swallow poison who eat food of the common people as food fit for *brāhmanas*, [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 *Ṣoḍaśastoma* has the power to remove the guilt of these. That (in this rite) there are four *Ṣoḍaśastomas*, thereby they are freed from guilt.'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 *Vrātyastoma* described in the *Tāndya*. 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 *vrata*. 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 *vrāta* occurs in Rg. I. 163. 8, III. 26. 6, V. 53. 11. *Sāyaṇa* 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 *brāhmanas* that were solely devoted to their own rites and sacrifices. *Kātyāyanaśrauta* XXII. 4. 1-28 and *Āp. Śrauta* XXII. 5. 4-14 also deal with *Vrātyastoma*. *Kātyāyana* describes the four *vrātyastomas* and adds⁹²⁶ 'by performing the *vrātyastoma* sacrifice, they should cease to be *vrātyas* and become eligible for social intercourse with the orthodox *āryas*.' The *Pār. gr.* II. 5 quotes the last *sūtra* of *Kātyāyana* with the

925. गरगिरो वा एते ये ब्रह्माद्यं जन्ममजमद्वन्त्यदुःशतवार्यं दुःशतमाहुरद्वन्त्यं द्वाभेन
अन्त्यश्चरन्त्यदीक्षिता दीक्षितवाचं वदन्ति षोडशो वा एतेषां स्तोमः पाप्मानं निहन्तुमर्हति यदेते
चत्वारः षोडशा भवन्ति तेन पाप्मनोऽधिनिर्मुच्यन्ते । ताण्ड्य १७. १. ९. सायण explains
ब्रह्मणैर्भोज्यं जन्मं अनपदसंचयि अजमद्वन्ति ब्रह्मण्यर्पाकिलिप्तमजं बलात्कारेण
मुञ्जत इत्यर्थः ॥

926. नात्यस्तोमेनेष्टु । नात्यमावाहिरमेष्टुः । व्यवहार्या भवन्ति । कात्या० औतच्छ्र
XXII. 4. 27-28.

remark "for such persons he who desires to have the sacrament (saṁskāra 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'." 927

In the Vrātyatā-sūddhisamgraha provision is made⁹²⁸ for the purification of vrātyas even after twelve generations (vide pp. 7 and 22-24) and that work adds (p. 42) that the Vrātyastoma like the penance for an avakīrṇin is to be performed in the ordinary fire (laukika agni). 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 smṛtis. 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 spirituous liquor and incest. Even as regards these three, lesser penances were prescribed by some smṛtis as alternatives (e. g. vide Manu XI. 72, 74-8, 92, 108). When the sinner performed the prāyaścitta prescribed by the śāstras, 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

927. तेषां संस्कारेषु ब्राह्मण्यस्तोमेनेष्टु काममधीयीन् व्यवहार्या भवन्तीति वचनात् । पारस्कर गृ. II. 5.

928. एवं लौकिकानि श्वेवावकीर्णिनिषादस्थपतिवद् ब्राह्मण्यस्तोमस्य स्मार्तस्य सावित्री पतने भवन्तस्तु चित्तम् । ब्राह्मण्यताञ्जुद्धिसंग्रह p. 42 (Chaukhamba series); ब्राह्मण्यवर्ष-मन्त्रार्चयतादिनातिष्ठेसाक्षालस्यादिना वा सञ्जुदेयैकस्मिन्दिने पावमान्यादिभिः स्नानं करोति चेत्तर्हि तद्धिनमारभ्यैव स्मार्तधर्मपरिमहाधिकारः । ... कालातिक्रमे बहुकालरूपे पावक-मत्याश्नायचतुर्दशमाजापत्यानि ग्राह्याणि । पितृपितामहब्राह्मण्यतायां चतुर्दश माजापत्यान्येव भवेयुः कालदैर्घ्येनैवत्यादित्यनुसंधेयम् । ब्राह्मण्यताञ्जुद्धिसंग्रह p. 23.

intercourse when they performed the prescribed penances (patitānām tu caritavratānām pratyuddhārah). But if the sinner refused to undergo the prescribed prāyaścitta, then a peculiar procedure called ghaṭasphoṭa (breaking a jar) was prescribed. In such a case the sinner's relatives (sapinḍas) 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^{928a} (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 Pāla king Mahīpāla I granted a village to a brāhmaṇa of the Vājasaneyasākhā in honour of Lord Buddha (*E. I.* vol. 14 p. 324). Similarly the king Subhakaradeva who was a great devotee of Buddha (paramasaugata) granted two villages to 200 brāhmaṇas (Nulpur 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 Rājyavardhana who was a very devout Buddhist (paramasaugata). Vide the Madhuban copperplate Inscription in *E. I.* vol. I. p. 67 and *E. I.* vol. VII. p. 155. Uṣavādāta 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. 78 and p. 82). The Valabhi king Guhasena who was himself a Māheśvara (a Śaiva) made a grant of four villages to a bhikṣu-saṅgha. From the Paharpur plate of the Gupta year 159 (478-79 A. D.) it appears that a brāhmaṇa and his wife deposited three dīnāras 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 Rāṣtrakūṭa 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 Bellāla family (*E. I.* vol. XIII. p. 190). Vide Rice's 'Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions' pp. 113 and 207 for an account how a Vijayanagar king settled the dispute between Jainas and Śrivaishnavas 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) Heliodora (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. Allāṭa of the Guhila dynasty married a Hūṇa princess named Hariyadevi (I. A. vol. 39 p. 191), king Yaśaḥkarnadeva of the Kalacuri dynasty is said to have been the son of Karnadeva 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 *Fanindra 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 the 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 smṛtis. 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 smṛtikāras tackled with the problem of taking back such people. The Devala smṛti opens with a question by the sages put to Devala who was sitting on the banks of the Sindhu at ease as to how

928 b. 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.

brāhmaṇas and members of the other varṇas when carried off by Mlecchas were to be purified and restored to caste. The following verses of the Devala-smṛiti are very instructive on this point. Verses 7-10 declare that when a brāhmaṇa 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 *cāndrāyaṇa* and *parāka*, that a kṣatriya becomes pure by undergoing *parāka* and *pādakṛcchra*, a vaiśya by half of *parāka* and a śūdra by the penance of *parāka* for five days. Then verses 17-22 are most important ⁹²⁸. 'When persons are forcibly made slaves by Mlecchas, cāṇḍālas 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 *prājāpatya*, for one who had consecrated Vedic fires (and stayed one month or less) it is *cāndrāyaṇa* or *parāka*; for one who stays a year (with Mlecchas in this condition of things) it is both *cāndrāyaṇa* and *parāka*; a śūdra who stays (in this condition) for a month becomes pure by *kṛcchrapāda*; a śūdra who stays a year should drink *yāvaka* for half a month. The appropriate *prāyaścitta* should be determined by learned brāhmaṇas 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. बलादासीकृता ये च म्लेच्छाण्डालदस्तुभिः । अशुभं कारिताः कर्म गवादि-
माभिर्हितम् । उच्छिष्टभोजनं चैव तथा तस्यैव भोजनम् । स्त्रीपुत्रविदूषवहाद्याभामिषस्य च
भक्षणम् । तच्छीणां च तथा सङ्गं तामिष्य सह भोजनम् । मासोषिते द्विजातौ तु माजापत्यं
विशोधनम् । चान्द्रायणं त्वाद्विवाग्नेः पराकस्त्वथवा भवेत् । चान्द्रायणं पराकं च चरेत्संवत्सरो-
षितः । संवत्सरोषितः शूद्रो मासार्धं यावत् पिबेत् । मासमाशोषितः शूद्रः कृच्छ्रपादेन शुष्यति ।
ऊर्ध्वं संवत्सरात्कल्पं प्रायश्चित्तं द्विजोत्तमैः । संवत्सरेष्वमुष्ये च तद्भावमपि गच्छति ॥ देवल
17-22. These six verses are quoted as आपरवचन by the मिता on वा. III. 290
and by अपरार्क p. 1200 (who reads त्रिभिः संवत्सरेष्वामुष्ये in v. 22). These
six verses are quoted as देवल's in the प्रायश्चित्तविवेक of शूलपाणि (Jiv. ed.)
p. 455. सर्वज्ञनारायण on मनु. II. 180 appears to regard them as Devala's
as he says चतुर्वत्सरानियममन्त्र बलाद् गृहीतो म्लेच्छाद्यैरित्यादिदेवलस्य विद्वानादुक्तेयः ।
The first verse occurs in बृहद्यज V. 5 (Ānan. ed.) after which we read प्राय-
श्चित्तं च दत्तं तारतम्येन वा द्विजैः ॥ 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.^{928d} 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 *Cāndrāyaṇas*’. 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 *ucchiṣṭa* 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 *Pañcadaśī* (*Tṛptidīpa* v. 239) we have the following very significant passage^{928e} ‘just as a *brāhmaṇa* seized by Mlecchas and afterwards undergoing the appropriate *prāyaścitta* does not become confounded with Mlecchas (but returns to his original status of being a *brāhmaṇa*) so the Intelligent Soul is not really to be confounded with the body and other material adjuncts.’ This establishes that the great *Vidyāraṇya*, who after *Śaṅkarācārya*, 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 under-going *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*

928 d. वत्सरादूर्ध्वं वत्सराचतुष्टयं यावत्तावद्भागहारेण प्रायश्चित्तमुद्धनीयम् । तदूर्ध्वं तत्समवेन पतितत्वात् प्रायश्चित्ताभावाद् अरण्यम् । प्रायश्चित्तविवेक p. 456.

928 e. गृहीतो ब्राह्मणो म्लेच्छैः प्रायश्चित्तं चरन्तुनः । म्लेच्छैः संकीर्तते नैव तथा-भासः शरीरकैः ॥ पञ्चदशी (तृप्तदीप v. 239).

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 Āśv. ⁹²⁹ gr. (I. 22. 22-26) prescribes that in punarupanayana the cutting of the hair and production of intelligence (medhā-janana) 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 'tat savitur vṛṇīmahe' (Rg. V. 82. 1.). When a person in whose family one Veda is studied (e. g. the Rgveda) wants to study another Veda (e. g. Yajurveda), he had to undergo a fresh upanayana. The Āśv. gr. sūtra is interpreted in this way by some. Haradatta on Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 1. 10 says that as the Sāvitrī (i. e. Gāyatrī, Rg. 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* ⁹³⁰ (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. ⁹³¹ Gaut. 23. 2-5

929. अधीयेतपूर्वस्य । कृत्वाकृतं केशवपनं मेधाजननं च । अनिरक्तं परिदानम् । कालस्थे । तत्सविदुर्वृणीमहे इति सावित्रम् । आश्व. गृ. सू. I. 22. 22-26.

930. विनर्तना वसन्तेन कुक्ष्यपक्षे गलग्रहे । उपनीतस्त्वनध्याये पुनः संस्कारमर्हति । अपराद्धे चोपनीतः पुनः संस्कारमर्हति । मरद्वाज quoted in the संस्कारमध्याय, संस्कारकौस्तुभ p. 541 and संस्काररत्नमाला p. 282; सं. प्र. p. 547 quotes a similar verse from देवशवल्लभ.

931. The संस्कारकौस्तुभ (p. 536 with Marathi tr.) पुनःसंस्कारः पुनरुपनयनम् । तच्च त्रिविधम् । मत्प्रवायानिमित्ते मायश्चित्तत्वेन विहितम् । निमित्तविशेषेण कृतोपनयनस्य दूषादिघटानापत्तौ तत्कालार्थत्वेन विहितम् । वेदान्तराध्ययनचिकीर्षायां तदर्थत्वेन विहितमिति । The संस्कारकौस्तुभ (pp. 536-558) contains the most elaborate treatment of पुनरुपनयन.

prescribes the penance called Taptakṛcchra and punarupanayana for one guilty of drinking wine (surā) in ignorance or partaking of human urine, fæces 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 varṇas unknowingly drinks surā (wine) or fæces, he has to undergo punarupanayana' and says (II. 1. 29) that if a brahmacārī 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,⁹³² viz. Saurāṣṭra (Kathiawar), Sindhu, and Sauvīra (Sind and the territory to its south and east), Avantī (Ujjain), Dakṣiṇāpatha (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 palāśa on the fire and oblations of cooked food and ājya) and adds that in punarupanayana shaving, dakṣiṇā, girdle, staff, deer-skin, begging for food and vratas do not take place.

The Vaik. smārta (VI. 9-10) contains similar rules for punarupanayana.⁹³³ 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 prājāpatya.

Anadhyaṃya :—(cessation from Vedic study; holiday).

932. प्रतिषिद्धदेशगमनमित्येकेषाम् । अथाप्युदाहरन्ति । सौराष्ट्रं सिन्धुसौवीर-
मवन्तीं दक्षिणापथम् । एतानि ब्राह्मणो गत्वा पुनः संस्कारमर्हति ॥ बौ. श्र. परिभाषासूत्र
I. 12. 5-6.

933. पितृप्रेतयोरन्येषामुच्छिष्टभोजने मधुमत्स्यमांससूतकमेतकाण्यभोज्यभोजने च
पुनश्चपनयनं करोति । वै. स्म. VI. 9.

It appears that from very early times Vedic studies were stopped on various grounds. The Tai. Ār.⁹³⁴ II. 15 has a very important statement on this subject. 'Indeed as to this yajña (brahmayajña) 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 Śat. Br.⁹³⁵ 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 Brahmayajña. 'Therefore one knowing this should certainly repeat the Veda as Brahmayajña, when the wind blows, when lightning flashes, when it thunders or when there is a fall of thunderbolt, in order that *vaṣaṭkāras* may not be fruitless'. The Āp. Dh. S. (I. 4. 12. 3.) quotes the Vājasaneyi Brāhmaṇa (the Śatapatha) to the effect that "Vedic study is Brahmayajña; when it thunders, when lightning flashes, when there is a fall of the thunderbolt, when the wind blows, these are its *vaṣaṭkāras*; ⁹³⁶ 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.⁹³⁷

The subject of *anadhyāya* is discussed in the *grhya* and *dharmaśūtras* 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 Āp. Dh. S. (I. 3. 9. 4. to I. 3. 11), Gaut. 16. 5-49, Śāṅkhāyana gr. IV. 7 (S. B. E. vol. 29 pp. 115-118), Manu IV. 102-128, Yaj. I. 144-151. The subject is also treated

934. तस्य वा एतस्य यज्ञस्य द्वावनवधायौ यदात्माशुचिर्यज्ञेनः । तै. आ. II. 15. This is quoted by आश्व. गृ. III. 4. 7 'विज्ञायते तस्य द्वावनवधायौ यदात्माशुचिर्यज्ञेनः'. 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 उच्छिष्ट).

935. तस्य वा एतस्य यज्ञस्य चत्वारो वषट्कारा यद्वातो वाति विद्योतते स्तनयति अवरपूर्यति । तस्मादेवंवेद्वाते वाति विद्योतमाने स्तनयति अवरपूर्यत्यधीयते वषट्काराणां मच्छ्वट्काराय । शतपथब्राह्मण XI. 5. 6. 9. The words तस्मादेवं &c. are quoted by विश्वकर्म on या. I. 145.

936. The word '*vaṣaṭ*' or *svāhū* is uttered when making an offering to a deity. Thunder and lightning are said to be the *vaṣaṭkāras* of brahmayajña. Just as when the word *vaṣaṭ* is uttered some offering follows, so, when it thunders some Vedic text by way of brahmayajña should be repeated.

937. अपर्तो वर्षे त्रिरात्रं वैदिकेनाध्यायेनान्तरियात् । ऐ. आ. V. 3. 3.

at length in the Sm. C., Smṛtyarthasāra, the Samskāra kau-stubha (pp. 564-570), the Samskāra-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 (Paurṇamāsī 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 Hārta. Patañjali in the Mahābhāṣya (vol. II. p. 386) refers to anadhyāya on amāvāsyā and 14th tithi. There is a famous verse of the Rāmāyaṇa⁹³⁸ 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 Āṣāḍha, Kārtika and Phālguna. The Baud. Dh. S. I. 11. 42-43 quotes a verse⁹³⁹ ' (Vedic study on) the eighth tithi kills the teacher, 14th kills the pupil, 15th kills learning '. Manu (IV. 114) has a similar verse. Aparārka⁹⁴⁰ (p. 189) quotes from the Nṛsimhapurāṇa verses to the effect that there is to be no teaching (of the Veda) on Mahānavamī (9th of Āśvina, bright half), on Bharanī (i. e. the tithi when the moon is in Bharanī nakṣatra after Bhādrapada full moon), Akṣatatrīyā (3rd of Vaiśākha, bright half) and Rathasaptamī (7th of Māgha, bright half). Similarly there is to be anadhyāya on what are called *Yugādi* and *Manvantarādi tithis*. Yugādi tithis according to Viṣṇupurāṇa⁹⁴¹ and Brahmapurāṇa quoted by Aparārka (p. 425) are Vaiśākha-śukla trīyā, Kārtika śukla navamī, Bhādrapada kṛṣṇa trayodaśī and Māgha Pūrṇimā (they are respectively the beginnings of the four yugas, kṛta, tretā, dvāpara and kali). The Sm. C. (I. p. 53) quotes the Nāradyapurāṇa ' on the day when uttarāyaṇa and dakṣiṇāyaṇa first take place, on Viṣuva (the two

938. सा प्रकृत्यैव तत्त्वज्ञी तद्विद्योवाच कश्चिन्ना । प्रतिपत्याऽशीलस्य विद्येव तद्युतां गता ॥ सुन्दरकाण्ड 59. 32. प्रतिपत्सु चतुर्दश्यामष्टम्यां पर्वणोद्भवोः । शोचन्त्यायेऽस्य सर्वयो नाधीयते कदाचन ॥ हारीत in स्मृतिचं I. p. 57.

939. अथाप्नुदाहर्न्ति । हन्त्यष्टमी क्षुपाभ्यायं हन्ति शिष्यं चतुर्दशी । हन्ति पञ्चदशी विद्यां तस्मात्पर्वणि वर्जयेत् ॥ बौ. घ. सू. I. 11. 42-43.

940. दृष्टिद्वयुपायात् । महानवम्यां द्वादश्यां भरण्यामपि चैव हि । तथाशततृतीयायां शिष्टाकाश्यापयेद् द्विजः ॥ भाष्यभासे तु सप्तम्यां रथाख्यायां तु वर्जयेत् । अपरार्क p. 189 and स्मृतिचं I. p. 58. These occur in दृष्टिद्वयुपाय 58, 109-110.

941. The verses on युगादितिथिः are विष्णुपुराण III. 14. 13. ff. The मत्स्य-पुराण (17. 4-5) gives similar verses. Vide स्मृतिचं I. p. 59 for these verses. According to some Māgha Amāvāsyā is कलियुगादितिथिः.

days in the year when the day and night are equal), on the tithis when Viṣṇu sleeps and awakes from sleep (i. e. Āṣāḍha-śukla-ekādaśī and Kārtika-śukla-ekādaśī), on Yugaḍī and Manvāḍī tithis there is *anadhyāya*. The tithis on which the fourteen manvantaras are supposed to begin are quoted below.⁹⁴² According to a purāṇa passage quoted in the Sm. C. (I. p. 58) there is *anadhyāya* on *Sopapadū* tithis⁹⁴³ (viz. Jyestha śukla 2, Āśvina śukla 10, and Māgha śukla 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*.⁹⁴⁴

Yāj. (I. 148-151) speaks of 37 *tātkālika 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 *sūdra* 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. आश्वयुक्ताशुक्लनवमी कार्तिकेया द्वादशी सिता । तुलीया चैत्रमासस्य तथा भाद्रपदस्य च ॥ फाल्गुनस्य त्रिमासास्या पुष्यस्यैकादशी सिता । आषाढस्यापि दशमी माघमासस्य सप्तमी ॥ आषाढस्याष्टमी कृष्णा । आषाढस्यापि पौर्णिमा । कार्तिकी फाल्गुनी चैत्री ज्येष्ठा पञ्चदशी सिता ॥ मन्वन्तरादयश्चैते दत्तस्याक्षयकारकाः ॥ मत्स्यपुराण 17. 6-8 quoted in the स्मृतिचन्द्र I. p. 58; vide also स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 9.

943. ज्येष्ठे शुक्लद्वितीया तु आश्विने दशमी सिता । चतुर्थी द्वादशी माघे एताः सोपपदाः स्मृताः ॥ quoted in स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 8; संस्कारमयूख quotes it as from फालादशे.

944. उदयास्तमये वापि सुहृत्त्रयमासि यत् । तद्दिनं तद्दोरात्रमनध्यायविदो विदुः । स्मृत्यर्थसार 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 vīṇā), bherī (a drum), mṛdaṅga, garīa (a chariot) and the distressed. Manu (IV. 123-124) explains that when a sāman is heard, one should not study any portion of the Rgveda or Yajurveda, because the gods are the devatās of Rgveda, the Yajurveda deals with men (it enjoins actions to be done by men), Sāmaveda has the pitṛs as its deities; hence its sound has something of the impure or uncanny about it. Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 11. 27 prescribes⁹⁴⁵ 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 cāṇḍāla 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, Viṣṇu 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. अग्ने चानर्तो सूर्याचन्द्रमसोः परिवेष इन्द्रवज्रः प्रतिसूर्यमत्स्यश्च वाते वृत्तिगन्धे नीहारे च सर्वेष्वेतेषु तावत्कालम् । आप. ध. सू. 1. 3. 11. 27; रोहितेन्द्रधनुर्नीहारेषु । अग्नेर्वाग्ने चानर्तो । गौ. 16. 9-10; 'प्रतिसूर्यमत्स्यश्च' is explained by इन्द्रवज्र इन्द्रवज्रसमीपे तदाकृतिः प्रतिसूर्यः मत्स्यः पुच्छवज्रश्चन्द्रम् । समाहारश्चन्द्रे चान्द्रमसो लिङ्गपरवयः ।

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 ghatikās (Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 11. 28) or when there is the howling of gālāvṛka (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 Saṁhitā 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 śrāddha food or accepts a gift on śrāddha (except in Ekoddiṣṭa śrāddha); 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 Ekoddiṣṭa śrāddha 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 Kauśika sūtra 140 and other works. The banner was raised usually in Bhādrapada (or sometimes in Āśvina) on the 12th of the bright half when the moon was in conjunction with uttarāṣāḍhā, śravaṇa or dhanīṣṭhā constellation and it was taken down in the same month on the bharaṇī constellation (vide Sm. C. I. p. 59). According to the Brhat-Saṁhitā (chap. 43) of Varāha this festival lasted from the 8th to the 12th day of Bhādrapada śukla. Manu (IV. 119) prescribes anadhyāya for a day and night on the Aṣṭakā days²¹⁶ and on the last day of each of the six ṛtus (seasons).

216. The aṣṭakā homa was performed on the 8th of the dark half of the four months from Mārgaśīrṣa (according to Āśv. gr. II. 4. 1) or (according to others) of three months of Pauṣa, Māgha and Phālguna. 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 ākālika⁹⁴⁷ 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 brāhmanas 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 Aṣṭakās and on the death of near agnates (like brother, nephew &c.) there is anadhyāya for three days⁹⁴⁸ (Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 10. 2-3). Gaut. (6. 38-41) is similar to Āp. The Hārīta dharmasūtra⁹⁴⁹ prescribes anadhyāya for three days on the death of one's upādhyāya, or of the king or of a śrotriya 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.

947. The नितान् on या. I. 147 derives the word as follows 'निमित्त-कालाद्वारम्भापर्यन्तं एव कालस्तावत्कालः आकालः तत्र भव आकालिकोऽनध्यायः'.

948. वैरमणे शुक्लवैद्य औपाकरण इति ग्रन्थाः । तथा संवत्सेषु ज्ञातिषु । आप. घ. I. 3. 10. 2-3. उपाकरण (उपाकर्म) and उत्सर्ग (वैरमण) will be explained later. The sūtra तथा.....ज्ञातिषु applies to a ब्रह्मचारी since others have to observe अनध्याय on the death of agnates till kṣauca lasts. In this last case अनध्याय begins on the day of death. In उपाकरण or उत्सर्ग the three days are the day previous to them, the day following them and the one on which that rite is performed.

949. अत एव हारीतः । उपाध्याये राजनि च मृते ओत्रिये सनह्मचारिणि च चन्द्रा-र्कयो राहुवर्जने शकश्च जपतन आचार्ये च मृते त्रिरात्रम् । इति । अपरार्क p. 190. The ओत्रिय, as या. I. 144 says, must be one who has studied the same śākhā.

Manu (IV. 110 and 119) prescribes anadhyāya for three days on accepting invitation for *ekoddiṣṭa śrāddha*, 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 prescribes⁹⁵⁰ three days' anadhyāya on the death of one's father. This rule must be taken as referring only to a brahmacāri. 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 Smṛtyarthasāra (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 Yama⁹⁵¹ that there can be no Vedic study under the shade of certain trees like Śleṣmātaka, Śālmali (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.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), mānasa (revolving

950. पितर्युपरते त्रिरात्रम् । जी. ध. I. 11. 3-2 ; आचार्ये मृते त्रिरात्रम् । आचार्यपुत्र-
श्लेषभाष्यार्थवद्दोरात्रम् । वसिष्ठ 13. 39-40.

951. श्लेष्मातकस्य छायायां शाल्मलिर्मधुकस्य च । कदाचिदपि नाध्येयं कोविदार-
कमित्यथोः ॥ यम quoted by अपरार्क p. 192. In the परा. मा. I. 1. p. 158 this
is quoted as from the कूर्मपुराण.

952. अतिविचं च धास्मरन्ति । जी. 16. 49 ; यद्येकमन्यद्वतः परितस्तु । आप. ध.
स. I. 3. 11. 34.

the Veda in the mind). Baud. Dh. S. I.⁹⁵³ 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. Śrautasūtra⁹⁵⁴ (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. Jaimini⁹⁵⁵ (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 Brahma-yajña (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 āngas like grammar, Nirukta &c.) helpful to (understanding of) the Veda, the obligatory svādhyāya (i. e. brahmayaajña) and the mantras to be used in homa. Śaunaka⁹⁵⁶ 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 kāmya rites, in sacrifices or in the pārāyana (repeating the Veda already learnt); the anadhyāya rules apply only to the first learning of Vedic mantras and to their teaching. The Smṛtyarthasāra⁹⁵⁷ (p. 10) says that those who have a slippery memory or those who have to commit to memory extensive Vedic texts

953. अन्येषु चाहुतोत्पातेषु अहोरात्रमनध्यायोऽन्यत्र मानसात् । मानसेषु जनन-
मरणयोरनध्यायः । जी. घ. सू. I. 11. 40-41; मानसमध्यस्थानि । गौ. 16. 46; मनसा
चानध्याये । आप. घ. सू. I. 3. 11. 20.

954. स्वाध्यायेऽनध्यायो मन्त्राणां न कर्मण्यर्थान्तरत्वात् । आप. श्रौ. 24. 1. 37.

955. मन्त्राणां कर्मसंयोगात्स्वधर्मेण प्रयोगः स्वाद्धर्मस्य तज्जिभित्तत्वात् । विद्यां प्रति
विधानाद्वा सर्वकालं प्रयोगः स्वात्कर्मार्थत्वात्प्रयोगस्य । जै. XII. 3. 18-19. The first
sūtra contains the पूर्वपक्ष view; compare विद्यां प्रत्यनध्यायः श्रूयते न कर्मयोगे
मन्त्राणाम् । आप. घ. I. 4. 12. 9.

956. नित्ये जपे च काम्ये च कतौ पारायणेपि च । नानध्यायोऽस्ति वेदानां ग्रहणे
ग्रहणे स्मृतः । शौनक in स्मृतिच० I. p. 61; vide similar verses in स्मृत्यर्थसार
p. 11.

957. तथा विस्मृतिशीलानां बहुवेदप्रपाठिनाम् । चतुर्वेदशस्त्री-पर्यप्रतिपक्षजितेषु तु ।
वेदाङ्गस्यायमीमांसाधर्मशास्त्राणि चाप्यसेत् । स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 10

should study the Vedāṅgas, nyāya (logic), mīmāṃsā and dharmaśāstras on all anadhyāyas except on 1st, 8th, 14th and full moon and new moon days. Some digests quote a verse from the Kūrmapurāṇa⁹⁵⁸ 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 *tithis* 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 *naimittika* anadhyāyas. Even now these *nitya* anadhyāyas are observed by *vaidikas* and by *Pandits* in their Sanskrit schools (particularly *amāvāsyā*).

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 that⁹⁵⁹ 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.

Keśānta 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 *keśānta*, while Āśv. gr., Śān. gr., Gobhila and other *grhyasūtras* employ the word *godāna*. In the Śat.⁹⁶⁰ Br. while speaking of the *dikṣā* (consecration of the performer

958. अनध्यायस्तु नाङ्गेषु नेतिहासपुराणयोः । न धर्मशास्त्रेष्वन्येषु पर्वण्येतां नि वर्जयेत् ॥ quoted from कूर्मपुराण by निर्णयसिन्धु. This is कूर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्ध) 14. 82-83 and औशनसस्मृति (Jiv. ed. I. p. 517)

959. यमोदिते । आयुः प्रजां पशून् मेधां कुरुते हि सुकृतं च यत् । अनध्यायेष्वन्यसतो ब्रह्मत्याहरतस्तथा ॥ स्मृतिच० I. p. 61. Vide two similar verses quoted in स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 8.

960. स दक्षिणमेवाग्ने गोदानमभ्युनक्ति । इतपथ 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 smṛtikāras say that this saṃskāra was performed in the 16th year. According to Śāṅ. 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, kṣatriya 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 ⁹⁶¹ (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 ⁹⁶² (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. ⁹⁶³ Following this rule the Mīt. 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, ⁹⁶⁴ while Aparārka says that it is to be performed in the 16th year from birth. Viśvarūpa ⁹⁶⁵ 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. Nārāyaṇa on Āśv. gr. I. 22, 3 notes that according to some godāna takes

961. एते खलु तत्कालकृतगोदानमङ्गलश्चित्वासे भ्रातरो विवाहदीक्षिता यूयम् ।
उत्तररामचरित I.

962. चूडाकरणं च गोदानेन व्याख्यातम् । कौशिकसूत्र 54. 15.

963. गर्भादिसेख्या वर्षाणां तदष्टमेषु ब्राह्मणमुपनयति । बौ. ध. सू. I. 2. 7.

964. केशान्तः पुनर्गोदानाख्यं कर्म गर्भादारभ्य षोडशे वर्षे ब्राह्मणस्य कार्यम् । एतच्च द्वादशवार्षिके वदन्ते बौद्धस्यम् । इतरस्मिन्पक्षे यथासंभवं द्रष्टव्यम् । राजन्यवैश्ययोस्तुपुन-
यनकालवद्द्वादशे चतुर्विंशे वा द्रष्टव्यम् । भित्ता on या. I. 36.

965. On केशान्तश्चैव षोडशे 'केशान्तस्तु सर्वपक्षेषु षोडश एवादे कर्तव्यः । चराचर-
शाब्दस्यार्थः । एवकारस्योत्कर्षः ।'..... यदा पुनः माक् षोडशाब्दात्कर्तव्यमपि नितस्तदा काल-
भातावमुपनीतस्य तदभावः । विश्वरूप 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 keśānta follows the procedure of cūdākarana with a few differences. The Āśv. gr. (I. 18. 1-9) points these out. Caula is performed in the 3rd year, while godāna is performed in the 16th. Āśv. gr. further says "wherever the word keśa occurs (in the mantras or procedure of caula) he should employ the word śmaśru (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"⁹⁶⁶. Nārāyaṇa 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. Nārāyaṇa says that the instruction referred to is the one mentioned in Āśv. gr. I. 22. 20 from 'cutting the hair' to 'giving in charge' i. e. from Āśv. 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 (mentioned⁹⁶⁷ in Āśv. gr. I. 22. 17) or that he is not to shave himself for a year, 12 days, 6 days or at least 3 days. Pār. gr., Śāṅkhāyana and several others allowed the fee of only one cow⁹⁶⁸. 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 vaiśyas respectively. According to

966. In आश्व. गृ. I. 17. 7 the mantra in चौल is अदितिः केशान् वपतु; instead of it the mantra in godāna is 'अदितिः इमंशृणि वपतु'. In चौल आश्व. (I. 17. 8) prescribes the laying of kuśa bunches on to the right side of the hair; in गोदान the kuśa is laid on the beard (before it is cut). In चौल the edge of the razor is wiped with the mantra 'यत्कुशेण मर्चयता सुपेशसा वसा वपसि केशान् । शुन्धि शिरो मास्यायुः प्रमोषीः (आश्व. गृ. I. 17. 15); instead in गोदान, the mantra is यत्...वपसि इमंशृणि ॥ शुन्धि शिरो मुखं मास्या &c. In this way ऊह (necessary changes in the words) is to be made. In चौल in आश्व. I. 17. 16 the direction to the barber is 'शीतोष्णामिन्द्रिरवर्थं कुर्वाणोऽ-शुष्वन्कुशलीकुश'; in गोदान it is 'शीतो...शुष्वन् कुशली केशश्मश्रुलोभनस्त्रान्युद-क्कंसंस्थानि कुश'.

967. अत ऊर्ध्वमक्षारलवणाक्षी ब्रह्मचार्यघःशायी त्रिरात्रं द्वादशरात्रं संवत्सरं वा । आश्व. गृ. I. 22. 17.

968. मां केशान्ते संवत्सरं ब्रह्मचर्यमवपेनं च केशान्ते द्वादशरात्रं बह्वरात्रं त्रिरात्र-मन्ततः । पारस्कर गृ. II. 1; संवत्सरं कृतगोदानो ब्रह्मचर्यं चरति । भारद्वाजगृह्य I. 10.

Gobhila and Khādīra 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, Khādīra 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 saṁskāra gradually went out of vogue, so much so that most of the medieval digests like the Sm. C., the Saṁskāraprakāśa, and the Nirṇayasindhu 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 saṁskāra, while Āśv. 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 Khādīra 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 brahmacārin all his life need not undergo this saṁskāra. 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. Medhātithi⁹⁶⁹ (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 समावर्तनं विवाहाङ्गम् । तेन यः पितृश्रुह एवाधीतवेदस्तस्यासमावृत्तस्य संभवत्येव विवाहः । केचित्समावर्तनं विवाहाङ्गं स्नानं मन्यन्ते । क्त्वाश्रुत्या भेदप्रतिपत्तिरिति चेद्वै तर्हि समावर्तनं विवाहाङ्गं स्नानसंस्कारं वदयति । अथवा यमनिश्चयमपिमात्रं समावृत्तिवचनम् । मेधा. on मनु III. 4.

in the ceremonial bath. If it be said that the gerundial termination (tvā in snātvā in Manu II. 4) conveys distinction between snāna and samāvartana, the reply is that Manu will later on speak of samāvartana as the saṁskāra of snāna.

Āp. gr. 12. 1 begins its treatment with the words 'vedam adhītya snāsyau' (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 adhītya snāsyau' 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 brahmachārin (S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 137). Similarly the Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 14. 13 quotes a Brāhmaṇa 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. वेदमधीत्य स्नात्यस्य क्लृप्त्युक्तं समावर्तनम् । बौ. गृ. II. 6. 1. अधीत्य स्नात्वा शुभमिच्छन्नातेन खट्वारोदन्त्या । महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 384.

971. सह स्नानान्तरेवासिनः समावर्तयन्तं ह स्मैव न समावर्तयति । छान्दोग्य IV. 10. 1 ; आचार्यकुलहरेदमधीत्य यथाविधानं शुरोः कर्मातिशेषिणाभिसमावृत्य कुटुम्बे । छान्दोग्य VIII. 15. 1.

972. न ह वै ज्ञात्वा भिक्षत । शतपथ ब्रा. XI. 3. 3. 7. This is quoted by the बौ. घ. सू. I. 2. 53 (along with other passages of the same ब्राह्मण)

973. The गोपथब्रा. (पूर्वार्ध IV. 6) also distinguishes between स्नातक and ब्रह्मचारी 'अथ तमन्यस्नातको वा ब्रह्मचारी वा दीक्षयति न पूतः पावयेदित्याहुः'.

974. वेदमनधीयन् स्नातको भवति यथन्यद्वयकधीयात् । ऐ. आ. V. 3. 3 ; महर्षे श्रुतं स्नातको भवतीति विज्ञायते । आश्व. गृ. III. 9. 8.

has not studied this (mahāvratā) does not become a (true) snātaka, even though he may have learnt a good deal else.' The Āśv. 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 finishes his Vedic study. The Āśv. 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 Gobhila (III. 5. 21-22), Baud. gr. paribhāṣā sūtra I. 15, Hārīta and others to be of three kinds, viz vidyāsnātaka (or Veda-snātaka as Baud. gr. paribhāṣā has it), vrataśnātaka and vidyā-vrataśnātaka (or veda-vrata-snātaka as in Baud.). One who has finished Veda study, but has not gone through the vrataś (described above) is called vidyā-snātaka; one who has finished the vrataś, but has not finished his Veda study is styled vrata-snātaka; while one who has finished both is named vidyā-vrata-snātaka. Yāj. I. 51 in saying that a student 'after finishing Veda (study) or the vrataś (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. विद्यान्ते शुक्रमर्थेन निमग्नं कृत्वाऽनुज्ञातस्य वा स्नानम् । आश्व. गृ. III. 9. 4.; वेदं समाप्य स्नायाद् ब्रह्मचर्यं वाटाचलारिणो द्वादशकेप्येको शुष्णाऽनुज्ञातः । पारस्करगृह्य II. 6.

976. त्रयः स्नातका भवन्ति विद्यास्नातको व्रतस्नातको विद्याव्रतस्नातक इति । समाप्य वेदमसमाप्य व्रतं यः समावर्तते स विद्यास्नातकः समाप्य व्रतमसमाप्य वेदं यः समावर्तते स व्रतस्नातक उभयं समाप्य यः समावर्तते स विद्याव्रतस्नातक इति । पारस्करगृह्य II. 5; हारीत as quoted in स्मृतिच. I. p. 66 is the same.

vratas. Medhātithi 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. Āp. 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 gr̥hastha⁹⁷⁷. As long as a person is not married after he takes the bath, he has to follow the observances prescribed for snātakas and gr̥hasthas so far as applicable to his position but not those of a student. Gaut.⁹⁷⁸ (IX. 1-2) makes the position quite clear by prescribing the same rules of conduct for gr̥hasthas and for snātakas. He also states (in III. 9) that whatever rules laid down for brahmācārins 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 brahmācārī 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. paribhāṣā I. 14, Pār. gr. II. 6 and Gobhila gr. III. 4-5. A concise statement is given below from Āśv. 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 जायासङ्गमात्स्नातका भवन्त्यत ऊर्ध्वं गृहस्थाः । बौ. गृ. परिभाषा I. 15. 10.

978. Vide हरदत्त on गौतम IX. 2 (स्नातकश्च) 'ब्रह्मचर्याग्निवृत्तत्वाद्गृहस्थ्य-
द्यतिरिक्ताश्रमान्तराभावाच्च भार्याधिगमादूर्ध्वमिति पूर्ववृत्तमारव्यम् । स्नातकस्य तु भार्या-
धिगमासंभवे यावज्जीवं गृहस्थधर्मा एवावुत्तेषा इति सूत्रमारव्यम् । हरदत्त on आप. ध. I. 11. 30. 6 (अथ स्नातकः) says that some of the स्नातकव्रतस are common to गृहस्थस. According to हरदत्त on आप. ध. I. 11. 30. 3 व्रतानि in व्रतस्नातक does not stand for the special व्रतस like महानाम्नी, but for the general observances such अग्निधन, भैक्षचर्या.

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 should⁹⁷⁹ alter the mantras (of *godāna*) so that they refer to himself. (He should rub himself) with the powder of *Ekaklitaka*.⁹⁸⁰ 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'⁹⁸¹ with fat splendour' (*Rg. 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 *vaiśya* 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 *sraja* (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 'ओषधे त्रायस्वैनं स्वधिते मेनं हिंसीः' (आश्व. गृ. I. 17. 8-9) repeated in *चौल* and *गोदान* (by the *आचार्य*) the student should himself repeat the mantra as 'ओषधे त्रायस्व मां स्वधिते मा मा हिंसीः'. Instead of the mantra 'श्रुन्धि शिरो शुक्लं मास्यायुः प्रमोषीः' repeated by the *आचार्य* in *गोदान*, the student should himself say 'श्रुन्धि शिरो शुक्लं मा मे आयुः प्रमोषीः'.

980. 'करञ्जवृक्षस्य यत्रैकं बीजं तदेककृत्तम् । तत्पेषयित्वा तेनोन्मर्दनं कारयेत् ॥' *नारायण* on *आश्व. गृ. III. 8. 8*. It is the seed of the *करञ्ज* tree which contains only one grain that is to be powdered.

981. The mantra *युवं वज्राणि* 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.

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 jewel⁹⁸² with the hymn beginning with 'āyusyam',⁹⁸³ 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.⁹⁸⁴ 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 vrataśnātaka (and has not studied the Veda) is performed silently (i. e. without the mantras prescribed). The other grhya sūtras have a similar procedure in samāvartana, only the mantras sometimes differ and a few details are added.

982. Nārāyaṇa on Āśv. gr. I. 8. 16 says that the 'maṇi' is 'suvarṇamaya (made of gold). Āp. gr. 12. 8 speaks of 'maṇim sauvarṇam sopadhānam' (a golden bead with two precious stones on two sides).

983. This sūkta is a khila sūkta in the Rgveda. It occurs in the अ०. म. पृ. II. 8. It is in praise of gold.

984. Nārāyaṇa adds on Āśv. gr. III. 8. 16 that he should keep aside his shoes and then offer the fuel-stick. Stenzler conjectures अ० for अ० in अ०. गृ. 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 'āyusyam' which is the first verse of the Khilasūkta after Rg. X. 128. The erstwhile student is to offer samidhs sitting and not standing and end the rite with the offering to Sviṣṭakṛt Agni.

For example, Śān. 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 brahmācārī are to be thrown into water. The Laghu-Āśvalāyana-smṛti (14th section) appears to suggest that godāna and samāvartana take place on the same day and that at the end of the homa in samāvartana a student of the R̥gveda should unloosen the girdle of muñja grass with the mantra 'ud uttamam mumugdhi' (R̥g. I. 25. 21). It is for this reason that in the Maratha country samāvartana is called 'soḍmuñja' (rite in which the muñja 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. paribhāṣā sūtra 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 Rohiṇī, Mṛgaśīras, Tisya (Puṣya), Uttarā Phalgunī, Hasta, Citrā, or Viśākhā. The Baud. gr. paribhāṣā (I. 13. 3-9) omits Mṛgaśīras out of these, while Bhār. gr. (II. 18) omits Rohiṇī and Mṛgaśīras 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 Saṁskāraprakāśa 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 gr̥hasthas 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. Āśv. 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 śruti)'. Āp. 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 śāstras 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 kṣatriya descent or who sets at naught the dictates of the śāstras (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, cāṇḍālas 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 pradakṣiṇā), 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=Śāntiparva 244, 14-16, Yāj. I. 157-158); he should carry a bamboo stick, a water jar, kuśa grass, wear two yajñopavītas, 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. Dh. 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. Dh. 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 pādūkās or tooth-brush made of palāśa (Vas. XII. 34, Gaut. IX. 44, Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 32. 9); he should wear a wreath (of flowers) and ointment so as not to be easily noticed (Āp. Dh. 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. Dh. S. I. 11. 31. 20); he should not be *kulamkula*⁹⁸⁵ and should not

985. कुलकुल is variously explained. हारदत्त on शौ. 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 'Indradhanuḥ' for it, but the word 'mapidhanuḥ' (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 'puṇya or praśasta'; 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 resort⁹⁸⁶ 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,

986. शुद्धाच्च शुद्धाचरितांश्च देशान्च न सेवेत् । समाः समाजांश्च । आप. घ. I. 11. 32. 18-19. Compare आप. घ. सू. I. 1. 3. 12 समाः समाजांश्चागन्ता (ब्रह्मचारी). समाज is defined in the कामसूत्र I. 4. 27 as 'पक्षरय मासरय वा प्रज्ञातेहनि सरस्वत्या भवने नियुक्तानां नित्यं समाजः । कुशीलवास्यागन्तवः प्रेक्षणकमेवां दृष्टुः ।' In the Rock Edict No. 1 at Girnar (C. I. I. vol. 1) Devānām Priya orders that no samāja be held as he saw grave faults in it 'न च समाजो कर्तव्यो बहुकं हि दोषं समाजं हि पसति देवानां प्रियो &c.' In the Nasik cave Inscription No. 2 Gotamiputa is described as समाजकारक (E. I. vol. VIII. p. 60). समाज may mean 'festival'. Vide Yāj. I. 84.

engage in dalliance with his wife, engage⁹⁸⁷ 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 *prāyaścitta* 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 *kṣatriya* *snātakas* only, that the *prāyaścitta* 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 *Saṃskārakaustubha* (p. 607) prescribes a very brief procedure for *samāvartana* when the *brahmacārī* is ill. It consists in the *brahmacārī* 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 *śrotriya* and placing it on some place according to the rules, then contemplating on *Prajāpati* and putting the *samīdh* (fuel-stick) on fire.

As a *brahmacārī* 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).

987. आहारनिहरिविहारयोगाः सुसंयुता धर्मविदा तु कार्याः । पाण्डुर्द्विवर्षाणि तप-
स्तथैव घनायुषी युसतमे तु कार्ये ॥ वसिष्ठ VI. 9; आयुर्वित्तं गृहच्छिद्रं मन्त्रो भैरुनमौषधम् ।
पापकर्मापमानञ्च धर्मो गोप्यानि यत्नतः ॥ अगोप्यभुणक्षुद्भिश्च दानाचमनाविक्रयः । कन्यादान
वृषोत्सर्गो रक्षः पापं युज्यन्ति तम् ॥ दृष्टा III. 15-16. All are quoted in the गृहसंस्कारनाकर
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 saṁskāra, 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.⁹⁸⁸ Āp. 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 *muni*, 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 parivrājah) where he employs the word 'parivrāj' to indicate 'mauna.' Āp. places the householder first among the āśramas, probably on account of the importance of that stage to all other āśramas. Why he should mention the stage of forest hermit last is not clear. Gaut. also (III. 2) enumerates the four āśramas as brahmacārī, gr̥hastha, bhikṣu and vaikhānasa. Here also Gaut. speaks of bhikṣu before vaikhānasa and Haradatta⁹⁸⁹ explains this departure from the usual sequence of āśramas as due to the words in Gaut. 28. 47 where we read 'prāg-uttamād traya āśramiṇaḥ' (persons belonging to the three āśramas except the last may constitute a *pariṣad*), i. e. to exclude vaikhānasa from the *pariṣad* he is mentioned last. Why the vānaprastha is called vaikhānasa will be discussed later on under the former word. Vas. Dh. S. (VII. 1-2) names the four āśramas as brahmacārī, gr̥hastha, vānaprastha and parivrājaka.

988. Vide above p. 3 where āśramadharma is said to be one of the six-fold divisions of dharma. चत्वार आश्रमा गार्हस्थ्यमाचार्यकुलं मौनं वानप्रस्थ्यमिति । आप. ध. सू. II. 9. 21. 1. This is quoted by शंकर in his भाष्य on वेदान्तसूत्र III. 4. 47.

989. शास्त्रान्तरेषु वैश्वानसस्तुतीयो निष्पुत्रचतुर्थ आश्रमः । इह तु कर्मभेदः प्रोक्तः आश्रमिण इत्यत्र वैश्वानसवर्जनार्यः । हरदत्त on गौतम III. 2.

Vas. Dh. S. (in XI. 34) employs the word *yati* to denote a person in the fourth āśrama. Baud. Dh. S. (II. 6. 17) names the four āśramas 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.⁹⁹⁰ means appears to be that there is really one āśrama viz. that of the householder, that Kapila devised the scheme of four āśramas, so that those who became vānaprasthas and parivrājakas 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 āśramas, the last being called *yati* by him and also 'samnyāsa' (in VI. 96). It would thus be seen that a person who belongs to the last āśrama is variously called parivrāt or parivrājaka (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), *yati* (one who controls his senses) These words suggest the various characteristics of the man who undertakes the fourth āśrama.

The theory of Manu about these āśramas is as follows. The span of human life is one hundred years (śatāyur vai puruṣaḥ). 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 brahmacharya 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 samnyāsin⁹⁹¹ (Manu VI. 33). Similar rules are found

990. ऐकाग्र्यं त्वाचार्यो भ्रमजननत्वादितरेषाम् । तत्रोदाहरन्ति । गृह्णाद्विषं कपिलो नामासुर आस स एतान्भेदांश्चकार देवैः स्वर्धमानस्तात्मनीषी नाद्रियेत । बौ. ध. सू. II. 6. 29-31.

991. गङ्गालिखित as quoted by कुल्लुक on मनु VI. 33 say 'वनवासादूर्ध्वं शान्तस्य परिणतवयसः पारिव्राज्यम्'. अपरार्क p. 947. reads 'परिणतवयसः कामतः मन्नया'.

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 Saṁhitās 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 R̥gveda and the Atharvaveda and that brahmacārya is mentioned in the Tai. S., the Śat. Br. and other ancient Vedic works. So the stage of brahmacārya was well-known in the remotest past. The fact that Agni is said to be 'the gr̥hapati in our house' (R̥g. II. 1. 2)⁹⁹⁴ and the fact that in the famous verse (R̥g. X. 85. 36) which is employed even to-day in the marriage ceremony the husband says to the bride when taking hold of her hand that the gods gave her to him for gr̥hapatyā (for attaining the position of a house-owner or householder) establish that the second stage of the householder was well-known to the R̥gveda. There is nothing in the Vedic Literature expressly corresponding to the vānaprastha. It may however be stated that the Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa 14. 4. 7 says that vaikhāṇasa sages were the favourites of Indra and that one Rahasya Devamalimluc killed them in a place called Munimarāṇa. Vaikhāṇasa 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 R̥g. the word 'yati' occurs several times. But the sense is doubtful. R̥g. VIII. 3. 9 runs 'whereby'⁹⁹⁵ when wealth was bestowed on Bhṛgu and on yatis (or 'on Bhṛgu from yatis') you protected Praskanva'. R̥g. VIII. 6. 18 reads 'O Indra, the yatis and those who were Bhṛgus praised thee'; R̥g. X. 72. 7 says 'O gods,

992. E. g. vide अपर्याय p. 910 quoting two verses of Yama that are very similar to Manu V. 169 and VI. 2.

993. सत्त्वा ऊर्ध्वं संन्यासमुपादिशन्ति । बौ. ध. सू. II. 10. 5.

994. तवाग्ने होत्रं नष्टा चासि गृहपतिश्च नो दुमे ॥ ऋ. II. 1. 2.

995. येना यतिभ्यो भृगवे घने हिते येन प्रकण्वमाविष्ट । ऋ. VIII. 3. 9. Prof. Keith takes यतिः as connected with the Bhṛgus. It would be better to take यतिभ्यः as in the ablative. य इन्द्र यतयस्त्वा भृगवो ये च तदुक्तः । ऋ. VIII. 6. 18; सायण explains यतयः as निपताः अङ्गिरसः; यद्देवा यतयो यथा भुवनाभ्यपिबन्त । अत्रा सधेदा आ गृहमा सुयमजभतन ॥ ऋ. X. 72. 7; here सायण renders यतयः as मेधाः.

when you filled the worlds as the yatis (did) you brought the sun hidden in the sea'. In the Tai.⁹⁹⁶ S. VI. 2. 7. 5 we read 'Indra threw yatis to the sālāvṛkas (hyaenas or wolves), they devoured them to the south of the Uttaravedi.' The same words and story occur in the Kāṭhaka saṁhitā VIII. 5, the Ait. Br. 35. 2 (prādāt) and the Kauṣītaki Up. III. 1; in the last Indra said to Prataṛdāna '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 sālāvṛkas the Arunmukha yatis.' In the Kāṭhaka saṁhitā (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 Aryans. 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 reference⁹⁹⁷ 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 muni-nām sakṛh) 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

996. इन्द्रो यतीन् सालावृकेभ्यः प्रायच्छत् । तै. सं. VI. 2. 7. 5. सहोवाच मामेव विजानीष्वेतदेवाहं मनुष्याय हिततमं मन्ये यस्मां विजानीयात् त्रिशीर्षिणं त्वाङ्महमहमन-
कन्धुस्त्राभ्यतीन् सालावृकेभ्यः प्रायच्छत् । कौषी. ब्रा. उप. III. 1. अकन्धुस्त्रान् is explained
by शंकरानन्द ३३ अच्छद् वेदाध्ययनं तेन उपनिषदर्थविचारः ... स येषां सुखं नास्ति
ते प्रयत्नवन्तश्चतुर्थाभिप्रायः. The words इन्द्रो यतीन् ... प्रायच्छत् are quoted by
मेधातिथि on मनु XII. 48 and he gives the gloss of some as 'मेरुनिवासिनः
काञ्चिज्जनपदा यतयो नाम'. यतीनामद्यमानानां शीर्षाणि परापतन् । ते खजूरा अभवन् ।
तै. सं. II. 4. 9. 2.

997. सुनयो वातरशनाः पिशङ्गा वसते मला । ऋ. 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! brāhmaṇas! desire a son, he is a world that is to be highly praised.'⁹⁹⁸ Here it is clear that *ajina* refers to brahmacharya, śmaśrūpi to vānaprasthas (since according to Manu VI. 6 and Gaut. III. 33 the vānaprastha had to grow his hair, beard and nails). Therefore 'malam' and 'tapas' must be taken respectively as indicating the householder and the saṁnyāsī. A much clearer reference to three āśramas occurs in the Chāndogya⁹⁹⁹ 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 brahmachārī 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 parivrājaka. Therefore in this passage it is possible to hold that the three āśramas (of student, householder and vānaprastha) are mentioned. The last clause about 'brahmasaṁstha' differentiates the three āśramas from him who has knowledge

998. किं तु मलं किमजिनं किमु इमंश्रूणि किं तपः। पुत्रं ब्रह्माण इच्छन्वं स वै लोको वदामः। ऐ. ब्रा. 33. 11. मलं probably refers to sexual intercourse. तपः may indicate the वानप्रस्थ (गौतम III. 25 वैश्वानसो वने मूलफलानीं तपःशीलः) or संन्यासिन (Manu VI. 75 requires a संन्यासिन to undergo severe *tapas*).

999. त्रयो धर्मस्तथा यज्ञोपयनं दानमिति प्रथमस्तथ एव द्वितीयो ब्रह्मचार्याचार्य-कुलवासी तृतीयोऽप्यन्तमात्मानमाचार्यकुलेऽवसादयन् सर्व एते पुण्यलोका भवन्ति ब्रह्मसंस्थोऽभूतत्वमेति। छांदोग्य II. 23. 1. It is worthy of note that शंकर explains तपः as 'तप इति कृच्छ्राचार्यायणादि तद्वांस्तपसः परिब्राह्म वा न ब्रह्मसंस्थः आश्रमधर्ममात्रसंस्थो ब्रह्मसंस्थस्य त्वभूतत्ववशात्'; while on Vedānta-sūtra III. 4. 20 he disapproves of the view that by the word 'tapas' the parivrājaka also is meant. This passage of the Chān. Up. is the basis of Vedāntasūtra III. 4. 18-20. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 55 quotes this passage of the Chāndogya and remarks that it is the parivrājaka who is brahmasaṁstha that is referred to in the last part of the passage 'परिशेषात्परिब्राह्मणस्यैव ब्रह्मसंस्थस्य भूतत्ववशात्परिब्राह्मणस्यैव'।

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 saṁnyāsa 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 *saṁnyāsa* and they rather coalesced into each other. Chān. Up. V. 10. 1 and Br. Up. VI. 2. 15 support this conclusion¹⁰⁰⁰. In the Br. Up. III. 5. 1 there is a reference to brāhmaṇas 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 saṁnyāsa in the sūtras. Yājñavalkya in the Br. Up. IV. 5. 2. tells his wife Maitreyī that he was going into a life of *pravrajyū* from being a householder. Muṇḍaka Up. I. 2. 11 refers to begging for him who has knowledge of brahma and Muṇḍaka III. 2. 6 mentions 'saṁnyāsa'. In the Jābālopaniṣad¹⁰⁰¹ (4) it is said that Janaka asked Yājñavalkya to expound *saṁnyāsa* 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 saṁnyāsin)'. Probably this passage¹⁰⁰² was not

1000. तद्य इत्थं विदुर्ब्रह्मेणैवैवमुक्तं तप इत्युपासते तेषां चैवमभिज्ञमभवन्ति... स एवान्न ब्रह्म गमयत्येष देवयानः परमाः । छा. उप. V. 10. 1. शंकर explains 'ये ज्ञेमे... पासते' as 'ये चारण्योपलक्षिता वैखानसाः परिव्राजकाश्च;' एतं वै तमात्मानं विदित्वा ब्राह्मणाः पुत्रैषणायाश्च वित्तैषणायाश्च लोकैषणायाश्च व्युत्पापाय भिक्षाचर्यं चरन्ति । बृह. उप. III. 5. 1.

1001. ब्रह्मचर्यं परित्यज्य गृही भवेद् गृही भूत्वा वनी भवेद्वनी भूत्वा मन्त्रजेत् । यदि चेतरेषां ब्रह्मचर्यादेव मन्त्रजेद्गृहाद्वा वनीद्वा । यद्वरेव विरजेत्तद्वरेव मन्त्रजेत् । जाबालोप. 4. Vide बौ. ध. सू. II. 10. 2 and 18 सोऽत एव ब्रह्मचर्यवान्मन्त्रजतीत्येकेषाम् । आश्रमादाः अमशुपनीय ब्रह्मयुतो भवतीति विज्ञायते । These sūtras probably have in view the जाबालोप. 4 or some other similar Upaniṣad passage.

1002. शंकर remarks on Vedānta-sūtra III. 4. 20 'अनपेक्ष्यैव जाबालश्रुति-साधनान्तरविधायिनीमयमाचार्येण विचारः प्रवर्तितः ।'. तपःप्रभावाद् देवपसादाश्च ब्रह्म ह स्तिताश्चरतीत्ये विद्वान् । अत्याअभिभ्यः परमं पवित्रं प्रोवाच सभ्यगृष्टिसङ्कलुष्टम् । श्वेता. उप. VI. 21. The meaning of अत्याअभिभ्यः is doubtful. शंकराचार्य explains अत्यन्तं पूज्यतमाअभिभ्यः . नारायण in the द्वीपिका reads अत्याअभिभ्यः .

before the author of the Vedāntasūtra or he did not regard the Jābālopaniṣad 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 Jābālopaniṣad. In the Śvetāśvataropaniṣad (VI. 21) we have the word 'atyāśramibhyaḥ'. 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 Pārāśarya and Karmanda¹⁰⁰³ and he tells us that the word 'maskarin'¹⁰⁰⁴ 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, Sāṃkhya 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 Chān. Up.¹⁰⁰⁵ 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 Śiva destroy for me rebirth'.¹⁰⁰⁶ This state of liberation or release is variously called mokṣa or mukti, amṛtatva, niḥśreyasa,

1003. पाराशर्यशिलालिख्यं भिक्षुनटसूत्रयोः । कर्मद्वन्द्वशास्त्रादिभिः । पाणिनि IV. 3. 110-111.

1004. भस्करभस्करिणौ वेद्युपरिब्राजकयोः । पाणिनि VI. 1. 154.

1005. न च पुनरावर्तते । छा. उ. VIII. 15. 1.

1006. भगवति च क्षययतु नीललोहितः पुनर्नैवं परिततशक्तिरात्मयुः ॥ शाकुन्तल VII.

kaivalya (by the Sāṃkhya) or apavarga (Nyāyasūtra 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 Muṇḍaka 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 brahmacharya 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. samnyāsa. 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 Upaniṣads' (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 samnyāsa 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 (pakṣas) viz. *samuccaya* (orderly co-ordination), *vikalpa* (option) and *bādha* (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 samnyāsin (vide Dakṣa I. 8-9, Vedāntasūtra III. 4. 40) e. g. a man cannot take samnyāsa 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 dharmaśāstra works is to glorify the status of an householder and push into the background the two āśramas of vānaprastha and samnyāsa, 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 *parivrājaka* 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 Vasiṣṭha VII. 3, Laghu Viṣṇu III. 1, and Yāj. 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 *bādha* is held by the ancient dharmaśāstras of Gautama¹⁰⁰⁷ 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. तस्याश्रमविकल्पमेकं ब्रूते । एकाश्रमं त्वाचार्या प्रत्यक्षविधानाद्गार्हस्थ्यस्य ।
नौ. 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, *Dakṣa* II. 57-60, *Viṣṇu 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 relies¹⁰⁰⁸ 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' (*Rg. 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 *Brahmasūtra* 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 passages¹⁰⁰⁹ as 'one should offer *agnihotra* as long as life lasts' or 'indeed *Agni-hotra* is a *satra* (sacrificial session) that lasts till one dies by old age' (*Sat. Br. 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 Yāj. 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. *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*¹⁰¹⁰. 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 Yāj. III. 56* refutes this view.

The word *āśrama* is derived¹⁰¹¹ from 'śram' to exert, to labour and etymologically means 'a stage in which one exerts oneself'.

1008. ऐकाग्र्यं त्वाचार्या अग्रजनत्वादितरेषाम् । ...प्रजाभिर्ग्रे अश्रुत्वमश्रया ज्ञायमानो वै ब्राह्मणस्मिर्भूयवा जायते ब्रह्मचर्येणभिर्ग्रे यज्ञेन देवेभ्यः प्रजया पितृभ्य इति । *बौ. घ. II. 6. 29, 42-43.*

1009. एतद्वै जगामयं सप्तं यद्विद्विद्वत् । शतपथ XII. 4. 1. 1; कुर्वन्नेवेह कर्माणि जिजीविषेच्छतं समाः । ईशाधारयोप २.

1010. तेषु सर्वेषु यथोपदेशमव्यग्रो वर्तमानः क्षेत्रं गच्छति । *आप. घ. सू. II. 9. 21. 2* and '..... न तु तज्जैष्ठ्यमाश्रमाणात् ।' *आप. घ. II. 9. 24. 14.*

1011. आश्रम्यन्ति अस्मिन् इति आश्रमः । From this sense arose the meaning of 'hermitage'.

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 saṃskāras. 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 saṃskāra 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), *parinaya* or *parinayana* (going round i. e. making a *pradakṣiṇā* 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*¹⁰¹² 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 *Tāndya*¹⁰¹³ *Mahābrāhmaṇa* 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*,¹⁰¹⁴ however, Pāṇḍu is made to state to his queen Kuntī that women in former ages were under no control, indulged themselves as they liked and that they left off one man and

1012. एवमुपयमनयाग्निप्रदणशब्दवत्परिणयनशब्दोऽपि दृष्टिन्वायेनैव कर्मसमुद्वाये
शास्त्रेषु मनुज्यते । अपराकं p. 91.

1013. इमौ वै लोकौ सहस्त्रांस्तौ विपन्तावभूतां विवाहं विवहावहै सह नावत्स्विति ।
ताण्ड्य. VII. 10. 1.

1014. Vide आदिपर्व chap. 122 (chap. 113 of cr. ed. Poona). Some
of the verses may be quoted 'अनावृताः किल पुरा स्त्रिय आसन् वरानने । कामचार-
विहारिण्यः स्वतन्त्राश्चावहासिनि ॥ ४ ...उत्तरेषु च रम्भोश्च कुर्वन्वापि वर्तते । ७ ; समापर्व
31. 37-38 'बभूवुरनतिग्राह्या योषितश्छन्दतः किल । एवमग्निर्वरं प्राप्तात् स्त्रीणामप्रतिवारणे ॥'

went after another, that this state of things continued to his (Pāṇdu's) day in the country of Uttara Kuru, that it was Śvetaketu, son of Uddālaka, 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 Māhiṣmati 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 R̥gveda, was to enable a man, by becoming a householder, to perform sacrifices to the gods and to procreate sons. The verse in R̥g. X. 85. 36 shows that the husband took a woman as a wife for 'gārhapatya'. R̥g. V. 3. 2., V. 28. 3 speak of the co-operation of husband and wife in the worship of gods. R̥g. 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 wife¹⁰¹⁵ 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 Āp. 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. अर्धो ह वा एष आत्मनो यज्याया तस्माद्यज्यायां न विन्दते नैव दावत्यजायते असर्वो हि तावद्भवति । अयं यदैव जायां विन्दतेऽथ प्रजायते तर्हि हि सर्वो भवति । शतपथ ब्रा. V. 2. 1. 10. Vide शतपथ VIII. 7. 2. 3. also. The words अर्धो वा एष आत्मनो यत्यली occur in तै. सं. VI. 1. 8. 5. तस्मात् पुत्रयो जायां विद्वा कृत्स्नतरमिवात्मानं मन्यते । ऐ. आ. I. 2. 5. न गृहं गृहमित्याहुर्गृहिणी गृहमुच्यते । शान्तिपर्व 144. 66; अर्धं भार्या मनुष्यस्य भार्या ओष्ठतमः सखा । भार्या मूलं त्रिवर्गस्य भार्या मूलं तारिष्यतः ॥ आदिपर्व 74. 40; आन्नाये स्तुतितन्त्रे च लोकाचारे च स्मरिभिः । शरीरायै स्तुता भार्या पुण्यापुण्यकले समा ॥ गृहस्थति quoted by अपरार्क p. 740.

that the main purposes of marriage are two,¹⁰¹⁶ 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. 28) 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. *dharماسम्पत्ति*, *prajū* (and consequent freedom from falling into hell) and *rahi* (sexual and other pleasures) are the principal purposes of marriage according to the smṛtis and nibandhas. Yāj. 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 maiden¹⁰¹⁹ (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 *Sākuntala* (IV) echoes the words of

1016. धर्मप्रजासंपत्ते दारे नान्यां कुर्वीत । आप. ध. II. 5. 11. 12; the मितान् on या. I. 78 quotes this and remarks 'तथा चापस्तम्बेन धर्मप्रजासंपत्तिः प्रयोजनं दारसंभारयोर्धर्म...कुर्वीतेति वदता । इतिफलं तु लौकिकमेव' ।

1017. जायामर्त्योर्न विभागो विद्यते । पाणिग्रहणादि सहस्रं कर्मसु । आप. ध. छ. II. 6. 13. 16-17.

1018. कः पुनरयं विवाहो नाम । उपायतः प्राप्तायाः कन्यायां दारकरणार्थः संस्कारः सेविकर्तव्याङ्गः सप्तविंशत्यन्यतः पाणिग्रहणलक्षणः । मेधां on मनु III. 20; तेन भार्यात्वसंपादकं ग्रहणं विवाहः । एतन्मन्त्रेण in उद्वाहतरङ्ग.

1019. बुद्धिमते कन्यां प्रयच्छेत् । आश्व. गृ. I. 5. 2; दद्याद्बुधवते कन्यां नम्रिकां बद्ध-चारिणे । बौ. ध. IV. 1. 20; बन्धुशीललक्षणसंपन्नः श्रुतवानरोग इति वरसंपत् । आप. गृ. I. 3. 20; बुधवते कन्यका प्रतिपादनीयेत्ययं तावत्प्रथमः संकल्पः । शाकुन्तल IV (said by अनन्धवा); कुलं च शीलं च वपुर्धनश्च विद्यां च वित्तं च सनाथतां च । एतान्बुधान्तस्त परीक्ष्य देवा कन्या बुधेः शोभमस्मिन्तनीयम् ॥ यम in स्मृतिच. 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 (arthitva), and possession of wealth. Āśv. 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 Āśv. Śrauta sūtra IX. 3).' The Āśv. 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 saṁskāras 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 leprosy. 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 Harṣacarita (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. कुलमध्ये परीक्षित ये मातुतः पितुतश्चेति यथोक्तं पुरस्तात् । आश्व. गृ. I. 5. 1; आश्व. औ. सू. IX. 3. is 'ये मातुतः पितुतश्च दशपूर्वसं समच्छठिता विद्यातपोऽर्थां युज्यैश्च कर्मभिर्येषामुभयतो वा ब्राह्मण्यं निनयेयुः पितुतश्चैके ।'. These qualifications were laid down for those who were to partake of the camasa offering in Rājāsūya. कुलाश्रुपाः प्रजाः संभवन्ति । हारित quoted in संस्कारप्रकाश p. 589; प्रायेण च सत्सर्वेष्वेतेषु वरगुणेष्वभिजनमेवाश्रुयन्ते धीमन्तः । हर्षच. IV.

Yāj. (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 Yāj. 1. 55 quotes Nārada (stripuṃsa) who mentions some characteristics of the virile man and enumerates fourteen varieties of impotent persons (verses 11-13). Kātyāyana¹⁰²¹ 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'.¹⁰²²

Though Manu and Yāj. indicate that impotent persons are not eligible for marriage, yet such persons rarely married. Their marriages were held valid by Manu, Yāj. and others and their sons (by *niyoga*) took property as if they were *aurasa* sons. Vide Manu IX. 203 and Yāj. II. 141-142.

The *Saṃskāraprakāśa* (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, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 24. 11, Kāmasūtra III. 1. 2.¹⁰²³ Even the Śat. Br. (I. 2. 5. 16)

1021. उन्मत्तः पतितः कुक्षी तथा पण्डः स्वगोत्रजः । चक्षुःश्रोत्रनिक्षिप्तश्च तथापस्मार-
दूषितः । वरदोषाः स्मृतः ह्येते कन्यादोषाश्च कीर्तिताः । स्मृतिच० I. p. 59; the text of
नाद (ed. by Jolly, अष्टुप्तयोग व. 37) is उन्मत्तः पतितः स्त्रीयो दुर्भगस्त्यक्तवान्धवः ॥
कन्यादोषौ च यौ प्रविशे दोषगणो वरे ॥

1022. यदोरेव समं विनां यदोरेव समं श्रुतम् । तयोर्मैत्री विधादश्च न तु पुष्टविपुष्टयोः ॥
आदिपर्व 131. 10; compare उद्योगपर्व 33. 117 समैर्विवाहं कुरुते न द्विजैः समैः सख्यं
व्यवहारं कथां च ।

1023. तस्मात्कन्याभिमज्जनीयेतां मातापितृभतीं त्रिवर्षाभ्युत्तिभूतवयसं श्लाघ्याचारे
धनवति पक्षवति कुले संवन्धिभिये संवन्धिभिराकुले प्रभूतां प्रभूतमातापितृपक्षां रूपशीलक्षण-
संपन्नाभ्युत्तिभिराविशददन्तनखकर्णकेशाक्षिस्तनीभरोग्निभृतिशरीरां तथाविध एव श्रुतवाञ्छ
शीलयेत् । कामध्वज III. 1. 2.

gives expression to the then view that broad hips and slender waists make women attractive. Āśv. gr. I. 5. 3 says 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 (lakṣaṇas) are of two kinds, bāhya (visible or bodily characteristics) and ābhyantara (invisible). Āp. gr. 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)' ¹⁰²⁶. Manu III. 8 and 10, Viṣṇu 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 Viṣṇu-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 Revatī, Ārdrā &c.), trees or rivers, she must not bear a mleccha name or that

1024. बुद्धिरूपशीललक्षणसंपन्नमरीणामुपपद्येत । आश्व. गृ. I. 5. 3 ; बन्धुशिल ...
..... सुपयच्छेत । आप. गृ. III. 20.

1025. यस्यां मनश्चक्षुषोर्गन्धस्पर्शस्वाशुद्धिर्नतरदादिप्रेतेत्येके । आप. ध. III. 21.
This is quoted by the *mita* on *yañ*. I. 52. The Kāmasūtra III. 1. 14 has the same rule in the same words. The *Maṇḍana* I. 11 quotes a verse to the same effect श्लोकं तु लाक्षणा उदाहरन्ति । यस्यां मनोऽप्युत्तमे चक्षुश्च प्रतिपद्यते । तां विद्यात्युपलक्ष्मीं किं ज्ञानेन करिष्यति । This makes attractiveness more important in a woman even than knowledge. In the *Mālatīmādhava* (Act. II) Kāmandakī ascribes the words यस्यां मनश्च to Āṅgīras 'इतरेतराजुषो हि दारकर्मणि परार्थे भङ्गं गीतश्चायमर्थोक्तिरसौ यस्यां मनश्चक्षुषोरुपपद्यस्वस्वस्वाशुद्धिरिति'.

1026. यां गृहीत्वा कुतिनमात्मानं मन्येत न च समानैर्नियेत तस्यां प्रवृत्तिरिति
योचकमुक्तः । कामसूत्र III. 1. 3.

of a mountain, of a bird, of a snake or of a slave or a name that is terrific. Āp. gr. (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, Śālī, Kamalū). Nārada ¹⁰²⁷ (strī-purnsavyoga 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 Āp. gr. (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 Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 34. 76-77 for guṇas and defects of girls as ' brides '.

Bhār. gr. I. 11 says that there are four inducing reasons ¹⁰²⁸ 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. Mānava gr. (I. 7. 6-7) adds a fifth inducement for marriage, viz. vidyā (learning) after beauty and before prajā. Vide also Vārāha gr. 10.

Some of the gṛhyasūtras propose a peculiar mystical method of selecting a bride. The Āśv. 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 vedi (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 ' ṛta (right) has been born first in the beginning ; truth is founded (or fixed) in ṛta ; may this girl attain here that for which she is born ; may what is true be visible ; ' then he says to the girl

1027. दीर्घकुत्सितरोमायां व्यङ्गा संसृष्टमैयुना । कुटान्ययतमाया च कन्यादोषाः प्रकीर्तितः ॥ नारद (श्रीधुसयोग 36).

1028. चत्वारि विवाहकारणानि चित्तं रूपं मज्ञा बान्धवमिति । तानि चेत्सर्वानि न शक्यु-
यादि पशुदत्तयेचतो रूपं मज्ञायां च तु बान्धवे च विवन्दते । बान्धवपशुदत्तयेदित्येक आह्वयज्ञेन
हि कः संवासः । भारद्वाजश्रुत्य I. 11.

'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 Gobhila 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 Laugākṣi gr. 14. 4-7 contains the same rules as in Gobhila. 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 dūrvā 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 (yavīyasī)

1029. शक्तिविषये मन्वाणि प्रतिच्छिन्नान्युपनिषाद्य ब्रूयादुपस्थितिं। नानावर्जानि संसृष्टानि वैद्याः पांसुर लेत्राद्योऽं शकुन्मृगशानलोऽमिति। पूर्वेषां उपस्थाने यथालिङ्गसृष्टिं च तमं परिचक्षते। आय. गृ. 3. 15-18.

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 'yaviyasī' 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 Mānava 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 Rg. I. 124. 7 it is said ¹⁰³¹ '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. Rg. 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 Rg. speaks of spinsters growing old in their parental home (Rg. II. 17. 7). Vas. Dh. S. 17. 16 refers ¹⁰³³ to

1030. गृहस्थः सद्गुणी भार्या विन्देतानन्यपूर्वा यवीयसीम् । गौ. IV. 1; गृहस्थो विनीतक्रोधहर्षो अस्पृष्टमैशुनामवरयसी सद्गुणी भार्या विन्देत् । वसिष्ठ VIII. 1.

1031. अभातेव पुंस एति प्रतीची गर्तविगिव सनये धनानाम् । जावेव पत्य उशती सुवासा उषा हस्तेव निरिणीते अत्सः । ऋ. I. 124. 7. The संस्कारप्रकाश p. 747 quotes this Vedic verse, Yāska's Nirukta thereon and Vas. also. अभातेर इव जायते स्तिष्ठन्तु हतवर्चसः । अथर्व I. 17. 1. The निरुक्त (III. 4) reads अभातेर इव योषास्तिष्ठन्ति हतवर्चसः and explains अभातेर इव योषास्तिष्ठन्ति संतानकर्मणे पिण्डदानाय हतवर्चसः .

1032. प्रशस्तिं वोढा संतानकर्मणे बुद्धिदुः पुत्रभावम् । निरुक्त III. 4.

1033. पुतीषः पुत्रिका । विज्ञायते अभातुका पुंसः पित्रनभ्येति प्रतीचीनं गच्छति पुत्रवत् । तत्र श्लोकाः । अभातुका मदारयामि तुभ्यं कथ्यामलंकृतान् । अस्यां यो जायते पुत्रः स मे पुत्री भवेदिति । वसिष्ठ 17. 15-17. The sūtra विज्ञायते is an echo of the explanation of the Nirukta III. 5 and the verse quoted also occurs in the विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 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 ¹⁰³⁴ 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 ¹⁰³⁵ 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 Śalyaparva chap. 52 of the daughter of Kunigarga who, when told by Nārada that an unmarried woman could not secure heaven, married for one day Śṛṅgavat 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, Gobhila gr. III. 4. 4, Āp. 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. अभिसंधिमानात्पुत्रिकेत्येकेषाम् । गौ. 28. 17.

1035. नाभात्रीशुष्यच्छेत तोकं ह्यस्य तद्भवति इति अत्रातृकाया उपपन्नमन्यतिषेधः प्रत्यक्षः पितृश्च पुत्रभावः । निरुक्त III. 5. Prof. Rajvade in his translation of the Nirukta in Marathi regards this passage (Nir. III. 5) as interpolated, but his reasons are quite unconvincing. निरुक्त on वा. I. 53 quotes नाभा... भवति as a text of the Bhāṭṭavins.

gr. I. 7. 8, Vārāha gr. 9, Śaṅkha¹⁰³⁶ 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 gṛhyasūtras 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, Nārada (stripuṁsa, 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 *sapiṇḍa* 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 *sapiṇḍa* 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 *sagotra*, *sappravara* or *sapiṇḍa* girl are extremely important, as the following considerations will show. It is a canon of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā that if there is a seen (*dr̥ṣṭa*) 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 (*adr̥ṣṭa*) 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 *sagotra* or *sappravara* 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

1036. दृष्टं on अथ. घ. सू. II. 5. 11-16 quotes शङ्ख 'दारानादरेत्सदृशानसं-
मानार्थेयानसंयथागतसमपञ्चनसिपुमावृणुष्यः'. The words *ārṣeya*, *ārṣa* and
pravara mean the same thing. Manu is silent about the prohibition
against marrying a *sappravara* 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 ¹⁰³⁷ forth by Medhātithi on Manu III. 11, by the Mit. on Yāj. I. 53, the Madanapārijāta 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. ¹⁰³⁸ 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 mediæval 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 brahmacharya 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 Viṣṇu-purāṇa ¹⁰³⁹ (III. 10. 16) says that the ages of the bride and bridegroom should be in the ratio of 1 to 3. Angirasa says that the bride should be two, three, five or more years younger. In

1037. अस्मिन् प्रकरणे यत्र नास्ति दृढगतः प्रतिषेधः, यथा 'असपिण्डाच्च' इत्यत्र श्लोके, तदतिक्रमे विवाहस्वरूपानिर्वृत्तिरेव । अतः सगोत्रादिविवाहः कृतोप्यकृत एव । एवं सगोत्राया न भार्यात्वम् । यस्तु हीनक्रियतिद्विप्रतिषेधः (मनु ३-७), तस्य दृढदर्शनमूल-त्वाच्चिर्वर्तते विवाहः, भवत्यसौ भार्या । मेधा० on मनु III. 11 ; सपिण्डा-समानगोत्रा-सम्बन्धा भार्यात्वमेव शोच्यते । रोगिण्यादिषु तु भार्यात्व उत्पत्तेरिति दृढविरोध एव । मेधा० on या. I. 53 ; vide also मदनपारिजात pp. 140-141, गृहस्थरत्नाकर p. 28. Compare what St. Paul says ' the things that are seen are temporary, but the things that are not seen are eternal ' 2nd Epistle to the Corinthians chap. IV. 18.

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. चर्वरेकशुभा भार्याशुद्धहेतु निश्चयः स्वयम् । विष्णुपुराण III. 10. 16 ; वयोधिकी नोपयच्छेद् दीर्घा कस्यां स्वदेहतः । स्ववर्षाद् द्वित्रिपञ्चादित्युनां कस्यां सशुद्धहेतु ॥ अङ्गिरस quoted in सप्तविंशकाफल (वर्णाश्रमधर्म p. 125).

the *Mahābhārata* ¹⁰⁴⁰ 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* (*Anuśāsana* 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 'śoḍaṣa-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 ¹⁰⁴¹ of the *Āśvins* is that they bestowed a husband on *Ghoṣā* who was growing old in her father's house. Vide also *Rg. I.* 124. 7, *II.* 17. 7, and *Atharvaveda I.* 17. 1. In *Rg. X.* 27. 12 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 ¹⁰⁴² 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 *Nāsatyas* (*Āśvins*) bestowed a wife on *Vimada* who was an *arbhaga* (of tender age). ¹⁰⁴³ 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 *Kakṣivat* 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 *Kakṣivat*

1040. युवा षोडशवर्षे हि यद्य भविता भवान् । दूदानि पत्नीं कन्यां च स्वां ते दुहितरं द्विज ॥ आन्धमेयिकपर्व 56. 22-23.

1041. घोषायै सित्पितृष्वदे कुरोणे पतिं शूर्यन्त्या अभिनायदत्तम् ॥ ऋ. I. 117. 7.

1042. सभ्राज्ञी श्वशुरे भव सभ्राज्ञी श्वश्र्वा भव । नानन्दरि सभ्राज्ञी भव सभ्राज्ञी अघि देहेषु ॥ ऋ. X. 85. 46.

1043. पाचर्मनाय विमदाय जायां सेनाश्रुवा न्यूहत् एवेन ॥ ऋ. I. 116. 1.

and conveys no idea of her exact age.¹⁰⁴⁴ On the whole one may conclude that in the period of the R̥gveda girls were probably married at any age (either before puberty or after puberty) and sometimes remained spinsters all their life. The other Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇas do not shed much light on the question of the age of marriage for girls. In the Chān. Up. Uṣasti Cakrāyana is described as dwelling in the Kuru country with his wife, who is said to have been 'āṭikī' which Śaṁkara explains as 'a mere undeveloped girl'.¹⁰⁴⁵

Coming to the ancient gr̥hya 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 gr̥hya 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. 12.¹⁰⁴⁶ The word *nagnikā* is variously explained by the commentators. Mātṛdatta on Hir. gr. explains that *nagnikā* means 'one whose menstrual period is near' i. e. one who is fit for intercourse. Aṣṭāvakra, 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 Gr̥hyāsamgraha¹⁰⁴⁷ (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. अदृढा अर्भी महते वचस्यवे कक्षीवते वृचयामिन्द्र सुचते । ऋ. I. 51. 13.

1045. मन्त्रीहतेषु कुशुपुष्पादिभ्यो सह जाययोषस्तिर्ह चाकायण इत्यश्वमे मद्राणक उवास । छान्दोग्य I. 10. 1. शंकर explains 'आदिभ्यो अनुपजातयोषसादिस्त्री-व्यञ्जनया'.

1046. ताभ्यामनुज्ञातो भार्यासुपयच्छेत् सजातां नम्रिकां ब्रह्मचारिणीमित्यत्र । हिरण्य. गृ. I. 19. 2; 'नम्रिकामासुभार्तवाम् । ...तस्माद्ब्रह्मविशेषणार्हा नम्रिका मैथुनादर्थैर्यः' मातृदत्त; 'बन्धुमती कन्यामसृष्टमैथुनासुपयच्छेत् ... यवीयसीं नम्रिकां भेष्टाम् ।' मानवश्रुति 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. śākhā the reading is सजातानम्रिकां (i. e. the girl should be of the same caste and not a *nagnikā*). Vide ZDMG vol. 47. pp. 143-46.

1047. नम्रिकां तु वदेत्कन्यां यावज्जुमती भवेत् । ऋतुमती त्वनम्रिका तां मयच्छेत् नम्रिकाम् ॥ अग्रास्ता रजसो गौरी माते रजसि रोहिणी । अप्यजिता भवेत्कन्या कुचहीना च नम्रिका । शुक्लासेन quoted by com. on गोमिलश्रुति III. 4. 6.

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 *gr̥hyasūtras* 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) says¹⁰⁴⁸ ' the married pair should (after marriage) not partake of *kṣāra* and *lavāna* 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 says¹⁰⁴⁹ 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 *gr̥hyasūtras* there is a rite called ' *caturthi-karma* ' (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

1048. त्रिरात्रमक्षारालवणाग्निनौ स्वातामघः शयीयातां संवत्सरं न मिथुनकुपेयातां द्वादशरात्रं...त्रिरात्रमन्ततः । पारस्करगृह्य I. 8.

1049. केषुचिद्देशेषु सद्यः समावेशनं दृष्टं वक्ष्यमाणेन त्रिरात्रं द्वादशरात्रमिति ब्रह्मचर्येण बाध्यते । हरदत्त on आश्व. गृ. I. 7. 2, on which नारायण also says ' वैदेहेषु सद्य एव स्वयायो दृष्टः । गृह्ये तु ब्रह्मचारिणा त्रिरात्रमिति ब्रह्मचर्यं विहितं तत्र गृह्योक्तिमेव कुर्यात् देशधर्ममिति सिद्धम् '.

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. श्रीचतुर्त्वीत्येवमं युज्येतानिन्द्रितेनोत्सृज्य पित्र्यान्लंकारान् । प्रदानं मायतोः । अथ यत्नं दोषो । मायातसः अतिपत्तेरित्येके । श्रौ. 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 R̥gveda (X. 85. 40-41) there was a mystical belief that Soma, Gandharva and Agni were the divine guardians of a girl and the Gṛhyāsamgraha (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. Sāṃvarta¹⁰⁵² (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 (3th year) came to be looked upon as the proper age for marriage. Vide Sāṃskārakaustubha quoted below. It came to be believed that there was no hope of heaven for a woman who died unmarried.

1051. दद्यादुपनयते कन्यां नम्रिकां ब्रह्मचारिणीम् । अपि वा युगहीनाय नोपवन्त्याद्-
जस्वलाय ॥ अविद्यमाने सङ्गो युगहीनमपि श्रयेत् ॥ बौ. ध. सू. IV. 1. 12 and 15.

1052. रोमकाले तु संभ्राते सोमो युक्तेषु कन्यकाय । रजो वृद्धा तु वधर्वाः कुक्षौ वृद्धा
तु पावकाः । ...तस्माद् विवाहयेत्कन्यां पावकवृद्धमती भयेत् । विवाहो ह्यष्टवर्षायाः कन्यायास्तु
मशक्यते ॥ संवत् verses 64 and 67, quoted by Sm. C. I. p. 79 and Gr. R. p. 46.
अथानुपनयनस्थानायको विवाह इति तदुचितवस्थायां विवाहस्योचितत्वात् । संस्कारकौ-
स्तुभ p. 699; विवाहं नोपनयनं स्त्रीणामाह पितृमहः । तस्माद्भीटमः अहो जन्मतो वाह-
वत्सरः ॥ यम् quoted in स्मृतिशु. (वर्णाश्रमधर्म) p. 136.

In the Śalyaparva¹⁰⁵³ 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 (punya). The Vaik.¹⁰⁵⁴ (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 Laugākṣi¹⁰⁵⁵ gr. (19, 2) says 'brahmacharya 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 Bhaviṣyapurāṇa to the effect that *nagnikā* is one who is ten years old. Vide Sm. C. quoting Saṁgraha. Parāśara, Yāj. and Saṁvarta go even beyond this. Parāśara¹⁰⁵⁶ (VII, 6-9) says 'a girl of eight is called *gaurī*, but one who is nine years old is a *rohiṇī*; 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 piṭṛs 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

1053. असंस्कृतायाः कन्यायाः कुतो लोकास्तत्त्वानवे । शल्यपर्व 52, 12.

1054. तथैव कन्यां च मृतां प्राप्तयौवनां तुल्येन हुंसा प्राप्तशुद्धवत्तां ददेत् । वैखानस-स्मार्तसूत्र V. 9.

1055. दशवार्षिकं ब्रह्मचर्यं कुमारीणां द्वादशवार्षिकं वा । लौगाक्षिश्रृङ्गा 19, 2. ब्राह्मणो ब्राह्मणीं नम्रिकां गौरीं वा कन्यां वरयेत् । अष्टवर्षादा दशमाश्रमिका । रजस्व-भासे दशवर्षादा द्वादशाद् गौरित्थामनन्ति । वैखानस VI, 12; संग्रहेकारोपि । यावच्चैलं न शुद्धाति यावत्क्रीडति पांडुभिः । यावद् दोषं न जानाति तावद् भवति नम्रिका ॥ स्मृतिच I, p. 80.

1056. माता चैव पिता चैव ज्येष्ठो भ्राता तथैव च । त्रयस्ते नरकां यान्ति वृष्टा कन्यां रजस्वलाय ॥ यस्तां सद्यश्चहेत्कन्यां ब्राह्मणोऽज्ञानमोहितः । असंभाव्यो ह्यप्राज्ञः कोयः स विभो वृषलपतिः ॥ पराशर VII, 8-9. The स्मृतिच. (I. pp. 73 and 81) quotes पराशर VII, 6-9 as from यज्ञ.

brāhmaṇas) and that he becomes the husband of a vṛṣālī. 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. Śaṁvarta (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 Brhad-Yama (Ānan. ed.) chap. 3. 19-22, but the order is different. Āngiras (vv. 126-128, Ānan. ed.) has the same verses. Kāśyapa as quoted in the Gr. R. (p. 46) says that a girl is called gaurī when she is seven, a kanyakā when she is ten and kumārī when she is twelve. It will be noticed that the smṛtis of Vaikhānasa and Kāśyapa 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 Baud. prescribed only a slight prāyaścitta for the father alone even if there was menstruation during the marriage rites. Marici¹⁰⁵⁷ (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 (Aranyakāṇḍa 47. 10-11). But this passage appears to be an interpolation. In the Bālakāṇḍa¹⁰⁵⁸ 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. जन्मतो गर्भाधानाद्वा पञ्चमाब्दात्परं शुभम् । कुमारिवरणं दानं मेखलाबन्धनं तथा ॥ मरीचि quoted in परा. मा. I. part 2 p. 177.; सप्तवर्षा भवद्वौरी दशवर्षा तु नम्रिका । अविष्यदुराण quoted by सं. प्र. p. 768.

1058. अग्निवाद्याग्निवाद्यांश्च सर्वा राजसुतास्तदा । रेभिरे बुद्धिदाः सर्वा भर्तृभिः सहिता रहः ॥ बालकाण्ड 77. 16-17 (in 3 vol. with गोविन्दराज'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.¹⁰⁵⁹ 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 brāhmaṇas. 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 Mālātīmādhava, 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 *nagnikā* or *gaurī*, but does not prescribe the same qualification for a kṣatriya or vaiśya bride. In the Harṣacarita princess Rājyaśrī 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 Uchhvāsa). The Samskāra-prakāśa¹⁰⁶⁰ expressly says that there is no prohibition against marrying a girl who has passed the age of puberty for kṣatriyas 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-

1059. प्रायजोर्दोर्नान्त्वर्त्ता नेयान्त्वा पतत्यधः । व्यर्थीकारेण शुकरस्य न ह्यहं ह्यमवामु-
पादिति तत्रैवाश्वलायनोक्तेः । निर्ययसिन्धु III पूर्वार्धे p. 234.

1060. अत्रिकथयौ । यस्तु तां वरयेत्कन्यां ब्राह्मणो ज्ञानदुर्बलः । अभाक्षेयमपाङ्गतेयं
तं विद्यादुर्बलपतिम् ॥ इति । अत्र ब्राह्मणपक्षोपादानाद्ब्राह्मणस्यैवार्थं रजस्वलापरिणयन-
निषेधो न क्षत्रियादीनाम् । कुत्स्यादिषु तथा दर्शनात् । संस्कारप्रकाशे p. 771.

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 R̥gveda and the other Vedic Saṁhitās. We have seen, however, that the four varṇas had been recognised in the times of the Saṁhitās and that ideas of superiority and inferiority due to being of a particular varṇa had become quite prevalent. But the practices as to marrying outside one's varṇa 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 Śat. 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 Bhārgava (descendant of Bhrgu) or Āngirasa to Sukanyā, the daughter of king Śaryāta, a descendant of Manu. The Śat. Br. (XIII. 2. 9. 8, ¹⁰⁶² S. B. E. vol. 44, p. 326) quotes a half verse from the Vāj. S. (26. 30) and then remarks 'therefore he does not anoint (as king) the son of the vaiśya woman.' This suggests that a king might marry a vaiśya girl, but her son would not have the Vedic coronation ceremony performed on him. Verses 17-19 of the R̥gveda V. 61 are interpreted by the Br̥had-devatā (V. 50) as referring to the marriage of the brāhmaṇa sage Syāvāśva to the daughter of king Rathavīti Dār̥bhya. The story of Kavaśa Ailūśa who was styled 'dāsyāḥ 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. कृते विवाहे वर्षे तु वस्तस्य ब्रह्मचारिणः । यथद्वयं कन्या स्यात् तथा तज्जिष्णुः पुमान् ॥ अथवा द्वादशाहानि त्रिंशद्वर्षेण सर्वदा । यदि द्वादशवर्षा स्यात्कन्या रूपयुगाश्रिता । द्वात्रिंशद्वर्षपूर्णे तु यदि षोडशवर्षिकी । लब्धा तदा च ब्रह्मन् वस्तस्य संयतेन तु ॥ विंशत्यन्या यदा कन्या वस्तस्य तत्र वै व्यहम् । अत ऊर्ध्वमहोरात्रं वस्तस्यमिति संमतम् ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण quoted in गृह. र. p. 83.

1062. शुद्धा यद्वर्जया न पोषाय धनायतीति तस्माद्देशीयुनं नाभिषिञ्चति । अतएव 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 Āśv., Āp.) do not expressly say anything about the varṇa of the bride. The Āp. Dh. S.¹⁰⁶³ (II. 6. 13. 1 and 3) requires that one should marry a girl of the same varṇa, 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 varṇa and are silent about marriages with a bride of another varṇa. 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 (stripuṃsa, v. 4) say that the best course is to marry a girl of one's own caste. This is said to be *pūrva 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. सवर्णापूर्वशास्त्रविहितायां यथर्तुं गच्छतः पुत्रास्तेषां कर्मभिः संबन्धः । पूर्ववत्याम् संस्कृतायां वर्णान्तरे च मैथुने दोषः । आप. ध. II. 6. 13. 1 and 3.

1064. ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविशं सूद्राणां च परिग्रहे । सजातिः श्रेयसी भार्या सजातिश्च पतिः क्षियाः ॥ ब्राह्मणवराखुलोभ्येन क्षियोऽन्यास्ति एव तु । नारद (क्षीपुस verses 4-5).

1065. तिस्रो ब्राह्मणवरा भार्या वर्णाखुपूर्येण द्वे राजन्यस्य एकैका वैश्यसूद्रयोः । सूद्राभ्येके भन्वर्जं तद्वत् । तथा न कुर्यात् । अतो हि भ्रुवः कुलापकर्षः प्रेत्य चास्वर्गः । वसिष्ठ I. 24-27.

merit ; 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 Manusmṛti 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 kṣatriya 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 kṣatriya 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 kṣatriya 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 recognized as valid by the communities concerned. The epigraphic records furnish well authenticated instances of inter-caste marriages. The Vākāṭakas were brāhmaṇas (their gotra being Viṣṇuvṛddha). The Poona plates of Prabhāvatiguptā (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 Taḷagunḍa pillar inscription of the Kadamba king Kakusthavarman (E. I. vol. 8 p. 24) recites that

the founder of the Kadamba family was Mayūrasārman, a brāhmaṇa, who being exasperated with the Pallavas of Kāñci took up the sword. His descendants have names ending in varman (as kṣatriyas should have, according to Manu II. 32). The inscription mentions that Kakusthavarman (who was 4th in descent from Mayūrasārman) got his daughters married to Gupta and other kings. In the Ghatotkaca Inscription of Yaśodharman and Viṣṇuvardhana (A. S. W. I. vol. 4, p. 140) we are told that Soma, a brāhmaṇa and ancestor of Hastibhoja, minister of the Vākāṭaka king Devasena, gave his heart to wives born in brāhmaṇa and kṣatriya families. The Tipperah copper-plate grant of a chieftain called Lokanātha (E. I. vol. 15, p. 301 ff) dated in the 44th year (probably of the Harṣa 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 pārasava (p. 307), while Keśava's father Vira was a brāhmaṇa (dvijasattama). Virūpādevī, a daughter of the famous Vijayanagara king Bukka I (1268-1298 A. D.), was married to a brāhmaṇa named Brahma or Bomanna Wodeya, who was the Governor of the Āraṅga 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 Haricandra and the latter's kṣatriya wife; the Āṭpur Inscription of Śaktikumāra dated in samvat 1034 (977 A. D.) which states that the founder of the Guhila dynasty was a brāhmaṇa Guhadatta, whose descendant Bhartṛpaṭṭa married a Rāṣtrakūṭa 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 Puṣyamitra of the Śuṅga dynasty and a brāhmaṇa, married Mālavikā who was a kṣatriya princess. In the Harṣacarita 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 pārasava brothers Candrasena and Mātṛseṇa (i. e. step-brothers from a śūdra wife of his father). Rājaśekhara, teacher of king Mahendrapāla of Kanoj, says in his Karpūramāñjarī (I. 11) that his accomplished wife Avantisundarī was descended from the Cāhuāna (modern Chavan) family (i. e. from a kṣatriya family).

It is extremely difficult to say when exactly inter-caste marriages even between dvijātis 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 brāhmaṇa could marry a kṣatriya girl. Medhātithi on Manu III. 14 suggests that about 900 A. D. at the latest marriages of brāhmaṇas with kṣatriya and vaiśya 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 Āditya-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 Jivānanda I, p. 549, chap. IX) says that by marrying a girl of another caste a man incurred the sin of mahāpātaka and had to undergo the penance of 24 kṛcchras. The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa (113. 34-36) narrates the story of king Nābhāga who married a vaiśya 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. आतृजाया च ब्राह्मणस्यापि क्षत्रिया भवत्येव । विश्वरूप on या. III. 283; 'ननु च द्विजातीनां शुद्रादुत्रो नास्त्येव तद्विवाहमतिषेधात् । सत्यम् । स्मृत्यर्थश्रान्त्या तु भवतावयं विभागधर्म इत्यभिप्रायः ।' विश्वरूप on या. II. 129; सवर्णानियमेनासवर्णानिर्वृत्तेरर्थतः कृतव्याः पुनः शुद्रानिवृत्तिरसवर्णानिर्वृत्तेरनित्यत्वं ज्ञापयति । अनित्यत्वे चापदि सवर्णाया अलाभे भवति चापमवगमः शुद्रा न वोढव्या इतरे तु वोढव्ये । मेधातिथि on मनु III. 14.

1067. The उद्वाहतरव of रघुनन्दन (ed. by Jivānanda vol. II, p. 112) quotes the verse द्विजानामसवर्णासु कन्यासुपयमस्तथा from the बृहदारदीय and कन्यानामसवर्णानां विवाहश्च द्विजातिभिः from the आदित्यपुराण. The latter is quoted in the परा. मा. (vol. 1. part 1 p. 134) and in the Caturvargacintāmaṇi (vol. III. part 2 p. 667). The first quotation (द्विजाना &c) occurs in the नारदीयमहापुराण, पूर्वभाग, chap. 24. 13.

But *anuloma*¹⁰⁶⁸ 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 *sapiṇḍa* of the bride-groom has now to be considered. *Sapiṇḍa* relationship is of special importance in three matters, viz. marriage, inheritance and *āśauca*¹⁰⁶⁹ (impurity on birth and death). The prohibition against marriage with a *sapiṇḍa* girl applies to all *varṇas* including the *śūdra*¹⁰⁷⁰. There are two schools about the meaning of *sapiṇḍa*, one represented by the *Mitākṣarā* and the other by *Jīmūtavāhana* (author of the *Dāyabhāga*). Both are agreed that a *sapiṇḍa* girl cannot be married, but they differ as to the meaning of the word. We shall first understand one interpretation of *sapiṇḍa*. The *locus classicus* is the commentary of *Vijñāneśvara* on *Yāj. I. 52-53* a substantial portion of which is translated here: “*asapiṇḍām*’ (in *Yāj. I. 52*) means a woman who is not a *sapiṇḍa* and *sapiṇḍa* means one who has the same *piṇḍa* i. e. body (or particles of the body). *Sapiṇḍa* relationship (between two persons) arises from (their) being connected by having particles of the same body. Thus, the son has *sapiṇḍa* relationship with his father by reason of the (fact that) particles of the father’s body continue in him (the son). Similarly (there is *sapiṇḍa* relationship) with the paternal grandfather and the like (of the

1068. Vide *Bai Laksmi v. Kaliansing* 2 Bom. L. R. 128 (marriage between Rajput male and a *brāhmaṇa* woman held to be invalid); *Bai Kashi v. Jamnadas* 14 Bom. L. R. 547 (marriage between a *brāhmaṇa* woman and *śūdra* male was held to be void); *Munnial v. Shizama* I. L. R. 48. All. 670 (marriage between a *śūdra* male and a *vaiśya* female held to be invalid). Vide *Bai Gulab v. Jivanlal* I. L. R. 46 Bom. 871, *Natha v. Mehta Chotalal* I. L. R. 55 Bom. 1 (marriage of a *brāhmaṇa* male with a *śūdra* female was held valid); *Nalinaksha v. Rajanikanto* 35 C. W. N. 726. Vide *Padma Kumari v. Suraj Kumari* I. L. R. 28 All. 458.

1069. तेन विवाहे आशौचे घनग्रहणे च त्रिधा सापिण्ड्यं सिद्ध्यति । निर्णयसिन्धु III. पूर्वार्धे p. 284.

1070. पञ्चमात्सममादूर्ध्वं मातुतः पितुतः क्रमात् । सपिण्डता निवर्तेत सर्ववर्णेष्वप्यविधिः ॥ नारदं quoted in उद्वाहतरव p. 108. The printed नारद (अध्याय section 7 p. 108) reads आ सप्तमात्यञ्चमादूर्ध्वं वन्धुभ्यः पितृमातुतः । अविवाह्याः सगोत्राः स्युः समानप्रवरास्तथा ॥. ‘तथा असपिण्डाश्च’ इत्येतत्सर्ववर्णिकम् । सर्वत्र सापिण्ड्यसङ्गावात् । ‘असमानार्थगोत्रजाश्च’ इत्येतन्नैववर्णिकविषयम् । मिताराध on वा. I. 53; अङ्घ्रिविवेके अङ्घ्रिचिन्तामणौ च ब्राह्मे ‘सर्ववर्णमेव वर्णानां विज्ञेया सातपथीयम् । सपिण्डता ततः पञ्चात्ममानीदकधर्मता ॥’ निर्णयसिन्धु, III पूर्वार्धे p. 284. The word अन्य in the *Mit.* 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).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 पत्या सह पत्या एकशरीरात्मकतया' 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 Bāṁbhātī आत्मकतयेति उभयोरप्येकशरीरे स्वावयवान्वयादित्यर्थः (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 Vijñāneśvara 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 निर्णयसिन्धु (III. पूर्वार्धे p. 280) shows that G. C. Sarkar is wrong 'एकस्य हि पितृमातृर्वा शरीरस्यावयवाः पुत्र-पौत्रादिषु साक्षात् परंपरया वा श्रुतशोभितादिरूपेणाव्युत्पन्नाः । यद्यपि पत्याः पत्या सह भ्रातृ-पत्नीनां च परस्परं नैतत्संभवति तथापि आधारत्वेनैकशरीरावयवान्वयोऽस्त्वेषां ।' A woman's husband's brother's wife is the receptacle (ādhāra) 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 mediately.¹⁰⁷² On the word 'asapīṇḍām' it was explained that sapīṇḍa relationship arises immediately or mediately by reason of the connection with particles of the same body; this may prove to be too wide a statement, since in this beginningless *samsāra*, such a relationship might exist in some way or other between all men;¹⁰⁷³ therefore (the sage Yājñavalkya) 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 sapīṇḍa relationship ceases. These words (viz. sapīṇḍa.....ceases) are to be taken as understood (in the text of Yāj.). Therefore the word 'sapīṇḍa' 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'¹⁰⁷⁴ and 'pañkaja'. 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 sapīṇḍas; 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 'सोऽकात्म्यत बहु स्यात् प्रजायेय...इदं सर्वमसृजत' and also in छा. उप. VI. 2. 3. This is relied upon for limiting sapīṇḍya in Par. M. I. 2. p. 59. The words मातुः and पितुः of Yāj. are repeated in the Mit. and explained as मातुः संताने and पितुः संताने respectively and the Mit. adds that in Yāj. I. 53 (latter half) we have to understand the words सापिण्ड्यं निवर्तते (sapīṇḍa relationship ceases).

1074. The word 'pañkaja' literally means 'springing from mud' and may apply to every water plant, but it is restricted by usage (rūḍhi) to a lotus plant i. e. the wide literal or etymological (yangika) meaning of the two parts 'pañka' (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 Mitākṣarā¹⁰⁷⁵ the following rules about prohibition based on sāpinda 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 and the father of the bride 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 sapinda 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 sapinda relationship to the common ancestor, the bridegroom being 6th from the *kūṭastha* has sapinda relationship with the *kūṭastha*. These rules apply according to the Mit. only where the ancestors married women of their own varṇa. But if an ancestor married a brāhmaṇa girl and also a ksatriya girl and a question arose about the eligibility of marriage among descendants of these two wives, then prohibition based on sapinda relationship extends up to only three degrees (and not seven or five).^{1075a}

1075. Vide extract (text) from the मितक्षरा in appendix.

1075a. एतच्च समानजातीये ऋष्यम् । विजातीये तु विशेषः । ... त्रिपुरुषमेव सापिण्ड्यमिति । मितः on या. I. 53; the उद्वाहत्त्व p. 109 explains differently the statement of Paiṭhīnasi. तस्मान्मदनपारिजाताद्युक्तदिशा वृत्तकसापत्न्यसंन्यायिभ्योऽप्येते जाह्नवादीनां क्षत्रियादिसापिण्ड्यविषये वा पूर्वोक्तानि नैयागि न त्वद्युक्तस्य इति प्रमितव्यम् निर्णयसिन्धु III पूर्वार्धे p. 285; the मदनपारिजात pp. 138-140 gives these explanations.

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. Paiṭhīnāsī says ' the girl must be beyond three degrees on the mother's ¹⁰⁷⁶ 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. ¹⁰⁷⁷

1076. यदपि वसिष्ठेनोक्तं पञ्चमीं सप्तमीं चैव मातुलः पितृवस्तथेति, त्रीनतीत्य मातुलः पञ्चातीत्य च पितृव इति च पैठीनसिना तदप्यवार्द्धनिवेद्यार्थं न पुनस्तत्प्राप्त्यर्थमिति सर्व-स्मृतीनामविरोधः। मिता on या. I. 53; the words पञ्चमीं मातुलश्चतुर्थः सप्तमीं पितृवश्चतुर्थः are वसिष्ठवर्मसूत्र 8. 2 (the preceding सूत्र being गृहस्थो मायां विन्देत्). The निर्णयसिन्धु (III. पूर्वार्ध 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 निर्णयसिन्धु, but seems to hold that there is an option due to family or local usages. Vide सं. प्र. pp. 707-718.

1077. The विश्वरूपसमुच्चय quoted in the उद्गाहतरव (p. 116) is quite explicit ' संतानो निधत्ते यस्मात्पूर्वजादुभयत्र च । तमादाय गणेशीमात्स्वरं यावच्च कल्पकाक्ष ॥ '

No. 1

A
|

D (2)	D (2)
S (3)	S (3)
S (4)	S (4)
S (5)	D (5)
S (6)	S (6)
S (7)	S (7)
D (8)	S (8)

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.

No. 2

A
|

S (2)	S (2)
S (3)	S (3)
S (4)	S (4)
D (5)	D (5)
S (6)	S (6)

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

A
|

S (2)	S (2)
S (3)	S (3)
S (4)	S (4)
D (5)	D (5)
S (6)	D (6)
D (7)	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

A
|

S (2)	S (2)
S (3)	S (3)
S (4)	S (4)
D (5)	S (5)
D (6)	S (6)

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 Bālabhāṭṭa and some others marriage will take place as D(6) is beyond five degrees (tracing through her 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 Pūrvārdha p. 226-227). No. 3 illustrates what is called

sapiṇḍa relationship by 'frog's leap'.¹⁰⁷⁸ Just as a frog leaps from one spot to another leaving intervening objects untouched, so in this example No. 3, there is sāpiṇḍya between D(5) and D(5), but S(6) and D(6) are left unaffected by sāpiṇḍya (as relationship is traced through the mothers of both), while sāpiṇḍya 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.¹⁰⁷⁹

The rules about prohibition of marriage on the ground of sapiṇḍa 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 *patanīya* 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. Baud. 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 Baud. states his own

1078. कूटस्थाल्पश्रव्योः कन्ययोः संततौ मातृद्वारकत्वात्सापिण्ड्यनिवृत्तिः, पञ्चश्रव्योः कन्ययोर्वा पुत्रौ तयोः संततौ पितृद्वारकत्वात्सापिण्ड्यमनुवर्तत इतीदं मण्डूकफुत्तिसापिण्ड्यम् । धर्मसिन्धु III. पूर्वार्धे p. 227; यत्र तु मध्ये विच्छिन्नमपि सापिण्ड्यं मण्डूकफुत्तिवत्पुनरनुवर्तते यथा कूटस्थाल्पश्रव्योः कन्ययोः पुत्रौ तत्र निवृत्तिः तदुपत्ययोस्त्वनुवृत्तिस्तत्रापि न सापिण्ड्या-सापिण्ड्ययोर्दोषः संशयमेवात् । तेन तत्र न विवाहः । निर्णयसिन्धु III पूर्वार्धे p. 283. The सं. कौ. p. 612 refers to this.

1079. मण्डूकगतयोऽधिकाराः । यथा मण्डूका उत्प्लुत्योत्प्लुत्य गच्छन्ति तद्वदधिकाराः । महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 44 and vol. III. p. 25.

1080. पञ्चधा विभूतिपत्तिर्दक्षिणतस्तथोत्तरतः । यानि दक्षिणतस्तानि व्याख्यास्यामः । यथैतद्व्यपेतेन सह भोजनं स्त्रिया सह भोजनं पशुष्वितभोजनं मातुलपितृवृष्यद्विद्वगमनमिति । इतरदितरस्मिन्कुर्वन्नुप्यतीतरदितरस्मिन् । मिथ्यैतदिति गीतमः । उभयं चैव नाद्रियेत शिष्टेषुतिविरुद्धदर्शनात् औ. ध. सू. I. 1. 19-26.

view that one should pay no heed to either set of practices, as both are opposed to smṛtis 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 sūtra writers like Gautama and Baudhāyana reprobated 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 (sapinda) 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 Śātātapa¹⁰⁸¹ 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 sapravarā girl and a text of Sumantu 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 sapinda, 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 (Kṛṣṇa) and Arjuna, the central heroes of the Mahābhārata, is that they respectively married Rukmiṇī and Subhadrā who were their maternal uncle's daughters (this being forbidden). Kumārila makes very scathing remarks against this practice¹⁰⁸² prevalent among southerners and then refutes this charge by saying that although in the Mahābhārata (Ādiparva 219. 17-18) Subhadrā is described as the daughter of

1081. शातातपः । मातुलस्य पुतांशुदुःमातुगोत्रं तथैव च । समानप्रवरां चैव द्विज-
श्चाद्द्विजं चरेत् ॥ सुमन्तुः ... पितृपत्न्यः सर्वा मातरस्तद्भ्रातरो मातुलस्तत्पुता मातुलपुतास्त-
स्मात्ता नोपयन्त्या इति । हरदत्त on आप. ध. सू. II. 5. 11. 16.

1082. स्वमातुलपुतां प्राप्य दासिण्यात्यस्तु तुष्यति । अन्ये तु सत्यलीकेन मनसा तज्ज-
कुर्वन्ति ॥ तन्त्रवार्तिका p. 204.

Vasudeva and sister¹⁰⁸³ of Kṛṣṇa, she was really not so, but that she was Vāsudeva's mother's sister's daughter or was the daughter's daughter of the sister of the father of Vāsudeva's mother (or step-mother Rohiṇī).¹⁰⁸⁴ Kumārila argues that such female cousins one degree or several degrees removed are often spoken of as sisters. Vide my notes to the Vyavahāramayūkha pp. 200-202 where this matter is fully explained. This reply of Kumārila well illustrates the method of dealing with inconvenient texts adopted by mīmāṃsakas like Kumārila when the texts run counter to their cherished views. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 254 quotes Manu XI. 172 and verses of Saṁvarta 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. Aparārka (pp. 82-84) after a lengthy discussion condemns marriage with maternal uncle's daughter. The Nirṇayasindhu 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

1083. शूर had a son वसुदेव and a daughter वृथा (who being given in adoption to कुन्तिभोज was called कुन्ती). Vide आदिपर्व 111. 1-3. The son of वृथा (कुन्ती) was अर्जुन. सुभद्रा is described in the आदिपर्व as the daughter of वसुदेव and sister of वासुदेव (कुष्म). If these words are literally understood सुभद्रा would be Arjuna's maternal uncle's daughter.

1084. यद्यपि वासुदेवस्त्वमेति सुभद्रारूपता तथाप्युत्पत्तौ बलदेववासुदेवयोरेकानं-
शयाश्च निजत्वान्वाख्यान्मातृव्यस्त्रीया सुभद्रा तस्य मातृपितृव्यस्त्रीयादुहिता वेति परिणयस्य-
छजानाद् विज्ञायते । तत्रवार्तिके p. 210.

1085. मातुलानीं तथा श्वश्रू सुतां वै मातुलस्य च । एता गत्वा श्रियो मोहात्पराकेण
विश्रुयन्ति ॥ संवर्त quoted by विश्वरूप on या. III. 254.

1086. किं च कारणश्रद्धाच्चैवमादेराचारस्य । रूपवतीं मातुलकन्यां कामयमाना राज-
भयादृढवन्तः कन्यायमनदूषणे साधुदिति । अन्ये त्वविद्वांसो 'येनास्य पितरो याताः' इत्यस्य
यथाश्रुतमर्थं गृहीत्वा यमायमिति प्रतिपन्नाः । मेधा० on मनु II. 18.

passages of Manu, Śātātapa, 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 śiṣṭas (learned and respectable persons) observe this practice and so such marriages are *sadācūra* 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

1087. समान एव कर्मन् व्याक्रियते तस्मात्समानादेव पुरुषादृता चाथश्च जायेते इदं हि चतुर्थे पुरुषे तृतीये संगच्छामहे इति विदेवं दीव्यमाना जाता आसते । एतस्मादु तत् । सप्तम्य I. 8. 3. 6; उत हि तृतीये पुरुषे इत्याह । अनेन दौहित्र्यान् योर्मातुलदुहितृपैतृवसेयी-परिणयनशुक्तं भवति । तयोः कूटस्थमारभ्य तृतीयत्वात् । संगच्छामहे विवहामहे इत्यर्थः । स्मृतिच० I. p. 72.

1088. Vide Aufrecht's R̥gveda vol. II. p. 672. The verse is आया-हीन्द्र पथिमिरीक्षितेभिर्यज्ञमिमं नो भागयेयं जुषस्व । तृतां जहुर्मातुलस्येव योषा भागस्ते पैतृवसेयी वपामिव ॥ Aufrecht reads तृता जुहुः for तृतां जहुः. This occurs also in the निरुक्तेपरिशिष्ट (XIV. 31 ed. by Roth, though some Mss omit it), where the reading is जुहुः for जहुः; अपरार्क reads 'तृतां जहुर्मातुलस्येव ते तव भागः पैतृवसेयीमपामिवौषः ।'. The text as printed in अपरार्क seems to be corrupt. अपरार्क takes जहुः as meaning त्यक्तवन्तः and adds यथा पैतृवसेयीं भगिनीं भार्या-स्वेनात्यन्तानमिलवर्गीयां त्यजन्ति &c. (p. 83).

as regards prohibited degrees for marriage.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 Smṛticandrikā relies upon a passage of the Caturvīmśatimata 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 Bṛhaspati 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'.¹⁰⁹⁰ So there is smṛti authority for such marriages. Besides southern śiṣṭas deeply read in the Vedas and acting according to the meaning of the Veda practise marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter. Here both Sm. C. and Par. M. are on very firm ground. The Smṛtimuktāphala of Vaidyanātha says 'among the Āndhras śiṣṭas deeply read in the Vedas follow the practice of *mātulasutā-pariṇayana* and among the Draviḍas respectable people allow marriage of a person with a girl who is fourth in descent from the common ancestor'.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 Karhādā brāhmaṇas observe this practice in modern times. The Samskāraustubha (pp. 616-620) and the Dharmasindhu support *mātulasutā-pariṇayana*.

Both the Sm. C. and Par. M. say that though the Vedic passage from the Śatapatha 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

1089. ते चानी शुतिस्मृत्यनुसाराच्चत्वारः कल्पाः । ऊर्ध्वं सप्तमात् पञ्चमाद्वैत्येकः । पञ्चमे मातुतः सप्तमे पितुत इति द्वितीयः । उभयतः पञ्चम इति तृतीयः । चतुर्थेपीति चतुर्थः । पूर्वः पूर्वः श्रेयान् । स्त्रीविषयश्चात्त्यः कल्पः ... एवं च वरचतुर्थे न विवाहः । मन्त्रवर्णोप्येवमेव व्याख्येयः । विश्वरूप on या. I. 53.

1090. देशजातिकुलानां च ये धर्माः भाक्रमवर्तिताः । तथैव ते पालनीयाः प्रजाः प्रशुभ्यतेऽन्यथा ॥ ... चतुर्थेति दाक्षिणात्येमांदुलस्य सुता द्विजैः । बृहस्पति quoted in स्मृतिच० I, p. 10, व्यवहारमयूख p. 7.

1091. दाक्षिणात्यानां मध्ये आम्नेषु त्रैविद्यवृद्धा वेदार्थानुष्ठानाः शिष्टा अपि मातुला-विदुषिदुषारिण्यनमाचरन्ति । द्रविडेषु तथाविधाः शिष्टाः चतुर्थ्यादेविवाहमाचरन्ति । स्मृतिवृ. (वर्णाश्रम p. 131).

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 Śatapatha are also to be construed as a *vidhi* (of the marriage with maternal uncle's daughter).¹⁰⁹² 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.¹⁰⁹³

1092. Jaimini's *sūtra* is विधिर्वा धारणेऽपूर्वत्वात् 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 महापितृयज्ञ there is a passage अधस्तात्समिधं धारयन्नमुद्वेदुपरि हि देवेभ्यो धारयति. In the *homa* for *pitr̥s* the *samidh* is held below the *śruc* 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 *śruc* (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 'dhārayati' is used (and not the potential as is usual in *vidhis*), it is not a mere *arthavāda* but a *vidhi*. So also in the Śat. Br. there is a *vidhi* about 'mātula-sutāpariṇayana.' तेनोपरिवारणमभासम् । न चाप्राप्तं हेतुवज्जिगदेन वर्तमानापदेशेन वासुवदितुं शक्यम् । विधे होमे अधस्तात् शुण्डश्च समिधारायितव्यः देवे च पुनश्चरिष्यदिति । तन्त्रवार्तिका p. 899.

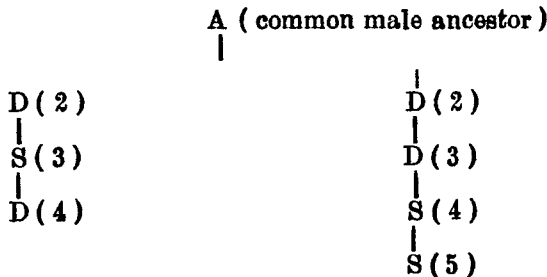
1093. गान्धर्वादिविवाहेषु कन्यामदाभावेन पितृगोत्रसापिण्डव्यथोरानिवृत्तेः । तथा मार्कण्डेयपुराणम् । ब्राह्मादिषु विवाहेषु या तृता कन्यका भवेत् । भर्तृगोत्रेण कर्तव्या तस्याः पिण्डोदकक्रिया ॥ गान्धर्वादिविवाहेषु पितृगोत्रेण धर्मावेत् । ... एतेन मातुलसुताविवाहविषयेऽपि विवादः परास्तः । तथाहि तन्निषेधवचनानि गान्धर्वादिविवाहोदजविषयाणि तत्र सापिण्डवनिवृत्तेरभावात् तदुग्रमाहकश्चुतिरुत्तुतिसदाचारात् । न ब्राह्मादिविवाहोदजविषयाणि । परा. मा. I. 2. p. 63-64.

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 smṛtis which favour the narrowing down of sapinda relationship. For example, the *Caturvīṃśatimata*^{1092a} states 'According to Śākāyāna there is no blame in marrying a girl who is 7th or 6th or 5th (from the common ancestor); similarly Manu, Pārāśarya, Yama and Āṅgīras 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'. Pārāśara (as quoted in the *Nirṇayasindhu* and other works) says 'a man who is himself fourth or fifth (from the common ancestor) may according to Pārāśara'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 *Sāṃskārakaustubha*, the *Sāpīṇḍyadīpikā* 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 smṛti texts, the preferable rule is to follow the opinion of the majority.^{1092b} Gaut., Manu,

1092 a. सप्तमी च तथा षष्ठी पञ्चमी च तथैव च । एवमुद्गाहयेत्कन्यां न दोषः शाक-
दायनः । तृतीयां वा चतुर्थीं वा पक्षयोश्च योरपि । निवाहयेन्मनुः प्राह पाराशरोद्गिरा यमः ।
यस्तु देशादुत्प्रेष्य कुलमार्गेण चोद्गहेत् । नित्यं स ध्येयहायः स्याद्वेदाच्चैतत्प्रवृत्त्यते । इति चतु-
र्विंशतिमतात् । चतुर्थीमुद्गहेत्कन्यां चतुर्थः पञ्चमोपि वा । पाराशरमते षष्ठी पञ्चमी न तु पञ्च-
मीम् । इति पाराशरोक्तेश्च । निर्णयसिन्धु III पूर्वार्धे p. 285.

1092 b. विरोधी यत्र वाक्यानां प्रामाण्यं तत्र भूयसात् । तुल्यप्रामाण्यसमये तु न्याय एव
प्रवर्तते ॥ quoted in मलमासतत्त्व p. 767.

Yaj., Marici 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.^{1093c} 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^{1093d} 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.



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 Caturvimsatimata 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. वेदायौपनिषत्सु त्वात्माधानं तु मनुस्मृतौ । मन्वर्थविपरीता या स्मृतिः सा न भवत्येते ॥ बृहस्पति quoted by अपरार्क on या. II. 21 and कुल्लुक on मनु I. 1.

1093 d. यानि तु चतुर्थीमुद्देशकान्यां चतुर्थः पञ्चमी षष्ठः । ... इत्यादिवचनानि तेषु कानिचिद्विधानि कानिचिद्वक्तृसापत्त्यदिर्भवन्विवक्षयतया विभाषां क्षत्रियादिषु सापिण्ड्यविषयतया वा नेयानिद्विति निर्णयसिन्धुमतम् । धर्मसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p. 228. येषां कुले देवे चाप्युक्तत्वेन सापिण्ड्यसङ्कोचः परंपरया समागतस्तेषां सापिण्ड्यसङ्कोचेन विवाहो न दोषाय स्वकुलदेशविरुद्धेन सापिण्ड्यसङ्कोचेन विवाहो दोषो भवत्येव । धर्मसिन्धु III. पूर्वार्ध p. 228 summarizing the view of the संस्कारकौस्तुभ.

will not be valid according to the 2nd. proviso to sec. 2. The *Nirṇayasindhu*^{1093e} was not prepared to concede that such marriages, though not the best, were at least allowable as inferior (*anukalpa*). The *Dharmasindhu*^{1093f} 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 great¹⁰⁹⁴ deal of discussion in the *smṛtis* and *mābandhas* on the gotra of a woman. Āśv. 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 Hārita 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 āsauca; while Yama 78 and Likhita 26 state that she loses her father's gotra on taking the seventh step. The *Mit. on Yāj. 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 *pinḍadāna*, 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

1093 e. न त्वनुकल्प इति प्रमितव्यम् । निर्णयसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p. 285.

1093 f. अयं सापिण्ड्यसङ्कोचेन विवाहः सङ्कोटोपशक्तेन कार्यः कन्यान्तरालाभे शक्यैर्न कार्यो शुश्रूतल्यादिदोषस्थिते । सापिण्ड्यसङ्कोचवाक्यनामशक्तविषयत्वस्य स्पष्टत्वात् । धर्मसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p. 229.

1094. संवत्सरं वैक ऋषिर्जायते । आश्व. गृ. I. 8. 12; नारायण notes अन्ये त्वाहुः व्रतान्ते एक ऋषिः संपद्यते । पितृगोत्रं विहाय पतिगोत्रं भजत इत्यर्थः ।; संवत्सरे व्यतीते तु तद्गोत्रं नीयते पुनः । त्रिः परिग्रहणादग्नेर्हृदयालम्भनात्तथा । स्वामिगोत्रेण कर्तव्या पिण्डदानोदकाक्रिया ॥ लघुहारीत पृ. 62-63; विशाहे चैव निवृत्ते चतुर्थेहनि रात्रिषु । एकत्वे सा गता भर्तुः पिण्डे गोत्रे च सूतके ॥ स्वगोत्राद् ग्रस्यते नारी विवाहात् सप्तमे पदे । भर्तृगोत्रेण कर्तव्या दानापिण्डोदकाक्रियाः । लिखित 25-26 and यम 86, 78. The words एकत्वं...सूतके are quoted by विश्वरूप on या I. 254 and the verse स्वगोत्राद् is quoted by the *mita.* on या. 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 Aparārka 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 Nāgārjunikonda (of about the 3rd century A. D.) establish that the king Siri Virapurisadata, son of Siri Chāntamūla who had performed the Vājapeya, Aśvamedha 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 Nirṇayasindhu 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.¹⁰⁹⁵ 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 śiṣṭas and is hateful to the people and both again rely on Yāj. I. 156.¹⁰⁹⁶

Another and a very striking instance of the limits of sapinda relationship not being observed is the practice among certain sections of even brāhmaṇas (such as some Deśasthas in Karnāṭaka 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 brāhmaṇas; but in that case no custom as to the validity of

1095. यद्यपि पितृव्यसुक्तयोर्द्वौहोपि मातस्तथाप्यस्वयं लोकविद्विद्धं धर्ममप्याचरेत्
तु इति निषेधाच्चनान्तरेण तदुदाहरणविधानाच्च न कार्यः। निर्णयासिन्धु III, पूर्वार्धे p. 286.
The half verse अस्वयं ... चरेत् तु is Ya. I. 156.

1096. ननु च यदि मातृसपिण्डतया मातुलसुता परिणीयताविधा मातृवसा तदु-
हिता च किमिति न परिणीया। उच्यते। सत्यम्। न ब्रूमः शास्त्रतो न परिणीयेति किं तु लोक-
विशुद्धत्वात्। यच्च धर्ममपि लोकविशुद्धं तज्जातुयेयम्। यदुक्तं मनुना। अस्वयं लोकविद्विद्धं
धर्ममप्याचरेत् तु ॥ स्मृतिच० I. p. 71, vide स्मृतिशु. (वर्णाश्रम p. 131) for almost
the same words.

such marriages was alleged¹⁰⁹⁷. 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 *Saṁskārakaustubha* (p. 620) and of the *Dharmasindhu* (p. 228) are most sensible and practical. They say that even in the Kali age¹⁰⁹⁸ 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.¹⁰⁹⁹

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 *Udvāhatattva* (p. 118), the *Nirṇayasindhu* (p. 289), the *Saṁ. Pr.* (pp. 695-699), *Saṁskāra-Kaustubha* (pp. 621-630) and the *Dharmasindhu* (p. 230) deal with this matter. They all rely on a text of Sumantu¹¹⁰⁰ '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 *स्थुतिच.* I. p. 12 and the *निर्णयसिन्धु* (p. 367) include मातृ-सपिण्डाविवाह among कलिवर्ज्य.

1099. अतः सिद्धमेतत् । कलावपि येषां कुले देशेऽशुक्लपर्वणे सापिण्ड्यसंकोचः परंपरया समागतः तेषां तादृशसंकोचेन विवाहे न दोषः । अस्ति च भार्यात्वोत्पत्तिः । अन्येषां तैः सह व्यवहारे नैव दोषः । स्वयं तु कुलदेशविशुद्धसापिण्ड्यसंकोचेन विवाहे भवत्येव दोषः । न च भार्यात्वोत्पत्तिः । दूर्यन्ते हि स्वयं सापिण्ड्यसंकोचेन विवाहमकुर्वन्तादपि तादृशसंकोचेनासकृज्जातविशोद्देश्यः कुलस्यः कन्याः स्वीकुर्वन्तस्तत्कुलीनाम् आद्यादौ भोजयन्तश्च बहवः शिष्टाः । अत एव मातृलकन्योद्वाहिनां हेमाद्र्यादौ आश्रयिष्येयोपि स्वकुलदेशपरंपरयानागत-सापिण्ड्यसंकोचेन कृतविवाहविषय एवेति बोध्यम् । संस्कारकोस्तुम p. 620.

1100. पितृपत्न्यः सर्वा मातरस्तद्भ्रातरौ मातृलास्तद्भगिन्यो मातृस्वसारस्तद्बुहितरश्च भगिन्स्तद्वपत्यानि भागिन्येयानि । अन्यथा संस्कारारिणः स्युः । सुमन्तु. There are various readings in this passage in all works. *स्थुतिच.* I. p. 70 and *परा. म.* I. 2. p. 64 also quote it. Vide note 1091 where सुमन्तु is somewhat differently quoted by हरदत्त.

latter are one's sister's children; otherwise there would be *samkara* (confusion)'. Two interpretations are placed on this, one view (and that is held by most) is that this lays down *sāpindya* only with the persons specifically mentioned,¹¹⁰¹ while another view (this is held by the Sam. Pr.) is that there is *sāpindya* for four generations from the father of one's step-mother. According to the first view a man cannot marry the daughter or grand-daughter of his step-mother's brother or sister, but his own daughter can marry the son of his step-mother's brother; while according to the second view the latter marriage also would contravene the rule about this extension (*atideśa*) of *sāpindya*.

Marriages with certain girls were forbidden by certain writers on the ground of what is called '*viruddhasambandha*', although there is no question of *sapinda* relationship in such cases. The *Grhya-pariśiṣṭa*¹¹⁰² (quoted in the *Nirayasin* 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 *brāhmapas* as well as *śūdras* 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. अत्र यावद्वचनं वाचनिकमिति न्यायेन परिगणितेष्वेव सापिण्ड्यं न तु सप्तमाद्विपर्यन्तमिति भट्टचरणप्रभृतयो बहवः । सं. कौ. p. 621. For the maxim यावद्वचनं वाचनिकं vide Śābara's भाष्य p. 1324 (on जै. V. 3. 12) 'यावद्वचनं वाचनिकं न सङ्गसुपसैकमिति' and p. 1339 (on जै. V. 4. 11) 'याव ... निकं तत्र न न्यायः क्रमते'.

1102. वसो ... अविरुद्धसंबन्धास्तुपयच्छेत् । ... दम्पत्योर्मिथः पितृमातृसाम्ये विरुद्धः संबन्धः । यथा भार्यास्वसृङ्मुहिता पितृव्यपत्नीस्वसा चेति परिशिष्टोक्तैः (आश्वलायन-श्रुतपरिशिष्ट 22) । निर्णयसिन्धुः । बौधायनः । मातुः सपत्न्या भगिनीं तत्पुत्रां च विवर्जयेत् । पितृव्यपत्नीभगिनीं तत्पुत्रां च विवर्जयेत् । धर्मसिन्धु p. 231; 'पितृमातृसाम्ये इत्युपलक्षणम् । तेन भ्रातृभगिनीसाम्ये स्त्रेष्वप्यभ्रातृसाम्येऽपि नोद्वाहः । ... तद्यथा पितृव्यपत्नीस्वसुः सुता भगिनीसमा भवति । सं. प्र. p. 725.

About the sapinda relationship of the adopted son as regards marriage, āsauca and śrāddha a good deal is said in many works such as Sam. K. (pp. 182-186), Nirṇayasindhu (pp. 290-291), the Vyavahāramayūkha, the Sam. Pr. (pp. 688-694), Sam. R. M. (pp. 453-456). Sāpindya for āsauca and śrāddha will be dealt with later on. As to sāpindya for marriage in the case of adoption there is great divergence of views. The Sam. Pr. (p. 690) says that the son given in adoption has sāpindya for seven generations with his genitive father and for three generations with the adoptive father (pp. 693-694).¹¹⁰³ The Sam. 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 sāpindya with the genitive family for seven generations. But if the ceremonies from jātakarma to upanayana are performed in the adoptive family then he has sāpindya in the adoptive family for seven generations, but only for five generations if only upanayana is performed in the family of adoption. The Nirṇayasindhu gives its own view that there is sāpindya in both families for seven generations. The Vyavahāramayūkha holds (following Gautama IV. 3) that in the case of *kevala 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.¹¹⁰⁴ The Dharma-sindhu follows the Sam. K. generally but it makes one significant remark. It says that several writers hold that in the case of dattaka, sāpindya is to be observed for a lesser number of degrees (than seven or five) in both families.¹¹⁰⁵ The Sam. R. M. (p. 454) says that the limits of sāpindya spoken of as applying to an adopted person extend to his children also.¹¹⁰⁶ As the limits of sāpindya 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 brāhmanas of the Mādhyandina śākhā in the Deccan do not

1103. तस्मादेषा दत्तकसपिण्डता त्रिपौर्वीति सिद्धम् । यद्यपि निर्वाण्य-
पिण्डान्वयेन सापिण्ड्यं प्राङ्निरेस्तं तथाप्यगत्या दत्तकस्य प्रतिग्रहीता सह तदेवाश्रयणीयम् ।
अविच्छिन्नशिष्टाचारोद्योधात् । सं. प्र. pp. 693-694.

1104. अत्र च केवलदत्तकस्य पालकपितृकुले सामपौर्वं मातृकुले च पाश्र्वपौर्वं
सापिण्ड्यम् । व्यवहारमयूख (p. 119, my edition).

1105. केचित्तु दत्तकमवशे कुलद्वयेपि सर्वथा न्यूनमेव सापिण्ड्यमित्याहुः । धर्मसिन्धु
p. 161.

1106. दातृस्य दत्तकस्य च सापिण्ड्यशुक्रं तत्संततरेपि तथैव तद् बोध्यम् ।
संस्कृत-रत्नमाला p. 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 sapinda of the mother (of the bridegroom) and who is not a sagotra 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 *Udvāhatattva* (p. 107) understand the word *asagotra* (in *Manu* III. 5) after 'mātuḥ' 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*¹¹⁰⁷ on *Manu* III. 5 quotes a text of *Vasiṣṭha* which prescribes the penance of *cāndrāyana* 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 *Śātātapa*. *Kullūka*, the *Sm. C.* (I. p. 69), *Haradatta* on *Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 11. 16*, the *Gr. R.* (p. 10), *Udvāhatattva* p. 107 and other digests quote a verse of *Vyāsa* '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 *Nirṇayasindhu*¹¹⁰⁸ (III. *pūrvārdha* 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 *Satyāśāḍha*, that this restriction applies only to those who study the *Mādhyandina śākhā*.

1107. परिणीय सगोत्रां तु समानप्रवरां तथा । कृत्वा तस्याः ससुसर्गं द्विजश्चाद्वायण
चरेत् ॥ मातुलस्य सुतां चैव मातृगोत्रां तथैव च । वसिष्ठ quoted in मेधा०. *Manu*
III. 5 presents various readings, viz. 'दारकर्मणि मैथुने', 'दारकर्मणि मैथुनी',
'दारकर्मण्यमैथुने'. Vide मेधा० thereon.

1108. ब्राह्मादिविवाहोदासुतानां सर्वेषां मातृगोत्रत्वं न वर्ज्यम्, किं तु माध्यन्दिनीया-
नामेव । मातृगोत्रं माध्यन्दिनीयानामिति सत्याषाढोक्तेः । सं. कौ. p. 693; 'इदं मातृगोत्र-
वर्जनं माध्यन्दिनीयानामेव मातृगोत्रं माध्यन्दिनीयानामनुज्ञायाम्नेति सत्याषाढोक्तिरिति
कश्चित्ताज्जिर्मुलम् ।' निर्णयसिन्धु III, पूर्वार्धे p. 302.

The Bengal school represented by the *Dāyabhāga* and *Raghuṇandana* differ from the *Mitākṣarā* in the interpretation of the word 'sapinḍa'. In this system the word 'pinḍa' is taken to mean 'the ball of rice' that is offered in śrāddhas to deceased ancestors &c. (while under the *Mit.* interpretation 'pinḍa' means body or particles of body). *Sapinḍa* 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 *sapinḍa* relationship is to be differently understood. Further *Jimūtavāhana* does not set forth his theory of *sapinḍa* relationship with reference to marriage. His theory is that in matters of inheritance the guiding principle is the spiritual benefit (*upakāra*) conferred on the deceased through oblations of food, and he relies on *Manu* (IX. 106) for this proposition. For his *sapinḍa* 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 *sapinḍas*. Those who participate in divided *dāya* are called *sakulyas*. Thus issue of the body existing, wealth goes to them; on failure of *sapinḍas*, the *sakulyas*'. The text of *Manu* (IX. 186-187) is 'To three, libations of water must be given; towards three *pinḍa* proceeds; the fourth is the giver of these (of water and *pinḍas*), there is no fifth properly (concerned in this). Whoever is the nearest among *sapinḍas*, his becomes the wealth of him (who dies). After him the *sakulya* becomes (the heir) &c'. *Jimūtavāhana's* explanation of this text is as follows: 'A man when living offers *pinḍas* to his three male ancestors; but when he himself dies, his son performs

1109. तथोपकारकत्वेनैव धनेसंबन्धं संसृज्याह । दायभाग chap. 11. sec. 32; इदं च सपिण्डत्वं सकुलत्वं च दायग्रहणार्थमुक्तम् । ... असौचार्थं तु पिण्डलेपमुज्जमानपि तत्तत्पिण्डलेपभोक्तृत्वेन सपिण्डत्वं मार्कण्डेयपुराणे निर्दिष्टं यथा-पिण्डलेपमुज्जमान्ये पितामह-पितामहात् । मनुस्मृत्यास्तृतेषां यजमानश्च सप्तमः । इत्येवं ह्यग्निभिः प्रोक्तः संबन्धः सातपथीयवद् इति । असौचकार इत्यर्थः । दायभाग chap. 11 sections 39-41 (*Jivānanda's* ed.). The passage occurs in *मार्कण्डेयपुराणे* 28. 3-4 and also in *ब्रह्मपुराणे* 112. 17-18.

1110. अपितामहः पितामहः पिता स्वयं सोदर्या भ्रातरः सवर्णायाः पुत्रः पौत्रः भ्रातृपौत्रः । एतान्विभक्तद्विधादानं सपिण्डानाञ्चक्षते । विभक्तद्विधादानं सकुल्यानाञ्चक्षते । सत्त्वज्ञेयुः तदानीं ह्यर्थो भवति । सपिण्डाभावे सकुल्यः । बौ. ध. सू. I. 5. 113-115 quoted in *दायभाग* XI. 37. The text printed in the *Ān. n.* ed. is slightly different.

the *sapindīkaraṇa* ¹¹¹¹ śrāddha for him, he is made one with the pitrs and he then begins to participate along with his father and grandfather in the three piṇḍas offered by his son to the latter's three ancestors. Thus those to whom he offers piṇḍas and those who offer piṇḍas to him are called, since they share in undivided oblations, *avibhaktadāyāda sapindas*. Several objections can be raised against the theory of Jimūtavāhana. In the first place he assigns the meaning of piṇḍa 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 āśauca 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 :

GGF12	—	S13	—	S14	—	S15
GF8	—	S9	—	S10	—	S11
F	—	S5	—	S6	—	S7
(4)						
P	—	S1	—	S2	—	S3

1111. In the *Sapindīkaraṇa* rite four piṇḍas are made, one for the deceased person whose *sapindīkaraṇa* is to be effected and three for that person's three paternal ancestors and the piṇḍas 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 pitrloka. अस्वार्थः । पित्रादिपिण्डत्रये सपिण्डनेन भोक्तृत्वात् पुत्रादिभिश्च त्रिभिः तत्पिण्डस्यैव दातृत्वं यश्च जीवन् यत्पिण्डदाता स मृतः सन् सपिण्डनात् तत्पिण्डभोक्ता एवं च सति मर्त्यास्थितः पुत्रः पूर्वैर्जीवन् पिण्डदाता स मृतः तत्पिण्डभोक्ता च परेषां जीवतां पिण्डसंभदानमृत आसीत् मृतैश्च तैः सह दौहित्रादिद्वयपिण्डभोक्ता अतो येषामयं पिण्डदाता ये वारस्य पिण्डदातारः ते अविभक्तपिण्डरूपं दायमदन्तीत्यविभक्तदायादाः सपिण्डाः । दायभाग chap. XI. 1. para 38.

1112. अत्रापिस्तथो विदुषां वाचनिक एवायमर्थः, तथापि यथोक्त एव वचनयोरर्थो ग्राह्य इत्येतत् किं विस्तरण । दायभाग XI. 6. para 38.

Śrīkrṣṇa, a commentator of the Dāyabhāga and author of Dāyakramasaṅgraha, and Raghunandana, author of Smṛtitattva, and others elaborate these rules. The Full Bench of the Calcutta High Court in *Guru Govind Shaha Mandal* ¹¹¹³ 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 Udvāhatattva ¹¹¹⁴ 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 pindas), 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 Śuddhitattva 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 Udvāhatattva) 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 pitṛbandhus and mātṛbandhus also are forbidden if they are within 7 degrees and 5 degrees respectively from these bandhus. The pitṛbandhus ¹¹¹⁵ 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 mātṛbandhus 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.

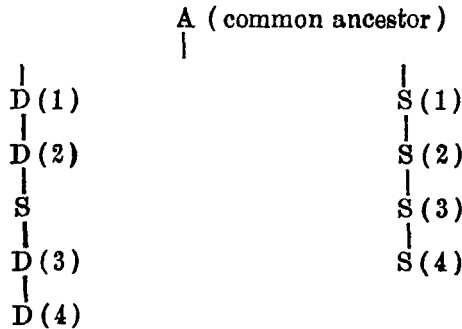
1113. 5 Bengal Law Reports p. 15.

1114. Vide pp. 117-118 of the उद्वाहत्तव for a summary of the rules about सपिण्डनिवृत्ति; about पितृबन्धु and मातृबन्धु he says 'एवं पितृबन्धुभृतिसंबन्धचटकानां सप्तमी संततिः सप्तमीपर्यन्ता नोद्वाह्या । ... एवं मातृबन्धुभृतिसंबन्धचटकानां पञ्चमी संततिः पञ्चमीपर्यन्ता नोद्वाह्या । एवं च मनुवचने ... यदसपिण्डेति पृथक् तत्सपिण्डकन्यापरंपराजाताया अपि पञ्चमीसप्तमीपर्यन्ताया निषेधार्थम् । उद्वाहत्तव p. 110.

1115. पितुः पितृव्यसुः पुत्राः पितृभ्रातृव्यसुः सुताः । पितृभ्रातृपुत्राश्च विज्ञेयाः पितृबान्धवाः ॥ मातुः पितृव्यसुः पुत्रा मातृभ्रातृव्यसुः सुताः । मातृभ्रातृपुत्राश्च विज्ञेयाः मातृबान्धवाः ॥ उद्वाहावाक्य according to मदनपारिजात p. 674 and बौधायन according to परा. मा.

N. B.—Here S1, S2 and S3 are mātṛbandhus 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 mātṛbandhus 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 gotras intervene. In the case of girls descended from pitṛbandhus and mātṛbandhus 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.



Here according to the Bengal school S (4) can marry D (4) because three gotras 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 sapindaśhip, but only the bride need be so; while according to many writers of the Mitākṣarā school both must be beyond the limits of sapindaśhip from the common ancestor.¹¹¹⁶

1116. The निर्णयसिन्धु summarizes the views of Gauda writers: अत्र बन्धुभ्य इति पञ्चमीनिर्देशात् पितुःपितृव्यपुत्रात्सप्तमी मातुःपितृव्यपुत्राच्च पञ्चमीमपि रच्यते । एवमन्यवन्धुषु ज्ञेयम् । तत्रापि त्रिगोत्रात्पितृव्यापि विवाहं कुर्यात् वक्ष्यमाणवचनात् । त्रिगोत्रगणना च मातामहगोत्रापेक्षया न तु स्वापेक्षया अन्यथा पितुः पितामहदुहितृद्वौहित्रीयुक्ती परिणेत्या स्यात् । वच्चा मातामहगोत्रापेक्षया तु त्रिगोत्रान्तर्गततेन विवाहः सङ्गः इति संशयतत्त्वाद्ययो गौडग्रन्थाः । pp. 283-284, where a passage of बृहन्मनु is quoted

The Dāyabhāga does not rely upon any Vedic passages for its theory of sapinda relationship. The Mit. (on Yāj. 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' (Tai. Br. I. 5. 5) and 'this body is made of six kośas (sheaths); three are derived from the father, three from the mother; bones, muscles and marrow from the mother' (Garbhopaniṣad). 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 dharmaśāstras (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; firstly, 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)

from सुलपाणि's संबन्धविवेक 'सुलपाणिरप्याह । पञ्चमात्सम्याच्चावर्गमपि त्रिगोत्रान्तरिता विवाहः । असंबन्धः भवेन्मातुः पिण्डेनैवोदकेन वा । सा विवाहः द्विजातीनां त्रिगोत्रान्तरिता च येति बृहन्मन्त्रकेः ।' The निर्णयसिन्धु notes that southern writers (dākṣiṇāṭya) do not subscribe to this view about three gotras intervening being an exception to śāpinda in marriage. The संस्कारमकरा p. 710 also notes the view of Sūlapāṇi about त्रिगोत्रान्तरिता which means 'सुलपुत्रपुत्रीयाश्चतुर्थ-गोत्रोत्पत्तेरिति'.

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 *sāpindya* (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 ¹¹¹⁷ in the *Rgveda* (I. 162. 19) and the *Tai. S.* IV. 6. 9. 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 *Śat. 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 '*pindadānāya*' (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 *dharmaśāstras* the word *sapinda* occurs frequently and the *dharmaśāstras* show a close connection between offering *pinda* and the taking of inheritance (vide *Gaut.* 14. 13, 28. 21, *Āp. 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, *Yāj.* I. 53, *Nārada* (*stripuṃsa*, 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. एकस्त्वष्टुरश्वस्या विशस्ता द्वा यन्तारा भवतस्तथ ऋतुः । या ते गात्राणामुदया
ज्योति तात पिण्डानां प्र जुहोम्यग्नी ॥ *ऋ.* I. 162. 19 = *तै. सं.* 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 Vāj. 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" (samūha) 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 Rgveda; but the conception underlying the idea of gotra was, it is plain, quite familiar even in the age of the Rgveda. In the Atharvaveda V. 21. 3¹¹⁸ 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 Hotṛ 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. 1. 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. Jamadagni was regarded as a very ancient sage, that several generations of Jamadagni's descendants had passed away by that time, that they were all known as Jāmadagniyas (or-gniyas) and that no two descendants were found to be poor (or grey-haired) in succession.

1118. वानस्पत्यः संभृत उन्निपाभिर्विन्धोऽयः । प्रत्रासमभिन्नेभ्यो वद्व्यायेनाभि-
धारितः ॥ अथर्ववेद V. 21. 3.

In numerous mantras of the R̥gveda the descendants of well-known sages are denoted by the plural form of the names of those sages. In R̥g. X. 66. 14 we read 'the Vasiṣṭhas have raised their voices like their father'. In R̥g. VI. 35. 5 the Bharadvājas are referred to as Āngirases. According to Āśv. Śrauta-sūtra Bharadvāja is a gotra falling under the Āngirogaṇa. 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 (*ādihāna*) of the sacred Vedic fires is to be performed for Bhṛgu or Āngirases with the mantra 'bhṛgūṇām (or āngirasām) tvādevānām vratapate vratenā-dadhāmi,' that for other brāhmaṇas with the words 'ādityānām tvā devānām vratapate' &c. The Tai. Br. II. 2. 3 speaks of the 'Āngirasi prajā' (people of the Āngiras group). The Tāp̥dya Brāhmaṇa ¹¹¹⁹ prescribes that the *camasa* (cup) made of udumbara was to be given as *dakṣiṇā* to a sagotra brāhmaṇa.' The Kauṣītaki 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 Aitāsa and his son Abhyagni and it is stated that the Aitāśāyanas Abhyagnis are the most sinful of the Aurvas. In the Kauṣītaki Br. where the same story occurs it is said that the Aitāśāyanas became lowest among Bhṛgu, as they were cursed by their father. According to Baudhāyanaśrauta-sūtra the Aitāśāyanas are a sub-section of Bhṛgugaṇa. Śunaḥśepa, when he was accepted as a son by Viśvāmītra, came to be called Devarāta and the Ait. Br. (33. 5) says that the Kāpileyas and Bābhruvas were affiliated to Devarāta. According to Baud. śrauta-sūtra Devarāta and Bābhru are sub-sections of Viśvāmītra gotra. Śunaḥśepa is said to have been an Āngirasa 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. सगोत्राय ब्रह्मणे देयः सोमपीयस्याविदोहाय । ताण्ड्य. 18. 2. 12.

1120. ब्रह्मणे समानगोत्रे वसेद्यत्समाने गोत्रेऽस्माद्यं तस्योपात्यै संवत्सरं चरेदयः संवेत्य । कौषीतकि ब्रा. 25. 15.

1121. आङ्गिरसो जन्मनास्याजीमर्तिः श्रुतः कविः । कथे पैतामहात्तन्तोर्भाषाः पुनरेहि माय ॥ दे. ब्रा.

addressed their pupils by the gotra names e. g. by the Bhāradvāja, Gārgya, Āśvalāyana, Bhārgava and Kātyāyana gotras in *Prāśna* I. 1, *Vaiyāghrapadya* 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* ¹¹²² VIII. 2. 8 and 10 it is prescribed that one who has given away everything in the *Viśvajit* sacrifice should stay three nights with *niṣādas* 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 *Dhānāñjapya*, 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 *gṛhya* 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 *Lājāhoma* 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.* 28. 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. विवाहो जनः समोतः समानजन इति धानंजप्यः । लाट्यायनश्रौत
VIII. 2. 11.

(4) In *pārvaṇa sthālipāka* and other *pākayajñas*, all were to cut off oblations from the middle and fore-half of the *havis*, but for Jāmadagnyas (who are *pañcāvattins*) they were to be cut off from the middle, the fore-part and the hind part (vide Āśv. gr. I. 10. 18-19).¹¹²³

(5) In offering water to a *preta* (a person recently dead) his gotra and name were to be repeated (Āśv. gr. IV. 4. 10).

(6) In the *caula* ceremony tufts of hair were to be left in accordance with the gotra and practice of the family (Khādira gr. II. 3. 30).

(7) At the time of performing one's daily *samdhya* prayer, one has to repeat even in modern times one's gotra and *pravara*, the *Vedaśākhā* and *sūtra* which one studies.

As regards śrauta sacrifices a few interesting examples may be given. Jaimini establishes that *sattras* (sacrificial sessions extending over 12 days and more) could be performed only by brāhmanas and that among brāhmanas the Bhṛguś, 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 Sankṛti gotras took Nārāsaṃsa as the second *prayāja*, while others took Tanūnapāt as the second (vide Śabara on Jaimini VI. 6. 1).

The conception of *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' (*prārthanā*).¹¹²⁴ As Agni was invoked to carry the offerings of a sacrificer to the gods by taking the names of the illustrious ṛṣis (his remote ancestors) who in former times had invoked Agni, the word *pravara* came to denote one or more illustrious ṛṣis, ancestors of a sacrificer. A synonym of *pravara* is *ūrṣeya* or *ūrṣa* (as in Yāj. I. 52). *Pravara* entered into several domestic ceremonies and practices according to the gṛhya and dharma sūtras. For example :

(1) a bride was to be chosen whose father's *pravara* was not the same as that of the bridegroom's father. Vide above p. 437.

1123. मध्यात्पूर्वार्धाच्च हविषोऽवयति । मध्यात्पूर्वार्धात्पश्चार्धादिति पञ्चावत्तिनाम् । आश्व. गृ. I. 10. 18-19.

1124. समानमवराः त्वार्थेयः प्रवरः ... इत्यादिषु प्रवरशब्दः प्रविश्यते इति कर्म-भ्युत्पन्न इति प्रवरमन्त्ररीकारः । सं. प्र. p. 598.

(2) In upanayana the girdle (*mekhalā*) was to have one, three or five knots according to the number of ṛsis constituting the boy's pravara (*vide Śān. gr. II. 2*).

(3) In *Caula* 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-mañjarī* (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 sūtrakāras, this being specially so in the text of Āśvalāyana (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'.¹¹²⁵

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 Āśvalāyana (*Uttaraśaṭka VI, khaṇḍas 10-15*), Āpastamba (24th praśna) and Baudhāyana (*B. I. ed. vol. III pravaraḍhyāya at end*) are the most important. The *Pravaramañjarī* (p. 5) has a verse to the effect that Baudhāyana's pravaraḍhyāya is the best on the subject.

The Śrautasūtra of Satyāsādha Hiranyakeśi (21st praśna) has a section on this subject, which is the same as Āpastambaśrauta with a few omissions and variations. The Baudhāyanaśrauta-sūtra says¹¹²⁶ 'Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Bharadvāja, Gautama, Atri, Vasīṣṭha 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.

1125. अत्रोदाहृतेषु सूत्रकार्येषु सूत्रकाराणां पाठक्रमव्यत्यासो महानस्ति विशेषतश्चा-
श्वलायनसूत्रपाठे । ... एवं भेदे सिद्धे सत्यपि बोधायनापस्तम्बकात्यायनादीनां बहूनां
पाठक्रमानुसारेण विवाहाविवाहौ यदयामः । मवरमञ्जरी p. 72 (ed. by Chensalrao).

1126. विश्वामित्रो जमदग्निर्मरदाजोऽथ गौतमः । अत्रिर्वासिष्ठः कश्यप इत्येते सप्त
ऋषयः । तेषां सप्तर्षिणामनृष्यादभ्यानां यदयत्त्यं तद्वैजसुत्यते । चै. श्रौ. प्रवराध्याय 54; and
गोत्राणां तु सप्तर्षाणि प्रयुक्तान्यर्द्धदानि च । ऊनपञ्चाशदेवैषां प्रवरा ऋषिदर्शनात् ॥

XIV. 5. 2. 6) where these very seven sages are enumerated as those intended in the śloka 'arvāg-bilaścamaśa'¹¹²⁷ &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 (Dharmāranya kāṇḍa) contain elaborate enumerations of gotras and pravaras. The Mahābhārata sets out at length the subdivisions (such as Madhuc-chandas, Devarāta) of Viśvāmitragotra in Anuśāsanaparva 4. 49-59. Digests like the Smṛtyarthasāra (pp. 14-17), the Saṁ. Pr. (pp. 591-680), the Saṁ. K. (pp. 637-692), the Nirṇaya-sindhu, the Dharmasindhu, the Bālabhāṭṭi 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 *gotrāvayava*'.¹¹²⁸ Pāṇini

1127. Vide Nirukta XII. 38 for another interpretation of the verse अर्वाग्विलश्चमस &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 prāṇas (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 'तिर्यग्बिलश्चमस &c.'.

1128. अष्टाशीतिसहस्राणि ऊर्ध्वरेतसामृषिणां वभूवुस्तत्रागस्त्याष्टमैर्नारिभिः प्रजनोऽभ्युपगतः । तत्रभवतां यदपत्यं तानि गोत्राणि अतोऽन्ये गोत्रावयवाः । महाभाष्य vol. II. p. 233 on the sūtra गोत्रावयवात् (पा. IV. 1. 78). The आप. घ. सू. (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). याज्ञ. III. 186-187, समापर्व 11. 54 contain somewhat similar verses. समापर्व 11. 54 is 'अष्टाशीतिसहस्राणि ऋषिणामूर्ध्वरेतसाम् । प्रजावतां च पञ्चाशद्वृषीणामपि पौत्रवत्' . 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 pautra-prabhṛti 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 Gārgi, but the grandson would be called Gārgyaḥ and the plural Gargāḥ 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 Pāṇini makes use of this technical sense only in the *apatyādhikāra*, 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 Kāśikā on Pāṇini II. 4. 63, IV. 2. 39 and IV. 3. 80. The Saṁ. 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 brāhmaṇa from the same source ¹¹³⁰. Medhātithi 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 brāhmaṇas, so among brāhmaṇas certain persons are known by immemorial usage (or convention) as belonging to certain gotras like Vasiṣṭha and the sūtra-kāras lay down that a certain gotra has certain pravaras; so the word gotra is applied to Vasiṣṭha and other sages by *rūḍhi* (by convention or long-standing usage). It cannot be supposed that a person called Parāśara was born at a certain time and then his descendants came to be called Parāśaras. In that case the Veda would not be *anūdi* (beginningless), as it is supposed to be, since it mentions Parāśara, Vasiṣṭha &c. So gotra is *anūdi* like the brāhmaṇa 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. अत्र गोत्रभूतमपत्यमनन्तरमपि न तु पाणिनेरिव पारिभाषिकं पौत्रप्रभृद्वेव ।
तथावे प्रभाषाभाषात् । ... अपत्वाधिकारादुपत्र लौकिकस्यैव गोत्रस्य ग्रहणमिति भाष्य-
कैयटपटमञ्जरीदिषु स्थितम् । सं. प्र. pp. 591-92.

1130. यथैव समाने पुरुषत्वे ब्राह्मणत्वादिविशेषः, एवं समाने ब्राह्मणत्वे वसिष्ठादि-
 गोत्रभेदः प्रविगोत्रं च समानार्थयाणि । ... स्मरन्ति च सूत्रकारा ब्रीहमेदंस्तन्मयेन प्रवरान्
 पर्वतद्वर्जं तस्यैव प्रवरा इति । गोत्रभेदस्तु तद्वीजजैश्च स्मर्यते वयं पराशरा वयमुपलभ्यथ इति ।
 यद्यपि गोत्रवत्प्रवरानपि स्मरन्ति तथापि बहुत्वात्कादाचिद्विस्मरेदुच्यते गोत्रक्षुपलक्षणीकृत्य
 प्रवरस्युपलक्षणमिच्छत् । गोत्रं तु स्मरन्ति । न च तस्य किञ्चिदुपलक्षणमस्ति य एवंरूपस्तत्तरेयं
 नोभविती । मेधा on मञ्ज III. 5.

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 brāhmanas have. The secondary meaning may apply to the word gotra when used in the case of ksatriyas'.¹¹³¹ The Mit. on Yāj. I. 53 says 'gotra is that which is known from tradition handed down in the family.'¹¹³² 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.¹¹³³ The gotras are arranged in groups, e. g. there are according to the Āśvalāyana-śrauta-sūtra four subdivisions of the Vasiṣṭha gaṇa, 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 gaṇas, then into pakṣas, then into individual gotras. The first has survived in the Bhṛgu and Āṅgīrasa gaṇa. According to Baud. the principal eight gotras were divided into pakṣas. The pravara of Upamanyu is Vasiṣṭha, Bharadvasu, Indrapramada; the pravara of the Parāśara gotra is Vasiṣṭha, Śāktya, Pārāśarya; the pravara of the Kuṇḍina gotra is Vasiṣṭha, Maitrāvāraṇa, Kaundinya 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'.¹¹³⁴

Though the word pravara does not occur in the Rgveda, the word 'ārseya' occurs therein and the system of pravara goes back almost to the Rgveda. Rg. IX. 97. 51 has 'thereby may we acquire wealth and ārseya resembling Jamadagni's.' Sometimes the idea of invoking Agni is conveyed without using

1131. किमेतद्गोत्रं नाम । आदिपुरुषः संज्ञाकारी विद्यावित्तशौचोदायादिभ्युपयोगेन स्थाततमो येन कुलं व्यपदिश्यते । ब्राह्मणानां च तैरेव (भृगुमर्गालयादिभिः) गोत्रव्यपदेशो युक्तः । तानि हि सुरुषानि गोत्राणि स्वरूपेण तत्र गोत्राब्दः भवति । न हि तेषां गोत्रत्वे एतल्लक्षणमस्ति आदिपुरुषः संज्ञाकारी गोत्रमिति । अनादित्वादेतद्गोत्राणां ब्राह्मणादिजातिवत् । न हि पराशरजन्मत ऊर्ध्वं पराशरव्यपदेशः केषांचिद्ब्राह्मणानाम् । एवं सति आदिभूता येदस्य भस्यते । नहि यथा ब्राह्मणो नित्यं गोत्रं स्मरति एवं क्षत्रियादयः । तस्मात्तेषां लौकिकमेव गोत्रं, आदिपुरुषः संज्ञाकारी स्थाततम इति । मेधा० on मनु. III. 194.

1132. गोत्रं वंशपरंपराभिसिद्धम् । मिताक्षरा on या. I. 53 ; गोत्रं वंशपरंपराभिसिद्धमेव यच्च घृतादिषु गोत्रपरिगणनं तदपि भसिद्धमूलकमेव । सं. प्र. p. 592.

1133. एकं वृणीते द्वौ वृणीते त्रीन् वृणीते न चतुरो वृणीते न पञ्चाते वृणीते इति विज्ञायते । आप. श्रौ. सू. 24. 6. 7.

1134. भवरः गोत्रभर्तृकार्य सुमेर्यावर्तको मुनिगण इत्यर्थः । परा. मा. I. part 2 p. 70. This is quoted in the उद्भाषिते च p. 111.

the word *pravara* or *ārṣeya*. In Rg. VIII. 102. 4¹¹³⁵ it is said 'I invoke Agni just as Aurva, Bhṛgu and Apnavāna did.' It is remarkable that these are three of the five *pravara* sages of the Vatsa-Bhṛgu 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 Aṅgiras.'¹¹³⁶ 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)'.¹¹³⁷ 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 Sāyaṇa), 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 Sāmīdhenī verses) we read "he says 'choose (or invoke) ye the fire called *havyavāhana*'; 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 Bhṛgu Vatsa is 'Bhārgava-cyavana-apnavānaurva-jāmadagnyeti'. This method is employed by the Hotṛ priest when he invokes fire as the divine Hotṛ with the *pravara*-mantra '*Agne mahān-asi brāhmaṇa bhārata deveddha*'

1135. और्वभृगुवत्सुजिमवानवदा हवे। अग्निं ससुदवातसत् ॥ ऋ. VIII. 102. 4. According to the अनुक्रमणी this is a śūkta of a भार्गव named प्रयोग.

1136. प्रियमेधवदप्रियज्जातवेदो विरूपवत् । अङ्गिरसवन्माहिम्नत मत्कापवरस्य सुधी इव ॥ ऋ. I. 45. 3.

1137. प्र ये शृद्धादममदुस्त्वाया पराशरः शतयातुर्वसिष्ठः । ऋ. VII. 18. 21. शतयातु may literally mean 'one who is master of a hundred magic tricks,' or 'on whom a hundred magic tricks were practised'.

manviddha ṛṣistuta &c.' (vide Tai. S. II. 5. 9. and Śat. Br. I. 4. 2, Āśv. Śr. I. 2, 27-I. 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, Ūrvavat, Apnavānavat, Cyavanavat, Bhṛguvat). This mode is employed by the *adhvaryu* when he chooses the Hotṛ priest.¹¹³⁸ The Tai. S. II. 5. 11. 9 appears to refer to one (i.e. 2nd) mode. The Kauṣītaki 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 ṛṣeya 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 kṣatriya to be announced? The reply of the Ait. Br. is 'even in the case of the kṣatriya 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 kṣatriya's initiation as a sacrificer with the ṛṣeya of his family priest and should invoke Agni with the pravara of his family priest.'¹¹³⁹ The Āśv. Śr. (Uttara ṣaṭka VI. 15. 4-5) and Baud. Śr. (pravara-praśna 54) say that in the case of kṣatriyas and vaiśyas the pravara of their purohita was to be employed or the pravara 'Mānava-Aila-Paurūravasa' or simply 'Manuvat.' 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 Śat. Br.

1138. This rule is stated in Āp. Śrauta (24. 5. 8) and Baud. Śrauta (pravara-dhyāya 2) 'अत ऊर्ध्वानध्वर्युर्गृणीतेऽस्यतोर्वाचो होतृत्येष एवमयोः सर्वत्रोद्देशः'.

1139. अथ यद्यजमानस्यार्षेयमाह न ह वा अनार्षेयस्य देवा हविरश्नन्ति तस्मादस्यार्षेयमाह । कौषीतकि ब्रा. III. 2. After the words अग्ने मह्यं अस्ति ब्राह्मण भारत are recited, the invoking of the ṛṣeya of the sacrificer by the Hotṛ priest takes place and then the remaining words of the formula देवेभ्य नन्विद् भविष्यतु &c. are uttered. This is shown by the Tai. S. itself (II. 5. 7. 8) and by the Śat. Br. I. 4. 2. 2-5. Agni is styled by ṛṣi 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 अग्निर्देवो होता देवान् यदादिर्होतृत्वान्मनुष्यं रतवत् and then recites the pravara of the *yajamāna* with 'vat' added to each name and then proceeds ब्रह्मवदा च वसद् ब्राह्मणा अस्य यज्ञस्य प्रावितारः (vide Śat. Br. I. 5, 1. 5-13, Āp. Śr. II. 16. 5-11). It is on account of this that the Saṃskṛataratnamālikā (p. 416) explains *pravara* as प्राविशन्ते अग्निर्विशेषणत्वेनोत्कीर्त्यन्ते इति मन्त्राः. The names of the ancient illustrious sages become the attributes of Fire that is invoked by the hotṛ.

I. 4. 2. 3-4¹¹⁴⁰ 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. Āṅgiras, Kāśyapa, Vasiṣṭha, Bhṛgu.¹¹⁴¹ 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 Āṅgiras (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 Āṅgirasagana. So even Baud. is not to be implicitly followed. The Bālabhāṭṭi mentions eighteen principal gotras (eight as in Baud. plus ten more some of which are names of mythical kings¹¹⁴²). Baud. himself says that there are millions of gotras and in the Baud. Pravarādhyāya there are over 500 names of gotra and pravara sages; while the Pravaramaṇjari quotes a verse that 'there are three crores of them'¹¹⁴³ and so the gotra system is difficult to comprehend, and it mentions about 5000 gotras. Therefore, as the Smṛtyarthasāra says the nibandhas endeavour to place the innumerable gotras under groups and distribute them among 49 pravaras (mentioned by Baud.)¹¹⁴⁴. Some idea of these

1140. अथर्विषं प्रवृणीते । ... परस्ताद्वर्वाक् प्रवृणीते परस्ताद्वर्वाच्यः मजाः मजा-
यन्ते । ज्यायसस्यतय उ चैवेतं निहृते । इदं हि पितृवाग्नेऽथ पुत्रोथ पौत्रस्तस्मात्परस्ताद्वर्वाक्
प्रवृणीते । शतपथ I. 4. 2. 3-4; compare कात्यायनश्रौत III. 2. 7-11 अथ प्रवृणीतेऽ-
भिर्वैवो वैश्यो होता देवान्यसाद्विद्वान्श्चिक्त्वान्मनुष्यश्चरतवदुषदुषुवादिति यजमानार्थ्याण्यह
परस्ताद्वर्वाश्च त्रीणि । यावन्तो वा मन्त्रकृतः । पुरोहितार्विषेण वा । सत्रियवैश्योश्च
नित्यम् । मनुष्यदिति वा सर्वेषाम् ।

1141. मूलगोत्राणि चत्वारि ससुत्यज्ञानि पार्थिव । अङ्गिराः कश्यपश्चैव वसिष्ठो भृगुरेव
च ॥ कर्मतोऽन्यानि गोत्राणि ससुत्यज्ञानि पार्थिव । नामधेयानि तपसा तानि च ग्रहणं
सताम् ॥ शान्तिपर्व 297. 17-18.

1142. अथ संग्रहकुर्वतसंग्रह उच्यते । जामदग्न्यो वीतहव्यो वैश्यो धृत्समदाक्षयः ।
वाग्रश्चो गौतमाक्षयश्च भरद्वाजाक्षयः कपिः ॥ हारतो मौद्रत्यकप्यौ विष्णो विष्णुवृक्षकः ।
अत्रिर्विश्वामित्रको च वसिष्ठः कश्यपाक्षयः ॥ अगस्त्यश्चेति सुनयो ह्यष्टादशगणाः स्मृताः ।
वाल्मीकी on मितान् on वा. I. 53 (p. 176, ed. by Gharpure).

1143. 'गोत्राणां कौटिहसंख्यानितयमितिनतां दुर्ग्रहत्वाच्च तस्मात् । प्रवरमञ्जरी p. 2.

1144. सुनिर्णीतप्रवरैरुत्पन्नाशता वयम् । अनन्तान्यपि गोत्राणि वर्गिकृत्यामिद-
म्भवे ॥ स्तुत्यर्थेसार p. 15.

gotras and their distribution among the pravara is given below. The appendix under note No. 1144 collects together the 49 pravara groups.

The Bhṛgugana and the Āngirogana are very extensive. The Bhṛgus are of two sorts, Jāmadagnya and non-Jāmadagnya. The Jāmadagnya Bhṛgus are again twofold, Vatsas and Bidas (or Vidas); the non-Jāmadagnya Bhṛgus are fivefold viz. Ārṣṭiṣeṇas, Yāskas, Mitrāyus, Vainyas and Śunakas (these latter five are called *kevala Bhṛgus*). 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 Ārṣṭiṣeṇas also has five sages.¹¹⁴⁵ These three (viz. Vatsas, Bidas and Ārṣṭiṣeṇas) are styled *pañcāvattin* (Baud. 5) and they cannot inter-marry (the reason will be explained below). The five non-Jāmadagnya Bhṛgus have each of them numerous sub-divisions. These divisions of Bhṛgus 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, Bhṛgus have twelve sub-divisions (vide Saṁ. Pr. p. 625).

The Āngirogana has three divisions, Gautamas, Bharadvājas and kevalāṅgirasas; out of whom Gautamas have seven sub-divisions, Bharadvājas have four (Raukṣāyanas, Gargas, Kapis and Kevala-Bharadvājas), and Kevala-Āngirasas 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 subdivisions. Atri (one of the eight primary gotras) is subdivided into four (Atris proper, Vādbhūtakas, Gavisthiras, Mudgalas). Viśvāmitra is sub-divided into ten, which are further sub-divided into 72 gotras. Kaśyapas are sub-divided into Kaśyapas, Nidhruvas, Rebhas, and Śaṇḍilas. Vasiṣṭha has four sub-divisions (Vasiṣṭhas with one pravara only, Kuṇḍīnas, Upamanyus and Parāśaras) which are further sub-divided into 105 gotras. Agastya has three sub-divisions (Agastyas, Somavāhas and Yajñavāhas), the first of which is further sub-divided into twenty gotras.

1145. इत्येते वत्साः । तेषां पञ्चार्थेयः प्रवरो भवति भार्गव्यावनामवानौर्वजामद्वयेति होत। जमदग्निवद्वर्वदमवानवच्यवनवद्वधुवद्वित्यध्वयुः । बौ. (3); इत्येते विदास्तेषां पञ्चार्थेयः प्रवरो भवति भार्गव्यावनामवानौर्वजदेति होत विद्वद्वर्वदमवानवच्यवनवद्वधुवद्वित्यध्वयुः । बौ. (4); आर्षिषेणानां भार्गव्यावनामवानौर्वजेष्वेति । आश्व० (also बौ. 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-Vaitahavya-Sāvetasa-iti'.¹¹⁴⁶ So also though the gotras Śaṅkṛti, Pūtimāṣa, Tanḍi, Śambu and Śaṅgava are different, there can be no marriage between them as the pravara is the same, viz. 'Āṅgīrasa, Gaurivīta, Śaṅkṛtya' (acc. to Āśv. 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 Bhṛgu group and the group of Āṅgīrasas. 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, Bidas 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 Mitrāyus (pravara Vādhryaśva according to Āśv.), the Vasiṣṭhas (other than Kuṇḍina, Parāśara and Upamanyu) have only one pravara Vāsiṣṭha, the Śunakas have one pravara Gr̥tsamada (according to Āśv.) or Śaunaka or Gārtsamada (according to Baud. 9); the Agastis have one pravara Āgastya (according to Āp. Sr. 24. 10. 9); Āśv. optionally allows three pravaras to Mitrāyus (Bhārgava-Daivodāsa-Vādhryaśva) and to Śunakas (viz. Bhārgava-

1146. आश्वलायनश्रौत says 'यास्कवाधूलमौनमौकशार्कशास्तिशार्दसावर्णिशालंकायन-जैमिनि-द्वैवत्यायनानां भार्गवैतहस्यसावेतसेति'; vide also स्मृतिच० I. p. 68, मदनपारिजात p. 138.

1147. द्वापर्यसंनिपातेऽविवाहकृपार्येयाणां त्र्यपर्यसंनिपातेऽविवाहः पञ्चापर्ययाणाम् । असमानप्रवरैर्विवाहः । एक एव ऋषिर्वापस्त्रिवरेष्वनुवर्तते । तावत्समानगोत्रत्वमन्यत्र भृगवङ्गिरसां गणितम् । इति । पञ्चानां त्रिषु सामान्यादविवाहस्त्रिषु द्वयोः । भृगवङ्गिरसगणेष्वेव त्रैविष्येकाप्यचारयेत् । चौ. (प्रवराध्याय 2).

Śaunahotra-Gārtśamada) and Āp. also allows to Agastis three pravaras (Viz. Āgastya-Dārdhacyuta-Aidmavāha-iti). According to Āp. and the purāṇas, Dhāpayantas have two pravaras (Vaiśvāmītra-Paurāṇa-iti), Aṣṭakas Lohitas have two (Vaiśvāmītra-Aṣṭaka-iti), and Śaṇḍilas also have two (Daivala-Asita-iti). But he says that according to some the latter have three pravaras also (Kāśyapa-Daivala-Asita-iti), while Baudhāyana gives four optional groups of three sages each for Śaṇḍilas (Baud. 43). For Vāri-Dhāpayantas Āśv. prescribes three only (Vaiśvāmītra-Devarāta-Paurāṇa) and also for the Aṣṭakas. According to Baud. the Vatsas, Bidas and Ārṣṭiṣeṇas (among the Bhṛḡus) have five pravara sages; so also among Āṅgirasas, the Kaumaṇḍas, Dīrghatamasas, Raukṣāyaṇas 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). Āśv. uses the word 'dvipravācanāḥ' for them ¹¹⁴⁹. They are principally three viz. Śauṅga-śaiśiris, Samkṛtis and Laugākṣis. From a Śuṅga, a sub-division of Bharadvāja gotra, was born a son to the wife of a Śaiśiri, a sub-division of Viśvāmītra (by *niyoga*); the son, therefore, came to be called Śauṅga-Śaiśiri. Therefore Śauṅga-Śaiśiris cannot marry in both Bharadvāja and Viśvāmītra gotras. Their pravaras are given below ¹¹⁵⁰. 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. 682-686), Nirṇayasindhu p. 300 ff. may be consulted. In the case of the adopted son also, on the analogy of the Śauṅga-śaiśiris,

1148. निवृणीते मन्त्रकृतो वृणीते यथर्षि मन्त्रकृतो वृणीत इति विज्ञायते। आप. श्रौ. 24. 5-6.

1149. अथ य एते द्विप्रवाचनाः यथैतच्छौकशैशिरयः । भरद्वाजा ह शुङ्गाः कर्ताः शैशिरयः । आश्व. श्रौ. (Uttaraśaṭka VI).

1150. According to आश्व. the प्रवर of शौकशैशिरि is आङ्गिरसवार्हस्पत्य-भारद्वाजकात्याकीलेति । According to others it is आङ्गिरसवार्हस्पत्य-भारद्वाज-शौकशैशिरिरेति or they are only त्रिप्रवर, आङ्गिरसकात्याकीलेति । vide सं. प्र. p. 642 and सं. कौ. 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 *svadhā* (śīaddhas etc.) of the giver ceases', 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 kṣatriyas. It appears from the Ait.Br. quoted above (p. 488) that in the case of kṣatriyas the pravara of their *purohita* was employed in religious acts where pravara had to be recited. This leads to the inference that most kṣatriyas had forgotten their gotras and pravaras by that time. The Śrauta sūtras allow ¹¹⁵² an option to kṣatriyas (to kings according to Āśv.). 'They may employ the pravara of their purohitas or all kṣatriyas may employ the same pravara viz. Mānava-Aila-Paurūravasa-iti'. Medhātithi on Manu III. 5 states that the distinctions of gotras and pravaras concern primarily brāhmaṇas alone and not kṣatriyas 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 kṣatriyas 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 Sam. 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. उक्तं च पारिजाते संग्रहे-द्वचासुष्यायणका ये च दत्तकक्रीतकादयः । गोब्रह्मये-
प्युद्धाह्याः शौङ्गशैशिरयो तथा ॥ तथा नारायणवृत्तौ । दत्तकक्रीतादीनां जनकपालकयोगात्रि-
निषेधः शौङ्गशैशिरस्य प्रदर्शनार्थत्वादिति । सं. कौ. p. 688 ; विवाहे तु दत्तकमात्रेण बलिजि-
प्रतिग्रहीत्रोः पित्रोगोत्रप्रवरवर्जनं कार्यम् । प्रवरमख्यार्थादिनिवन्धेषु तद्विषयोक्तेः । सं. कौ.
p. 182 ; compare सं. प्र. pp. 656-657, रुंस्काररत्नमाला pp. 451-456 (where the
rules about marriage, āśauca and offering of pinḍa as to adopted sons
are considered).

1152. पुरोहितप्रवरो राज्ञाम् । अथ यदि सार्धं प्रवृणीरन् मानवैलपौरवसेति । आम्ब.
औ. ; अथ क्षत्रियाणाम् । यद्यह सार्धं प्रवृणीरजेक एवेषां प्रवरः मानवैलपौरवसेति । पुरुरवो-
वदिदावन्मनुवदिति । आप. औ. 24. 10. 11-12 ; क्षत्रियाणां त्रयार्थेयः प्रवरो भवति
मानवैलपौरवसेति होता पुरु मनुवदित्यध्वर्युः । क्षत्रियवैश्यानां पुरोहितप्रवरो
भवतीति विज्ञायते । बौ. (प्रवराध्याय 52-54).

1153. यद्यपि राजन्यविशं प्रातिस्विकयोत्राभावात्प्रवरभावस्तथापि पुरोहितगोत्रप्रवरो
वेदितव्यौ । तथा च 'यजमानस्यापेयान् प्रवृणीते' इत्युक्तेः 'पुरोहिद्यान् राजन्यविशं
प्रवृणीते' इत्याहोश्वलायनः । मितान् on या. I. 52. The quotation is from आम्ब.
औ. I. 3. The मितान् passage is quoted in the उद्वाहत्त्व p. 111.

went to the court of Virāta in the guise of a brāhmaṇa and was asked by the king to state his gotra he said that he was of the Vaiyāghrapadya gotra (Virāta-parva 7. 8-12). That this was the gotra of the Pāṇḍavas also follows from the fact that in the Bhīṣmatarpaṇa¹¹⁵⁴ that is performed on the eighth day of the bright half of Māgha, Bhīṣma's gotra is given as Vaiyāghrapāda or-padya and pravara as Sāmkr̥ti. Jaimini (VI. 6. 12-15) establishes that the Kulāyayajña was to be performed jointly by a king and his purohita (and so they could use different pravaras it appears). The Pallavas of Kāñci had Bhāradvāja as their gotra (vide E. I. vol. I p. 5). The Cālukyas are often described as 'mānavya-gotra' (vide E. I. vol. VI. p. 337). In a copper-plate grant of Jayacandradeva (dated samvat 1233 i. e. 1176 A. D.) the donee was a kṣatriya described as Rāuta-śrī-Rājyadharavarman of the Vatsa gotra and of five pravaras viz. Bhārgava-Cyavana-Apnavāna-Aurva-Jāmadagnya.¹¹⁵⁵ In the Garra (Bundelkhand) plate of the Candella king Trailokyavarman of Kālāñjara a village is granted to Rāuta Sāmanta of the Bhāradvāja 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 Bhāskaravarman, E. I. vol. 14, p. 202ff (500 donees with gotras in the time of Candradeva Gāhaḍavāla, samvat 1150), E. I. vol. 13 p. 237, E. I. vol. 8 pp. 316-317 (śake 1346), E. I. vol. 9 p. 103 (32 donees with gotras, pravaras, śākhās &c.), E. I. vol. 12 pp. 163-167 (120 donees with gotras, śake 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 had¹¹⁵⁶ a single pravara 'Vātsapra', while according to Baud. they had three, viz.

1154. The मन्त्र in the भीष्मतर्पण is वैयाघ्रपादगोत्राय सांकृतिप्रवराय च गङ्गापुत्राय भीष्माय प्रदात्येहं तिलोदकम् । अपुत्राय दद्यात्येतत्सलिलं भीष्मवर्जम् । स्मृतिक० I. p. 198; vide also कृत्यरत्नाकर pp. 509-10.

1155. Vide I. A. vol 18 pp. 136-138.

1156. एकावैया विशः । वात्समेति होता । वत्सप्रवदित्यध्वर्युः । आप. 24. 10. 16; वैश्यानां त्र्यध्वर्युः प्रवरे भवति भाल-द्वन्द्ववात्सप्रमाङ्गितिलेति होता । माङ्गवितलवद्वत्सप्रव-ल-द्वन्द्ववदित्यध्वर्युः । बौ. (प्रवराख्याय 53).

Bhālandana-Vātsapra-Māṅktila'. They could also employ the pravara of their purohitas. The Saṁ. 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.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 Saṁ. K. and Saṁ. 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 Sm. C. (śrāddha 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 piṇḍa 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 Bannahalli plate of the Kadamba king Kṛṣṇavarma II (E. I. vol. VI, p. 18) a śreṣṭhin (a merchant) is said to have been of the Tuṭhiyalla 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 *śake* 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 sūtrakāras about the sages constituting the pravara e. g. as to Śāṇḍilyagotra. Āśv. gives two groups of the sages 'Śāṇḍīla-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; Śāṇḍīla-Asita-Daivala-iti; Kāśyapa-Avatsāra-Śāṇḍīla-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.¹¹⁵⁸ (pravaraḍhyāya sec. 44) notes that

1157. अथासंप्रज्ञातवन्पुराचार्यस्तु व्याप्य मनुष्यं वीताचार्यमवरं प्रवृणीत । आप. औ. 24. 10. 17.

1158. इत्येते लोकाक्षयोऽहर्वसिद्धा नर्त्त कश्चिदास्तेषां चार्षेयः प्रवरो भवति काश्यपावत्सारवासिष्ठेति होता काश्यपावत्सारवासिष्ठेति वा । औ. (प्रवराध्याय 44). वासिष्ठेः काश्यपौर्नित्यं लौगाक्षिणामनन्वयः । अहर्वसिद्धोक्तिस्तु प्रयाजाद्व्यादयोचरा # स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 15, अथ वीतहत्या यास्कवाधूलौनमौकाः । तेषां चार्षेयः । भार्गव-वेतहव्य-सावेदसेति ।... अथ वेत्याः पार्थाः तेषां चार्षेयः । भार्गववन्वयपार्येति । आप. औ. 24. 6. 1-2 and 7-8.

the Laugākṣis (or Laukāksis) are Vasiṣṭhas by day and Kaśyapas by night and their pravaras also show this double relationship. The Smṛtyarthasāra says that this picturesque description of them has reference to the *prayājas* 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 Vitahavya and Vainya and among the names of pravara sages many legendary kings like Māndhātṛ, Ambariṣa, Yuvanāśva, Divodāsa appear. Vitahavya figures even in the R̥gveda as closely connected with the Bhṛgu (R̥g. VI. 15. 2-3). In the Mahābhārata it is narrated that Vitahavya, being a king, attacked Divodāsa, whose son Pratardana pursued Vitahavya, whereupon Vitahavya took shelter with Bhṛgu and that when Pratardana asked Bhṛgu whether there was any kṣatriya in the hermitage, Bhṛgu replied that there were all brāhmaṇas and that by this Vitahavya became a brāhmaṇa (Anuśāsana chap. 30).

Similarly the pravara of the Hārītas is either Āngirasa-Ambariṣa-Yauvanāśva-iti or Māndhātṛ-Ambariṣa-Yauvanāśva-iti. These are mythical royal sages. Among ¹¹⁵⁹ the Bhṛgu 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 (Droṇa-parva 69); he is called 'ādirāja' in Anuśāsana 166. 55. The Vāyupurāṇa in several places narrates that some kṣatriyas became the pravaras of brāhmaṇas. Vide chap. 88. 72-79, (about Viṣṇuvṛddha, ¹¹⁶⁰ who was descended from Purukutsa, whose son was Trasadasyu), chap. 88. 6-7, 92. 6, 99. 158-161, 99. 169-170 (Ānan. ed.) for other examples ¹¹⁶¹. 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 purāṇas retain very ancient traditions of times when there were no water-tight varṇas and that ancient kings were learned in the

1159. चैन्याः पार्था चाष्कलारतेषां चार्धेयः प्रवरो भवति मार्गवैश्यपार्थेति होता ।
बौ. (प्रवरः १५५ ४).

1160. The प्रवर of विष्णुवृद्धगोत्र is आङ्गिरसपौत्रकुत्सनासदस्यवेति (vide Baud. sec. 20).

1161. अञ्चरीयस्तु नामागिर्विरूपस्तस्य चात्मजः । पुत्रदम्बो विरूपस्य तस्य पुत्रो रथितः । एते क्षत्रमधस्ता वै पुनश्चाङ्गिरसः स्मृताः । रथितराणां प्रवराः क्षात्रोपेता द्विजातयः ॥
वायु ८८. ६-७.

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.¹¹⁶² (pravarādhyāya 54) says that if a man has intercourse with a sagotra girl he should undergo the penance of cāndrāyaṇa, 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 Kāśyapa. 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 cāndrāyaṇa.¹¹⁶³ 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 cāṇḍāla.¹¹⁶⁴ The rule of Baud. that there would be no blemish and the child will be of Kāśyapa gotra is restricted to inadvertently marrying such a girl.¹¹⁶⁵ The Sam. Pr. quotes a verse of Kātyāyana to the effect that if a marriage is gone

1162. सगोत्रो गत्वा चान्द्रायणं चरेद् व्रते परिनिष्ठिते ब्राह्मणीं न त्यजेन्मातृवद्भयिनी-
वद् गर्भो न दुष्यति कश्यप इति विज्ञायते । बौ. (प्रवराध्याय 54).

1163. परिणीय सगोत्रां तु समानप्रवरां तथा । त्वागं कृत्वा द्विजस्तस्यास्ततश्चान्द्रायणं
चरेत् ॥ त्र्यगिन्द्रायणभोगस्य न तु तस्याः । यथाह सुमन्तुः । मातुलसुतां पितृवसेषां समा-
नार्थगोत्रां च परिणीय चान्द्रायणं चरेत् । परित्यज्येतां विभ्रयादिति । एतच्चामातिपूर्वे वेदित-
व्यम् । अपारका p. 80. The verse परिणीय is ascribed to ज्ञातव्य by सं. प्र.
p. 680 and other writers ; सुमन्तु is quoted in उद्वाहतरत्न p. 111.

1164. समानगोत्रप्रवरां कन्याभूदुपिगम्य च । तस्यामुत्पाद्य चण्डालं ब्राह्मण्यादेष्ट-
वीयते ॥ आपस्तम्ब quoted in सं. प्र. p. 680 and उद्वाहतरत्न p. 112.

1165. यदि कश्चिज्ज्ञानतस्तां कन्याभूदुपि गच्छति । शुश्रूष्यतस्तच्छ्रुत्येदमर्हत्तज्जोत्स्यतां
व्रजेत् ॥ भोगतस्तां परित्यज्य पालयेज्जननीमिव । अज्ञानादैर्द्वयैः शुश्रूषेन्नभिर्गमिर्हत्तु करण्यः ।
स्मृत्यर्थसागर p. 16.

through with a sagotra, 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.¹¹⁶⁶

Questions about the validity of sagotra 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 *Sāstric* procedure between persons who are sagotra or sapravara. Upon the strict letter of the dharmaśāstra texts such marriages are absolutely void. But it seems that the legislature should intervene and declare sagotra 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 sagotra 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 (*adr̥ṣṭa*) 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 every-body has given up the ancient cult of the *śrauta* and *gr̥hya* 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 brāhmanas now do not remember their pravara themselves but have to be told by the priests what their pravara is. Certain prohibitions against

1166. विकर्मस्थः सगोत्रो वा दासो दीर्घमयोऽपि वा । ऊढापि देवा सान्धस्थौ समा-
वस्यसुषणा । इति कात्यायनीयं सगोत्रोद्वायाः पुनर्विवाहस्मरणं तद्युगान्तरविषयम् । सं. प्र.
p. 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 pinda (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 Lāṭyāyana śrauta and in grhya 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. *niyoga*). 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 Brahmapurāṇa¹¹⁶⁷ that sagotra and sapinda marriages are forbidden in the Kali age. It may be argued with some force that this implies that sagotra 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 sūdras 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 putrikā or married in the Gāndharva or Āsura form she retained the gotra of her father and the son of the putrikā would have the gotra of his maternal grand-father and yet being of a different family his marriage with the daughter of a sagotra 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 sapindas as taking place in former ages has probably marriage with maternal uncle's daughter in view. When in the kalivarjya 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. सगोत्राद्वा सपिन्दाद्वा विवाहो गोवधस्तथा । नराश्वमेधौ मद्यं च कलौ वर्ज्यं
द्विजातिभिः ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण quoted in अपरार्क pp. 15 and 63 &c.

as when in a crowd many have umbrellas and a few have not, a speaker still says with reference to the whole crowd 'chatrīṇo gacchanti' (here go persons with umbrellas).

There are certain other prohibitions about marriage. The *Smṛtimuktāphala*¹¹⁶⁸ quotes a verse of Hārīta 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 *Viṣṇu 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*¹¹⁶⁹

1168. मत्स्यब्राह्मणे नैव कार्यो नैकस्मै दुहितुद्वयम् । न चैकाजातयोः पुंसोः प्रपञ्चेदुहितुद्वयम् ॥ स्मृतिषु. (वर्णाश्रमधर्म p. 148); vide also सं. प्र. 725-26 quoting मयोन-परिजात for similar verses; सं. कौ. p. 694 quotes almost the same verse as नारदः. We know from the *Mahābhārata* *Ādiparva* that Bhīṣma carried off the three daughters of the king of Kāśī for his *protégé* Vicitravīrya and got two of them married to him. Similarly the Sinda chief Cāvunḍa appears to have married Lakṣmādevī and Siriyādevī, the two daughters of Kalacurya Bijjala, at the same time (E. I. vol. 20 pp. 109, 111, dated *śaka* 1109).

1169. पिता दद्यात्स्वयं कन्यां आता वाचुमते पितुः । पितामहो मातुलश्च सकुलया चाप्यवस्ताया ॥ माता स्वभावे सर्वेषां प्रकृतौ यदि वर्तते । तस्याममकृतिस्थायां द्यूः कन्यां सनाभयः । यदि तु नैव कञ्चित्स्यात्कन्या रजिजानमाभयेत् । अनुज्ञया तस्य वरं मतीत्य वरयेत्स्वयम् ॥ नारद (क्रीडित 20-22).

(*śrīpumsa* 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 *svayamvara* 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 *svayamvara* 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 *kanyūdāna* she cannot personally engage but has to get it done through some 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), *Ranganai 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 *svayamvara* or when the mother is to give away the girl in marriage, the girl or mother should perform the *Nāndīśrāddha* and the principal *samkalpa* is to be pronounced by her and the rest of the

rite is to be performed through a brāhmana.¹¹⁷⁰ 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.¹¹⁷¹ 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^{1171a} 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 *Khushalchand 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.'¹¹⁷² There is another passage of the Veda relied upon along with the above by the *pūrvapakṣa* (the plausible view-point) in Jaimini (VI. 1. 10-11) which denies that women have a right to

1170. कन्यास्वयंवरे मातृर्दातृत्वे च तान्याभेव नान्दीश्राद्धं कार्यं तत्र माता कन्या वा स्वयं प्रधानसङ्कल्पमात्रं कृत्वा अन्यद् ब्राह्मणद्वारा कारयेत् । धर्मसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p. 251. These words are taken from the प्रयोगपरिजात; vide निर्णयसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p. 306.

1171. यदाह नारदः । स्वतन्त्रोपि हि यत्कार्यं कुर्यादप्रकृतिं गतः । तदप्यकृतमेव स्याद-
रचातन्त्रस्य हेतुतः ॥ अपरार्क p. 92 on या. I. 63.

1171 a. यदि तु विवाहो निवृत्तस्तदा प्रधानस्य निष्पन्नत्वेनाधिकारवैकल्याच्च तस्य पुनरावृत्तिरिति । उद्गाहतरव p. 127 ; यदि तु सप्तपदीविवाहहोमादि प्रधानं जातं तदङ्ग-
वैकल्यानापि नावृत्तिविवाहस्य । गोदा अप्येवमाहुः । निर्णयसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p. 307 ; vide also सं. र. मा. p. 497 to the same effect.

1172. ऋतं वै सत्यं यज्ञोद्भूतं स्त्री अदत्तं वा दत्ता करोति या पत्युः क्रीता सत्यया-
न्यैश्चरति । मैत्रा. 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).¹¹⁷³ This shows that, even if some girls were purchased for marriage in the times of the Maitrāyaṇīya S., there was a popular revulsion of sentiment about this practice and the sale of girls was severely condemned by the time of the sūtrakāras. The Āp. Dh. S. (II. 6. 13. 10-11) also makes interesting remarks on this point¹¹⁷⁴ "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 Mānuṣa (i.e. Āsura) form of marriage. The Nirukta VI. 9¹¹⁷⁵ 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 'vijāmātā' means among the southerners the husband of a woman who is purchased; what is meant is that he is a

1173. शबर on जै. VI. 1. 10 puts the पूर्वपक्ष view as 'कथयिकथसंयुक्ता हि स्त्रियः । पित्रा विक्रीयन्ते भर्त्रा क्रियन्ते : ... विक्रयो हि श्रूयते 'शतमातिरथं दुहितुमते दद्यात्' &c. and on जै. VI. 1. 11 he says 'या पत्या क्रीता सत्यधान्यैश्चरतीति क्रीततां दर्शयति'. कथयय धर्ममानत्त्वम् । जै. VI. 1. 15 ; शबर 'यत्तु कथः श्रूयते धर्ममात्रं तु तत् । नासौ कथ इति । ... नियतं त्विदं दानम् । शतमातिरथं शोभनामशोभनां च कन्यां प्रति ।'.

1174. दानं कथधर्मश्चापत्यस्य न विद्यते । विवाहे दुहितुमते दानं काम्यं धर्माय श्रूयते तस्माद् दुहितुमतेऽतिरथं शतं देयं तन्मिथुया कुर्यादिति तस्यां कथशब्दः संस्तुतिमानं धर्माच्च संबन्धः । आप. ध. सूत्र. II. 6. 13. 10-11. The words तन्मिथुया कुर्यात् are translated in S.B.E. II. p. 132 as 'that gift he should make bootless (by returning it to the giver)'.

1175. अश्वं हि भूरिदावत्तरा वा विजामातुश्च घा वा स्यालात् । (ऋ. I. 109. 2)... अश्वोपं हि ऋदावत्तरौ वा विजामातुः अश्वसमासाजामातुः । विजामाता इति शब्दः दाक्षिणाजाः क्रीतापतिमाचक्षते । अश्वसमास इव वरौऽभिधेयः । निरुक्त VI. 9.

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 R̥gveda III. 31. 1 (śāsad-vahnir &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 Śunaḥśepa (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. Āp. 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 *patnī*); 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. अयाप्युदाहरन्ति । कीता द्रव्येण या नारी सा न पत्नी विधीयते । सा न दैवे न सा पित्र्ये दासी तां कश्यपोजनीत् ॥ श्रुत्वेन ये प्रयच्छन्ति स्वसुतां लोभमोहिताः । आत्मविक्रयिणो पापा महाकिल्बिषकारकाः ॥ पतन्ति नरके घोरं भ्रन्ति चासप्तमं कुलम् । बौ. ध. सू. I. 11. 20-22; सुकृतांशान्वा एव विक्रीणीते यः पणमानोः दुहितरं ददाति । बौ. ध. सू. II. 1. 79.

1177. अनुशासन 46. 2-3 are the same as मनु III. 54-55.

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 śūdra 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 upapātakas. 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 āṛṣa 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 Atri v. 389 and Āp. (in verse) IX. 25 (ed. by Jivānanda). This practice, however, persisted till modern times. For example, in an inscription dated about 1425 ¹¹⁷⁸ A. D. from Paḍaividu (North Arcot District) we find an agreement signed by the representatives of Karnaṭa, Tamil, Telugu and Lāṭa (South Gujarat) brāhmaṇas that they would give up taking gold for their daughters and get them married by the simple *kanyūdāna* (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 Peshwa ¹¹⁷⁹ 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 Hultzsch, 1890) No. 56.

1179. *Vide* काव्येतिहाससंग्रह, पत्रे यादी 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 वार्द्ध येथे नाहण जातीत कोणी कन्येचे रूपे येऊन विवाह करूं नये, जो कन्येचा ऐवज घेईल त्याजपासून दुष्पद व जो घेईल त्यानें कन्येचे वापस रूपे दिले असतील तितके व मध्यस्ती करून पैका घेईल तो ऐवज त्याजपासून सरकारते वेगळा जाईल. याप्रमाणें जातीस व जमींदार व धर्मधिकारी व उपाध्ये जोशी व पाटील कुलकर्णी यांस निखून ताकोद करावें ?

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. 16¹¹⁸⁰ and I. 117. 17 refer to the story of Rjraśva 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 Śunaḥśepa (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 'Śunaḥśepa is an example of the son bought' (one of the twelve kinds of sons). The same sūtra (XVII. 36-37) defines the *apavidḍha* 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 *apavidḍha* 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 Mahābhārata¹¹⁸² (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. इतं मेवावृष्ये चसदानमुज्जाश्वं तं पिताश्वं चकार । ऋ. I. 116. 16.

1181. क्रीतस्तुतीयः । तच्छुनःशेषेन व्याख्यातम् । ... अपविद्धः पञ्चमः । यं माता पितृभ्यामपास्तं प्रक्रीयात् । बसिष्ठ XVII. 30-31 and 36-37.

1182. Śābara on जै. VI. 1. 12 quotes the verse भार्या दासश्च पुत्रश्च निर्धनाः सर्व एव ते, which is almost the same as Manu VIII. 416. Compare Nārada 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. Kātyāyana¹¹⁸³ 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 *paṇas* 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 Jaimini¹¹⁸⁴ (VI. 7. 1-2) it is decided that in the Viśvajit 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 Vīramitrodaya¹¹⁸⁵ (*vyavahāra* p. 567) is of the same opinion. On the other hand the Tantrarātna (of Pārthasārathimīśra) 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. सुतस्य सुतदाराणां वशित्वं त्वयुशासने । विक्रये चैव दाने च वशित्वं न सुते पितुः । कात्यायन quoted in स्मृतिच० (स्य. p. 132) and परा. मा. III. p. 219.

1184. स्वदाने सर्वमविशेषात् । यस्य वा प्रभुः स्याद्वितरस्याशक्यत्वात् । जै. VI. 7. 1-2. शबर says तस्मात् पित्रादयो देयाः । तस्माद्यत्रैव प्रभुत्वयोगेन स्वत्वं तदेव देयमिति ।

1185. एतद्देयत्वमात्राभिप्रायेण न पुनः स्वत्वाभावाभिप्रायेण । पुत्रादारसर्वस्व-प्रतिश्रुतेषु स्वत्वस्य सञ्जावात् । मिता० on या. II. 175; अत एव पुत्रकन्यादानादिविषयो शुल्कार्या एव न पुत्रादिपरतन्त्रीकरणरूपगौणदानाद्यर्थाः । वीरमित्रोदय p. 567 (Jiv. व्यवहाराः); गवादाविव भार्यायां स्वत्वाभावेन तस्यास्तुत्यक्षेपत्ये तदभावात् । स्य. म. 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).¹¹⁸⁶ He is wrong in saying that in the Vedic times infanticide or exposure of children was practised. Rg. II. 29. 1¹¹⁸⁷ 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 *avabhṛtha*¹¹⁸⁸ (the final sacrificial bath); they keep aside the *sthālis* (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.¹¹⁸⁹ (33. 1)

1186. Vide Tod's 'Annals and antiquities of Rājasthān' (Calcutta edition) vol. I. pp. 659-665 (for infanticide among Rajputs), 'Indian Infanticide' by J. C. Browne (1857), Dr. John Wilson's 'History of the suppression of infanticide in Western India' (1855) in which he refers at length to a prize-essay of Dr. Bhau Daji, written in 1844. Winternitz 'Die Frau' pp. 24-25. Vide the Female Infanticide Prevention Act VIII. of 1873 (in India)

1187. अरे मत्कर्तृ रक्षरिवायः । ऋ. II. 29. 1.

1188. अवभृथमवयन्ति परा स्थालीरित्यन्ति उद्धायस्थाने हरन्ति तस्मात् स्त्रियं जातार् परात्यन्ति उत्पुमांसं हरन्ति । तै. सं VI. 5. 10. 3. The निरुक्त III. 4 quotes this last sentence. Vide Vedic Index, vol. I. p. 487 for references to the views of Zimmer and others.

1189. सखा इ जाया कृपणं हि दुहिता ज्योतिर्ह पुत्रः परमे स्योमन् । ऐ. ब्रा. 33. 1. आत्मा पुत्रः सखा भार्या कृपणं तु दुहिता किल । आदिपर्व 159. 11. Compare मनु IV. 184-185 'भार्या पुत्रः स्वका तनुः ॥ जाया स्वो दासवर्गश्च दुहिता कृपणं परम् ।

'the wife is indeed a friend, the daughter is distress (or humiliation), the son is light in the highest heaven'. The Mahābhārata (Ādi. 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 Grhyasūtras 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 brāhmaṇa. 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 exclaims 'the daughter is born from the limbs of the parents as much as the son; when she is alive how can another take her father's estate'? Bāṇa, 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. पुत्रमावेतु दुहिता दुःखसंतानदर्शनात् । पुत्रश्च दुहिता चोभौ पितुः संतान-
कारकौ ॥ नारद (दायभाग 50); अङ्गादङ्गात् संभवति पुत्रवदुहिता दुष्णाम् । तस्यां पितृघर्षं
त्यक्त्यः कथं युद्धीत मानवः । बृहस्पति quoted by अपरीक p. 743; केनापि कृता घर्षा
नामिमता मे स्थितिरिव यदङ्गसंघातान्यङ्गललितान्यपरित्याज्यान्पत्यकान्यकाण्ड एषा-
नस्यासंस्तुतैर्गीयते । ... यदपत्यत्वे समानेऽपि दूयस्ते सन्तः । एतदर्थं जन्मकाल एव कन्य-
काभ्यः प्रयच्छन्ति ललितमञ्जुभिः साधवः । हर्षचरित 4th Uucchāḥṣa. कन्यापितृत्वं दुःखं
हि सर्वेषां मानकाङ्क्षिणाम् । न ज्ञायते च कः कन्यां वरयेदिति कन्यके ॥ मातुः कुलं पितृकुलं
यत्र चैव च दीयते । कुलत्रयं सदा कन्या संशये स्थान्यतिष्ठति ॥ रामायण (उत्तरकाण्ड
9. 10-11.). उद्योगपर्व 97. 16 has मातुःकुलं ... कुलत्रयं संशयितं कुर्वते कन्यका
सताम् ।

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-kāṇḍa 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 (jāyēd-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 (Raghuvamśa II. 10). The Śaunaka-kārikā¹¹⁹² (ms. in Bombay University Library folio 22 b) includes a maiden among the eight objects which were auspicious. The Dronaparva (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 यदि स्त्रियं पश्येत्समुद्धं कर्मेति विद्यात् । तदेव श्लोकः । यदा कर्मसु काम्येषु स्त्रियं स्वप्नेषु पश्यति । समुद्धिं तत्र जानीयात्तस्मिन् स्वमनिदृशने ॥ छा-दो-प V. 2. 7-8. This passage is the basis of वेदान्तसूत्र III. 2. 4.

1192. दूर्योधः पूर्वकलशः कन्या सुमनसोऽक्षताः । दीपमाला द्यवा लाजाः संयोजं चाटमङ्गलम् ॥ शौनकाकारिका.

1193. अवाप्तु द-यन्ते गावो कल्य-योः पर्युह्यते । क्र. X. 85. 13 and अथर्व XIV. 1. 13. कौशिकसूत्र 75. 5 quotes these words. मयामिर्गोवो वृहन्ते । कल्य-नीयेवां वृहन्ते । आप. गृ. 3. 1-2.

words occur 'the cows are killed on the Aghās and (the bride) is carried away (from her father's house) on the Phalgunis'. 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 *ārṣa*). 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 nakṣatra. 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 Phalgunis'. This means that the marriage (probably in the *ārṣa* 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 ¹¹⁹⁴ 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 Śisīra (i. e. Māgha and Phālguna) and the last of the two months of summer (viz. Āṣāḍha) are fit for marriage and all nakṣatras which are declared to be auspicious (or holy). Āp. gr. further ¹¹⁹⁵ 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. Svāti 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 ¹¹⁹⁶ as Āp. gr. about months and adds that the nakṣatras for marriage are Rohiṇī, Mṛgaśīrṣa, Uttarā Phalgunī, Svāti; while Punarvasu,

1194. उदययन आपूर्वमाणयक्षे कल्याणे नक्षत्रे चैलकर्मोपनयनयोदानविवाहाः । सार्वकालमेकं विवाहम् । आश्व. गृ. I. 4. 1-2; शाङ्खायनश्रृङ्ख I. 5. 5 is to the same effect.

1195. यो कामयेत दुहितरं प्रिया स्यादिति तां निष्टयायां दद्यात् प्रियैव भवति नैव तु पुनरागच्छति इति ब्राह्मणवेदो विधिः । आप. गृ. 3. 3. The words यो...गच्छति occur in तै. ब्रा. I. 5. 2. भरद्वाजश्रृ. I. 12. quotes the ब्राह्मणवाक्य.

1196. सर्वे मासा विवाहरस्य । छन्दितस्तपस्यवर्जमित्येके । रोहिणी मृगशीर्षदुतरे कल्कणी स्वातीति विवाहरस्य नक्षत्राणि । पुनर्वसु विषयो हस्तः औषा रेवतीत्यन्येषां श्रुतिकर्मणाम् । बौ. गृ. I. 1. 18-21.

Tiśya (Puṣya), Hasta, Śravaṇa and Revatī are suitable for other ceremonies of an auspicious character. The Mānava gr. (I. 7. 5) says that the nakṣatras Rohiṇī, Mṛgaśīras, Śravaṇa, Śraviṣṭhā (Dhaniṣṭhā) and the Uttarās (i. e. Uttarāṣādhā, Uttarā Phalgunī 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 Rāmāyaṇa¹¹⁹⁷ (Bālakāṇḍa 72. 13 and 71. 24) speaks of marriage being performed on Uttarā Phalgunī, 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 Kārtika 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.¹¹⁹⁸

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 Udvāhatattva (p. 124) quotes Rājamārtanda¹¹⁹⁹ 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 Saṃskāraratnamālā (p. 460) says that as there is conflict among the dicta of sūtra and smṛti

1197. मया ह्यद्य महाबाहो तृतीये दिवसे प्रभो । फल्गुन्यासुत्तरे राजस्तस्मिन्वैवाहिकं
कुर्व ॥ उत्तरे दिवसे मङ्गल फल्गुनीभ्यां मनीषिणः । वैवाहिकं प्रशंसन्ति भगो यत्र प्रजापतिः ॥
बालकाण्ड 71. 24 and 72. 13. According to the तै. ब्रा. I. 1. 2. भग is the देवता
of उत्तराफल्गुनी.

1198. ऊर्ध्वं कार्तिक्या आ वैशाख्याः । यायाकानी वा । चित्रापक्षं तु वर्जयेत् ।
कौशिकसूत्र 75. 2-4.

1199. राजमार्तण्डीये । राजग्रस्ते तथा बुद्धे पितृणां प्राणसंशये । अतिप्रौढा च या
कन्या नास्तृकृत्यं प्रतीक्षते । अतिबुद्धा च या कन्या कुलधर्मविरोधिनी । अनिबुद्धापि सा देया
चन्द्रग्रहणेन तु । सुजवलीमे । ग्रहशुद्धिमन्दशुद्धिं शुद्धिं मासायनर्तुदिवसानाम् । अर्वाक्ष-
दशवर्षभ्यो मुनयः कथयन्ति कन्यकानाम् । दशवर्षाभ्यन्तरे शुद्धौ श्रद्धादादीनां विशेषो-
पादानात् तदूर्ध्वं तावन्मात्रानियमः । अत्रैव विषये 'मङ्गल्येषु विवाहेषु कन्यासंवरणेषु च ।
दशमासाः प्रशस्यन्ते चैत्रपौषविवर्जिताः' इति राजमार्तण्डोक्तम् । उद्वाहतरव p. 124.

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 Jyestha (or on Jyesthā 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 Madana-pārijāta says that any day is good if the marriage is celebrated at night.¹²⁰⁰ 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 Nirṇayasindhu 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.¹²⁰¹ 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 Godāvarī and the Ganges.¹²⁰² 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 ways¹²⁰³ called kūtas. They were Varṇa, Vāśya, Nakṣatra, Yoni, Graha (planets governing the twelve rāsīs), Gaṇa, Rāśi, and Nādi, each later one of which was more powerful than each preceding one and marks (guṇa) 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 Deva-gaṇa, Manuṣyagaṇa and Rākṣasagaṇa as follows:

1200. सं. र. मा. p. 464 न वारदोषाः प्रभवन्ति रात्रौ इति मदनपारिजाते.

1201. रजस्वलायाः कन्याया शुशुद्धिं न चिन्तयेत् । अथेतेषां प्रकर्तव्यो विवाह-
स्त्रियुगार्चनात् ॥ निर्णयसिन्धु III Pūrvārdha p. 304.

1202. लल्लः । गोदावर्धुत्तरतो यावद्भागिरथीतटे याभ्यश्च । तत्र विवाहो नेष्टः सिंहस्थे
देवपतिपूज्ये ॥ ... भागीरथ्युत्तरे कूले गौतम्या दक्षिणे तथा । विवाहो व्रतवन्धो वा सिंह-
स्थेभ्ये न दुष्यति । इति वसिष्ठेन गङ्गागोदावतरालातिरिक्तदेशे विवाहव्रतवन्धयोर्भ्यश्चक्षणात् ।
सं. प्र. p. 806.

1203. See सं. प्र. p. 773 ff. and सं. र. मा. 519 ff. for कूट.

Devagaṇa	Manuṣyagaṇa	Rākṣasagaṇa
Āśvini	Bharaṇi	Kṛttikā
Mṛgaśiras	Rohiṇi	Āśleṣā
Punarvasu	Ārdṛā	Maghā
Puṣya	Pūrvā	Citrā
Hasta	Uttarā	Viśākhā
Svāti	Pūrvāṣādhā	Jyeṣṭhā
Anurādhā	Uttarāṣādhā	Mūla
Śravaṇa	Pūrvābhādrapadā	Dhanīṣṭhā
Revati	Uttarābhādrapadā	Śatatārakā

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 devagaṇa or rākṣasagaṇa, the bride's is of the manuṣyagaṇa, while if the nakṣatra of the bride is of the rākṣasa group and the bridegroom's of the manuṣya 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 nāḍi the nakṣatras are divided into three groups of nine each, ādyanāḍi, madhyanāḍi and antyanāḍi, as follows :

Ādyanāḍi	Madhyanāḍi	Antyanāḍi
Āśvini	Bharaṇi	Kṛttikā
Ārdṛā	Mṛgaśiras	Rohiṇi
Punarvasu	Puṣya	Āśleṣā
Uttarā	Pūrvā	Maghā
Hasta	Citrā	Svāti
Jyeṣṭhā	Anurādhā	Viśākhā
Mūla	Pūrvāṣādhā	Uttarāṣādhā
Śatatārakā	Dhanīṣṭhā	Śravaṇa
Pūrvābhādrapadā	Uttarābhādrapadā	Revati

If the nakṣatras of the intended pair belong to the same nāḍi, 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 nāḍis.

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 Śaunaka 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 bridegroom 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 *nāndīśrāddha*), 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 *gṛhya sūtras*, *dharmaśūtras* and *smṛtis* the forms of marriage are said to be eight, viz. *Brāhma*, *Prājāpatya*, *Ārṣa*, *Daiva*, *Gāndharva*, *Āsura*, *Rākṣasa* and *Paiśāca* (vide *Āśv. gr.* I. 6, *Gaut.* IV. 6-13, *Baud. Dh. S.* I. 11, *Manu* III. 21 = *Ādi-parva* 73. 8-9), *Viṣṇu Dh. S.* 24. 18-19, *Yāj.* I. 58, *Nārada* (*striPumsa*, verses 38-39), *Kautilya* 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. *Āśv. gr.* arranges them as *Brāhma*, *Daiva*, *Prājāpatya* and *Ārṣa*, while *Viṣṇu* arranges them as *Brāhma*, *Daiva*, *Ārṣa* and *Prājāpatya*; *Āśv. gr.* I. 6 places *Paiśāca* before *Rākṣasa*. The *Mānava gr.* speaks of only two *Brāhma* and *Śaulka* (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 *Prājāpatya* 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. शौनकः । पिता पितामहश्चैव माता चैव पितामही । पितृभ्यः स्त्री सुतो आता-
मग्निनी चाविवाहिता । एभिरेव विपक्षैश्च मतिकूलं दुयैः स्मृतम् । अन्यैरपि विपक्षैश्च
केचिद्दुर्गतश्चेत् । निर्णयसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p. 311.

The gift of a daughter, after decking 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 decking her (with ornaments &c.) to a priest, who duly officiates at a sacrifice, during the course of its performance, it is the Daiva form.¹²⁰⁵ 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 āṛṣa 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 Rākṣasa 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 Paisāca form, which is the basest and the most sinful of all forms.

In the first four forms there is the gift of the girl (*kanyūdāna*) 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. Band. Dh. I. 11. 5 दक्षिणासु नीयमानास्त्वर्त्तवेदि ऋत्विजे स दैवः । According to him the girl becomes part of the *dakṣiṇā* (fee) for officiating. But in the Vedas and Śrauta sūtras a bride is nowhere spoken of as *dakṣiṇā*. Medhātithi on Manu III. 28 is against the idea of the bride being part of the sacrificial fee. Viśvarūpa also says so; but Aparārka p. 89 holds that the girl is given as fee.

(III. 35) and Gaut. V. 16-17.¹²⁰⁶ 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 *brahma* means the holy Veda and this mode being sanctioned by the most ancient texts it is the holiest and best form, or *brahma* means *dharma* and being the best of all forms it is called *brāhma* (vide *Smṛtimuk-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 *brāhmanas* as only¹²⁰⁷ a *brāhmana* 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.*¹²⁰⁸ (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 *Prājāpatya* the words used indicate according to the commentators (vide *Saṁ.*

1206. स्वस्तिवाच्य भिक्षादानमपूर्वम् । ददातिषु चैवं धर्मेषु । गौतम V. 16-17. *Strabo* (XV. 1. 54) refers to purchase of a wife in exchange for two oxen.

1207. देवा ऋत्विजस्ते एनमर्हन्तीति दैवः । ... दक्षिणातिरिक्तं चैतद् दानं फल-अवणात् । ... मन्त्रद्वयोर्वा दक्षिणा ऋषयः । ते एनमर्हन्तीत्यर्थः । प्रजोत्पादनेच्छासामा-न्यात्प्रजापतिः स्नातकः स एनमर्हतीति प्राजापत्यः । विश्वरूपेण स I. 59-60.

1208. जायापत्योर्न विभागो विद्यते । पाणिग्रहणाद्वि सहस्रं कर्मसु । तथा पुण्यफलेषु द्रव्यपरिग्रहेषु च । आप. ध. II. 6. 13. 16-18. About *प्राजापत्य* the सं. कौ. (p. 732) quotes the *पारिजात* " अत्र विशेषं पारिजाते भगवान् ॥ अन्येष्वपि विवाहेषु धर्मस्याचरणं सह । यद्यप्युक्तं तथाप्यत्र विशेषातिशृङ्खलान्मात् । आश्रमान्तरसंप्राप्तेर्निषेधार्थेति मन्यते । न चान्न तस्यां जीवन्त्यां विवाहस्य परिग्रहः । आश्रमान्तरयोगो वा शुचायां भवत्यस्य तौ ॥ इति । अन्ये तु पूर्वोदावनमिसाध्येषु साहित्यनियमार्थां सेति ।; the सं. प्र. p. 852 quotes the first two views as those of *देवस्वामिनः*.

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 brāhma 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 āṛṣa 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 gāndharva 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 gāndharva 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 Tai. S. VI. 1. 6. 5 (striḱāmā vai Gandharvāḥ) and Ait. Br. V. 1 state. In this form at least the girl's feelings are consulted. In the rākṣasa and the paśāca, 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 paśāca is so called because in it there is action like that of *piśācas* (goblins) that are supposed to act stealthily by night.

1209. 'एवं हि स्मरन्ति । धर्मं चार्थं च कामे च नातिचरितयेति ।' शबर on औभिन VI. 1. 17. The सं. प्र. (pp. 848 and 852) says that these words occur in the कौटिल्यपरिशिष्टे on मातृविधि.

It is not to be supposed that when ancient sages held that *rākṣasa* and *paśāca* 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 *paśāca*. From the fact that *Āpastamba* and *Vasiṣṭha* both ignore the *Paśāca* 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. *Vasiṣṭha* (17. 73) expressly repudiates the idea that legal wifehood can arise by forcible seizure of a girl 'if a damsel 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 *saptapadī* 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.* II. 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 *paśāca* 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 चेच्छासंयोगमानं विवाहः स्वीकरोपायभेदादृष्टौ विवाहौ न पुनर्विवाह-
भेदात् । मेधा० on मनु VIII. 366; संन्यासैरसाध्या स्वात्तुकन्या पुनश्चर्य वा । चायुष्मापि
विवाहेन सा विवाह्या रहः स्थिता ॥ वत्स quoted in स्मृतिरु० (धर्मा०) p. 142; सं. प्र.
p. 861; सं. कौ. p. 735; माधव allows the माधव only to kṣatriyas and others
(not to brahmanas).

1211. अलाञ्छेत्पदता कन्या मन्त्रैर्वादि न संस्कृता । अन्यस्मै विधिवद्देया यथा कन्या
तथैव सा ॥ वसिष्ठ 17. 73. This is also बौ. ध. IV. 1. 17 and it is quoted and
explained by विश्वरूप on या. I. 69.

1212. Vide 'Marriage and stridhana' (5th ed. of 1923 p. 94).
Macnaughten in his 'Principles and Precedents of Hindu Law' p. 60
said so in a note.

Medhātithi ¹²¹³ 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 (stri-puṃsa, 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 paśāca homa and *saptapadī* are necessary and they quote Devala and the Gr̥hyaparīṣiṣṭa in support. The Mahābhārata (Ādi. 195. 7) ¹²¹⁴ expressly says that even after svayamvara religious rites had to be performed. Kālidāsa in Raghuvamśa VII describes how after the svayamvara of Indumatī the principal religious rites of madhuparka, homa, going round the fire, pāṇigrahaṇa took place. Since Āśvalāyana first speaks of eight forms and then prescribes the performance of homa and *saptapadī*, 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, āra and prājāpatya, are the approved forms (prāśasta or dharma). Vide Gaut. IV. 12, Āp. Dh. S II. 5. 12. 3, Manu III. 24, Nārada (stri-puṃsa, 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 paśāca 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 paśāca) are allowed to brāhmaṇas and the last four to kṣatriyas, and the gāndharva, āsura and paśāca to vaiśyas and śūdras (Manu III. 23). A third view was that prājāpatya, gāndharva and āsura may be resorted to

1213. अथवा ऋतुदर्शनकालोत्तरं गान्धर्वः । प्रायतोः शुल्को दुग्धो वा । अथ कन्यायाः का प्रतिपत्तिः । तस्मा एव देया । निवृत्ताभिलाषा चेत्काममन्यत्र प्रतिपाद्या । ...वरश्चे-
जिह्वताभिलाषो हठाद् आर्हयितव्यः । मेधा^० on मनु VIII. 367; सकामायां तु कन्यायां
संगमे नास्त्यतिक्रमः । किञ्चलं कृत्य सत्कृत्य स एवैनां ससुखदेव ॥ नारद (औपुस० verse 72).

1214. भ्रुवं विवाहकरणमास्यास्यामि विधानतः । आदिपर्व 195. 7.

by all varṇas and paśāca and āsura 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 āsura to vaiśyas and śūdras^{1214a}. 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. ¹²¹⁵ (I. 11. 14-16) recommends āsura and paśāca 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 (stripuṃsa, 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 Śākuntala, ¹²¹⁶ Kālidāsa gives expression to this practice. In the Mahābhārata ¹²¹⁷ Kṛṣṇa says to Arjuna who was in love with Subhadrā that carrying away by force one's lady-love is commended in the case of valiant kṣatriyas. In the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarṣa (dated *śake* 793) it is stated that Indrarāja married the daughter of the Cālukya king at Kaira 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 Pṛthvīrāja Cohan of the daughter of

1214 a. न चासुरादिविवाहेषु सप्तपदादिकमगाधभावेन पतित्वमार्थात्त्वयोरुप-
पत्तिरिति सङ्गतीयम् । तत्रापि स्वीकारानन्तरमेव संस्कारविधानात् । तथा च देवलः । गान्धर्वा-
दिविवाहेषु पुनर्वैवाहिको विधिः । कर्तव्यश्च त्रिभिर्वर्णैः समयेनाग्निसाक्षिकः ॥ गृह्यपरिशिष्टेपि
गान्धर्वसुरपेशाच्चविवाहा राक्षसश्च यः । पूर्वं परिणयस्तेषां पश्चाद्धर्मो विधीयते । परिणयः
स्वीकारः । स्मृतिर्च० I. p. 87; the same words occur in स्मृतिसुकाफल p. 145;
vide उद्गाहतत्त्व p. 129 also.

1215. पञ्चमाष्टमौ वैश्यशूद्राणाम् । अयन्त्रितकलत्रा हि वैश्यशूद्रौ भवन्ति । कर्षण-
शुश्रूषाधिकृतत्वात् । बौ. श्र. I. 11. 14-16.

1216. गान्धर्वेण विवाहेन बह्व्यो राजर्षिकन्यकाः । श्रूयन्ते परिणीतास्ताः पितृभिश्चाभि-
नन्दिताः ॥ शाकुन्तल III.

1217. प्रसह्य हरणं चापि क्षत्रियाणां प्रशस्यते । विवाहहेतुः शूरणांमिति धर्मविदो
विदुः ॥ आदिपर्व 219. 22.

Jayacandra, the king of Kanoj. 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 *svayamvara* very often spoken of in the dharmasāstras was practically the gāndharva as stated by the commentary Viramitrodaya. ¹²¹⁹ It had several varieties. The simplest form of *svayamvara* 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 *svayamvara* 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 *śulka* (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 *svayamvara* was applicable to girls of all castes. Sāvitrī indulged in this kind of *svayamvara*, when she went about in a chariot to find out a suitable husband for herself. But the *svayamvaras* 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 *svayamvara* 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 Kāśī and got two of them (Ambikā and Ambālikā) married to his ward Vicitravīrya. ¹²²⁰ The *svayamvara* of Sītā or Draupadī 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 Damayantī 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

1218. Vide Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol. II. pp. 314-315 (in 1908); Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan Vol. II. p. 834.

1219. त्वं मे पतिस्त्वं मे भार्येत्येवं कन्यावरयोः परस्परं नियमनश्चात् पित्रादिकर्तृक-
दाननिरपेक्षाद्यो विवाहः स गान्धर्व इत्यर्थः । ...एवं च स्वयंवरोपि गान्धर्वविवाह एव ।
वीरमित्रोदय on या. I. 61.

1220. स्वयंवरं तु राजन्याः प्रशंसन्त्युपयान्ति च । प्रमथ्य तु हतामाहुर्ज्यायसीं धर्म-
वादिनः ॥ आदिपर्व 102. 16.

gives us a fine description of the svayamvara of Indumatī in the Raghuvamśa. Bilhana in his Vikramānka-devacarita (canto IX) gives a description of the historic svayamvara of Candralekhā (or Candaladevi) daughter of the Śilāhāra prince of Karahāṭa (modern Karad), when she chose Āhavamalla or Vikramānka, the Cālukya king of Kalyāṇa (latter half of 11th century). Such a svayamvara, it appears, was thought to be unsuitable to brāhmaṇas according to the Ādiparva.¹²²¹ In the Kādambari (Pūrvabhāga, penultimate para) Patralekhā says that svayamvara is ordained in the Dharmaśāstras.¹²²²

The Āp. Dh. 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 married¹²²³ (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, prājāpatya or āṛṣa 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 prājāpatya marriage to six male ancestors, to six male descendants and to himself (in all 13), of the āṛṣa marriage to three male ancestors and three male descendants. Gaut.

1221. न च विप्रेष्वधीकारो विद्यते वर्णं प्रति । स्वयंवरः क्षत्रियाणामिति च प्रथितः । आदिपर्व 189. 7.

1222. किमिव कथयामि ते याः स्वयं वृत्तवत्यः पतीन् । यदि चैवमनर्थक एव तर्हि धर्मशास्त्रोपदिष्टः स्वयंवरविधिः । कादम्बरी, पूर्वभाग, para 225 (of my edition).

1223. यथायुक्तो विवाहस्तथायुक्ता मजा भवति । आप. ध. सू. 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 Śābara that there is nothing too heavy (or impossible) for a holy text.¹²²⁴ 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 gāndharva 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 Bṛhad-devatā (V. 50) in connection with Rg. V. 61 makes an approach to the daiva form. It is related in the Bṛhad-devatā that Ātreya Arcanānas 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.¹²²⁵ The gāndharva form is said to be obsolete now, yet in some cases before the courts it has been held that it is still in vogue.¹²²⁶ There can be no gāndharva if the girl is a minor. Further if a widow remarries, that marriage

1224. स्तुतिमात्रमेतत् । भूतानां भाविनां पावनोद्यमयोः । उपपत्तौ वा कृतनाशकृता-
गमप्रसङ्गात् । यद्वास्तु फलविधिः । विवाहविशेषस्य फलविशेषापेक्षत्वात् । न चागमाद्युसारिण्य-
र्थेऽनुपपत्तिरिति शक्यं वक्तुम् । तथा च नैयायिकाः । न हि वचनस्यातिमारोस्तित्याहुः । विश्वरूप
on वा. I. 58. The words नहि...मारोस्ति are from शबर's भाष्य on जै. III. 2. 3.

1225. Vide *Chunilal v. Surajram* 33 Bom. 433 at p. 438; *Hira v. Hansji Pema* 37 Bom. 295 at p. 299; *Kailasanatha v. Parasakthi* 58 Mad. 488, 491.

1226. Vide 12 Mad. 72; 17 Patna 134, 141; but in A.I. R. 1930 Oudh p. 426 it is held that the gāndharva form is obsolete.

will be ordinarily regarded as gāndharva, 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 R̥gveda 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 Savitṛ, 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 Soma¹²²⁷ (verses 8-9); Savitṛ 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) 'I¹²²⁸ take thy hand for prosperity (or love) so that you may grow to old age with me thy husband; the gods, Bhaga, Aryaman, Savitṛ, the wise Pūṣan 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 Raibhyā was sent along with Sūryā as her friend (*anudeyī*) to make her time not hang heavy on her hands

1227. सोमो वधूदुरभवदश्विनास्तासुमा वरा । सूर्या यत्पत्ये शंसन्ती मनसा सविता-
ददात् ॥ ऋ. X. 85. 9. The word वर 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. शुभ्यामि ते सौमगत्वाय हस्तं मया पत्या जरदष्टिर्यथासः । भगो अयमा सविता
पुरन्धिर्मह्यं त्वादुर्गाहपत्याय देवाः ॥ ऋ. X. 85. 36. In the अप. म. पाठ. I. 3. 3 the reading is सुमजास्त्वाय (for worthy progeny) instead of सौमगत्वाय.

1229. इहैव स्तं मा वि योष्टं विश्वमायुर्यश्नुतव । क्रीळन्तौ पुत्रैर्नष्टुभिर्मादमानौ स्वे
युधे ॥ इमौ त्वमिन्द्र भोदुः सुपुत्रां सुभगां कुणु । दशारयां पुत्रानायेहि पतिमेकादशं कुधि ॥
सम्राज्ञी श्वशुरे भव सम्राज्ञी श्वश्रवां भव । ननन्दरि सम्राज्ञी भव सम्राज्ञी अघि देवेषु ॥ ऋ.
X. 85. 42, 45-46.

(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 *pāṭharākhiṇ* 'one who guards'), that even a female servant accompanied Sūryā.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 Sudarśanācārya notes that certain rites like the worship of planets, *ankurāropana* 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 *Indrāni* are performed without Vedic mantras. The *Kāṭhaka-gr̥hya* 25. 7; allows usages of countries and families to be observed in marriage and the commentators mention several such usages. As the *gr̥hya-sūtra* of *Āśvalāyana* contains perhaps the shortest account of marriage rites and as that *sūtra* is probably the most ancient among the *gr̥hya sūtras* I shall set out below the entire ceremony of marriage from that *sūtra*. Then a few important details from other *gr̥hya 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 *saṁskāra* 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 *saṁskāra* show a remarkable continuity for several thousand years from the times of the *Rgveda* down to modern times.

The *Āśv. gr.* (I. 7. 3-I. 8.) deals with all the marriage rites as follows † : Having placed to the west of the fire (that is

1230. रैव्यासीदुद्यदेयी नाराजंसा न्योचनी । ऋ. X. 185. 6. अद्यदेयी means वयस्या and न्योचनी means दासी.

† 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 *sruva*), 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 *ṛk*. 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 bride-groom)

1231. *Vide* the same passage with slight differences quoted on p. 202 in the Garbhādhāna ceremony from the Br. Up. VI. 4. 20; the Tai. Br. III. 7. 1 has the words 'अमृदमस्मि सा त्वम् । द्यौरहं पृथिवी त्वम् । सामाहसुक्त्वम् । तावेहि संभवाम । सह रेतो दद्यावहै पुंसो पुत्राय वेत्तवै । त्वत्स्योवाय सुप्रजास्त्वाय सुवीर्यायेति ।'

1232. In the आप. म. पाठ I. 5. 1. this mantra is आतिष्ठेममन्मानमन्मेव ... भव । अभितिष्ठ पृतन्यतः सहस्व पृतनायतः ॥ १.

1233. The two portions of *lāja* (fried grain) poured into the bride's hands together with the first pouring of *ājya* (called उपस्तरण) and the subsequent pouring of *ājya* (called मत्प्राप्तिवारण) constitute the four *avattas* or portions cut off from the material for *havis*. The descendants of Jamadagni are पञ्चावत्तिनः (*vide* above p. 490); therefore three portions of *lāja* are to be poured out (in order to make with उपस्तरण and मत्प्राप्तिवारण, five *avattas*). For these terms (चतुरवत्त and पञ्चावत्त) *vide* श्रवणच I. 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 Varuṇa the girls have offered sacrifice; may he, god Varuṇa &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. Some¹²³⁴ 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' (Rg. X. 85. 24) and the left one with the following mantra (Rg. 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'.¹²³⁵ 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 *samī* plant and *Kālidāsa* (in *Raghuvaṃśa* VII. 25-26) refers to *samī* and *lājas*.

1235. This (the सप्तपदी-taking seven steps together) is the most important rite in the marriage *samśkāra*. We have to understand 'भव' after each sentence 'इष्टं पक्षपदी भव ऊर्ध्वं द्विपदी भव.' These words occur in all *gṛhyasūtras*, e. g. *vide* Āp. M. P. I. 3. 7-14 and Āp. gr. 4. 15-16, Śān. 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, पारस्कर, भरद्वाज, द्विपक्ष and शाल्व्यायन substitute पक्षपक्ष for पक्षपक्ष; while the first three of these and मानव and बौधायन add विष्णुस्त्वा नयतु (or विष्णुस्त्वान्वेतु in भरद्वाज) after each of the seven clauses. पारस्कर reads सखे सप्तपदी for सखा सप्तपदी.

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.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'.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 Aśmanvati) 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*¹²³⁸ and *lavaṇa*, 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

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.

1237. This indicates that after the *homa* is finished, the bride is to observe silence till she sees the Pole star.

1238. For the meaning of *kṣāra* and *lavaṇa* see note 723 above.

teachers say) a *ṛṣi* 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 (Rg. X. 85) and food to *brāhmaṇas*. Then he should cause the *brāhmaṇas* to pronounce auspicious words.

In this description of the *samśkāra* 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 *samśkāra* viz. *pānigrahaṇa*, *homa*, going round the fire and the *saptapadī*, 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 *Āśv. gr.* (I. 7. 7) describes going round the fire before *saptapadī*, while the *Āp. gr.* describes *saptapadī* (IV. 16) before the act of going round the fire (V. 1). The *Gobhila grhya* (II. 2. 16), the *Khādīra gr.* (I. 3. 31), and *Baud. gr.* (I. 4. 10) describe *pānigrahaṇa* after *saptapadī* while many other *sūtrakāras* describe it before *saptapadī*. Then again there are many acts reference to which is altogether omitted in the *Āśv. gr.*, e. g. there is no reference to *madhuparka* (which is mentioned in *Āp. gr.* III. 8, *Baud. gr.* I. 2. 1, *Mānava gr.* I. 9) nor to *kanyādāna* (which is referred to in *Pār. gr.* I. 4 and described in detail in *Mānava gr.* I. 8. 6-9). *Āśv.* probably omitted express mention of *kanyādāna*, because in defining the first four forms he uses the word 'dadyāt' while in the last four there is no *kanyādāna* and *Āśv.* 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 *samśkāra* of marriage. A few notes are added against those that are deemed important.¹²³⁹

Vadhūvara-guṇaparīkṣā: (examining the suitability of a girl or a bride-groom). This has been dealt with already (vide pp. 429-436 above).

Varapreṣaṇa: (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 *Kalidāsa* in the *Raghuvamśa* VII are *madhuparka*, *homa*, going round the fire, *pānigrahaṇa*, *lāja-homa* and *ārdrākṣatī-ropaṇa*.

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* Śān. 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 Harṣacarita, prince Grahavarmā of the Maukhari race sent messengers for the hand of princess Rājyaśrī, sister of Harṣa¹²⁴⁰. In modern times among the brāhmanas 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 *Vān-niścaya*: (settling the marriage). This is described by Śān. gr. I. 6. 5-6. Medieval works like the S. R. M. pp. 529-533 describe this ceremony at great length.

Maṇḍapa-karaṇa: Erecting a *pandal* where the ceremonies are to be performed. Pār. gr. I. 4 says that marriage, caula, upanayana, keśānta and sīmanta are to be performed outside the house in a *pandal*. *Vide* Sam. Pr. pp. 817-818.

Nāndī-śrāddha and *Puṇyāhavācana*: These are referred to by Baud. gr. I. 1. 24; most of the gṛhyasūtras are silent about these. *Vide* for these pp. 216, 218 above.

Vadhūgrhāgamana: (bride-groom's going to the bride's house). *Vide* Śān. gr. I. 12. 1.

Madhuparka: (reception of the bride-groom at the bride's house). Āp. gr. III. 8, Baud. gr. I. 2. 1, Mānava gr. I. 9 and Kāthaka gr. 24. 1-3 prescribe this. *Vide* below chap. X for madhuparka. Śān. 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 Ādityadarśana on Kāthaka 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.

Snūpana, *Paridhāpana* and *Saimnahana*: (making the bride bathe, put on new clothes and girding her with a string or rope of darbha.) *Vide* Āp. gr. IV. 8 and Kāthaka gr. 25. 4. Pār. gr.

1240. शोभने च दिवसे अहर्भयम् । कन्यां प्रार्थयितुं भेषितस्य पूर्वागतस्यैव प्रधानकृत-
पुष्पस्य करे सर्वराजकुलसमस्तं दुहितृदानजलमपातयत् । हर्षचरित 4th अध्यास.

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 saṁnahana. 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 Śān. 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 Śān. gr. I. 12, 6-8; Kausika sūtra 76. 8.

Vadhūvara-niṣkramaṇa: (the coming out into the *pandal* of the bride and bride-groom from the inner part of the house). Pār. gr. I. 4.

Parasparasamīkṣaṇa: (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 māṅga-lāṣṭakas are repeated by brāhmaṇas, the last of which verses is 'tad-eva lagnaṁ sudinam tad-eva' &c.

Kanyūdāna: (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 *kanyūdāna* which is the same even now. The Sañ. K. p. 779 notes about half a dozen different methods of uttering the formula in *kanyūdāna*. 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 This is done even now.

1241. शबर on जैमिनि VI. 1. 14 says 'एवं दानकाले संवादः क्रियते-धर्मे चार्थे च कामे च नातिचरितयेति'. Vide also note 1209 above. लङ्काश्र्व. 15. 27 has 'एषा धर्मार्थकामेषु न त्याज्या स्वीकृता ह्यतः'. According to मेधातिथि on मनु IX. 101 the words 'धर्मे चार्थे च कामे च नातिचरितया' occur in आपस्तम्ब.

Agnisthūpana 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.

Pāṇigrahaṇa: (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.

Agniparinayana: (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).

Aśmārohaṇa: (making the bride tread on a mill-stone). These three are done thrice viz. lājahoma, then agniparinayana and aśmārohaṇa, 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.

Mūrdhābhiṣeka: (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.

Sūryodikṣaṇa: (making the bride look towards the sun). Pār. gr. I. 8 speaks of this and employs the mantra ' tac-cakṣur ' (Rg. VII. 65. 16 = Vāj. S. 36. 24).

Hṛdayasparśa: (touching the bride's heart with a mantra). Pār. gr. I. 8, Bhār. gr. I. 17, Baud. gr. I. 4. 1.

Prekṣakūmantraṇa: (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.

Dakṣiṇādāna: (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).

Gṛhapraveśanīya homa : (sacrifice on entering the bride-groom's house). Śāṅ. gr. I. 16. 1-12, Gobhila gr. II. 3. 8-12, Āp. gr. VI. 6-10.

Dhruvārundhatī-darśana : (pointing out the Pole star and Arundhatī to the bride at night on the day of marriage). Āśv. gr. I. 7. 22 speaks of the seven sages in addition, Mānava gr. I. 14. 9 speaks of the same three and adds Jīvanti, 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 Śāṅ. gr. I. 17. 2, Hir. gr. I. 22. 10 both the bride and the bride-groom remain silent till night. According to Āśv. gr. only the bride does so. Gobhila gr. II. 3. 8-12 describes Dhruvārundhatī-darśana before *gṛhapraveśa*.

Agneya Sthālīpāka : (mess of cooked food offered to Agni). Vide Āp. gr. VII. 1-5, Gobhila II. 3. 19-21, Bhār. gr. I. 18, Hir. gr. I. 23. 1-6.

Trirātravrata : (keeping for three nights after marriage certain observances). Vide Āśv. 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.

Caturthīkarma : (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 vāgnīscaya in modern times. Vide Sarn. 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 puṇyāhavācana and before kanyādāna. Vide Laghu-Āśvalāyana 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 been 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.

Taila-haridrāropana: (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.

Ādrākṣatāropana: (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 *añjali* 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 śthā &c. (Rg. 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 'kaṅkaṇa-bandhana' or 'kautuka-bandhana'). Vide Saṁ. Pr. pp. 828-829, S. R. M. p. 556. Kālidāsa in Raghuvamśa VII describes ādrākṣatā-ropana as the last of the rites of marriage and in VIII. 1 speaks of the kautuka.

Maṅgalasūtra-bandhana: (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 smṛti¹²⁴² (ms. in Bombay University Library, folio 39 b). The Laghu-Āśvalāyana smṛti 15. 33 also prescribes it and the mantra to be employed when doing so. Gadādhara on Pār. 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. śeṣa sūtra V. 5 in describing 'arkavivāha' speaks of māṅgalya sūtra to be tied to the plant. It is not clear whether it means the same as the maṅgalasūtra 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, smṛtis 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-bandhana: (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 Saṁ. K. p. 799, S. Pr. p. 829.

*Airīṇidāna*¹²⁴³: (Presenting the mother of the bride-groom with several gifts in a large wicker-work basket with lamps

1242. ततो मङ्गलसूत्रं च ध्यात्वाभीष्टां च देवताम् । वज्रा कण्ठप्रदेशे स्थापयमाने च शक्तिः ॥ शौनकः; वज्रध्यात्वा कण्ठे सूत्रं मणिसमन्वितम् । माङ्गल्यतन्तुनानेन मन्त्रेण स्थातु सदा सती ॥ लघु-आश्व 15. 33. The मन्त्र is माङ्गल्यतन्तुनानेन भर्तुजीवनहेतुना । कण्ठे बध्नामि सुभगे सा जीव शरदः शतम् ॥. 'सूत्रेऽनुपलब्धमपि वधूवरयोर्मङ्गलसूत्रं गले मालाधारणं' etc. गदाधर on पारस्कर I. 1.

1243. सवस्त्रफलताम्रद्वलं दुग्धस्योर्वशवर्धनम् । ऐरिण्याख्यं वंशपात्रं पञ्चालैः परिपूरितम् ॥ करौ चन्द्रसंख्यैस्तु सुवर्णेन समन्वितैः । एतावदैरिणीरूपं कर्तव्यं किल सुरमिः ॥ quoted in सं. र. मा. p. 580. The request to show affection is made as follows 'अथवर्षा रिवयं कन्या पुत्रवत्यल्लिता मया । इदानीं तव पुत्राय दत्ता ज्ञेहेन पालयताम् ॥'. Appropriate changes are to be made, according to the age of the bride and the relationship of the bridegroom to the principal lady.

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 Chandra* (6 Bengal L. R. 243 at p. 254), *Venkatacharyulu 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

1244. Vide Mulla's Hindu Law (9th ed. of 1940) p. 504.

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)'. Kātyāyana¹²⁴⁵ 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 (*striPurṇsa* v. 3). The Udvāhatattva p. 129 quotes Yama to the same effect. So it follows that the marriage becomes complete and irrevocable the moment the saptapadī rite is performed, but before that rite is gone through there is a *locus pœnitentiæ* or a power to resile from what has been undertaken. Before the saptapadī is performed, if the bride-groom dies, the bride is still a maiden and not a widow and can be married again¹²⁴⁶. The most essential ceremonies of marriage are the homa and saptapadī. The Dronaparva¹²⁴⁷ says that promise of a daughter and giving a daughter with water are not certain means of knowing wife-hood but saptapadī 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 *vr̥ddhi-śrāddha* is not an essential ceremony and its absence would not vitiate marriage.

1245. वरयित्वा तु यः कश्चित्प्रणश्येत्पुत्रो यदा । रक्तामामीनीतीत्य कन्यायं वरयेद्द्वयम् ॥ कात्यायन quoted by अपराकं p. 94; अदाय शुल्कं गच्छेद्यः कन्यायाः क्षीयन् तथा । धार्या सा वर्षमेकं तु देवान्यस्मै विधानतः ॥ कात्यायन quoted in सं. कौ. p. 737.

1246. नोदकेन न वाचा वा कन्यायाः पतिरिष्यते । पाणिग्रहणसेस्कारात् पतित्वं सप्तमे पदे ॥ यम quoted in य. र. p. 55, उद्वाहतरव p. 129 and in स्मृ. सु. (वर्णाश्रम) p. 138, which latter adds 'एवं च सप्तमपदादूर्वाङ्कं परिणेतुर्भरणेपि न विधवा-त्मित्युक्तं भवति । This last remark is made by the स्मृतिच० I. p. 82 also.

1247. मनोवाग्बुद्धिसंभाषा दत्ता नोदकपूर्वकम् ॥ पाणिग्रहणमन्त्राश्च प्रथितं वर-लक्षणम् ॥ न त्वेषा निश्चिता निष्ठा निष्ठा सप्तपदी स्मृता ॥ द्रोणपर्व 55. 15-16.

Even the Kāmasūtra ¹²⁴⁸ quotes the unanimous opinion of the ācāryas 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 digests 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 bride-groom.

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 saptapadī, 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 pāṇigrahaṇa any one may ask for the hand of a maiden (even though promised before to another). Nārada (stripuṃsa vv. 30 and 32) contains similar provisions. 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 amercement (according to Yāj. I. 66 and the lowest, according to Nārada, stripuṃsa v. 33). Aparārka 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 amercement and if he falsely accuses her of defects he should be fined one hundred paṇas (Yāj I. 66

1248. अग्नितासिका हि विवाहा न निवर्तन्त इत्याचार्यसमयः । कामसूत्र III. 5. 13.

1249. कन्यायां दत्तशुल्कायां न्यायाश्चिह्न आश्रजेत् । धर्मार्थकामसंयुक्तो वाक्यं तेनाद्यतं भवेत् ॥ दुरा न्यायेन यः कन्यां वराय न ददाति ताम् । अदुष्टश्चिह्नो राज्ञा स दण्ड्यस्तत्र चौरवत् ॥ नारद, अयुस 30 and 32.

1250. कन्याप्रदः कन्यादोषं स्वयं जानन्वरेणाविदितं तस्य च मत्पक्षायोऽयमकथयित्वा यदि प्रयच्छति &c. । अपरार्क p. 95.

and Nārada, *stripumśa* 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. Atri¹²⁵² (*Jivānanda* part 1, p. 11, chap. V) prescribes that having made the girl bathe with the *Haviṣmati* (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 'Yun̄jate manah' (Rg. V. 81. 1) the ceremonies should be proceeded with. The *Smṛtyarthasāra* (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. प्रतिशुद्धं तु यः कन्यामकुष्टासुत्प्रेजेभ्यः । स विनेयस्त्वकामोऽपि कन्यां तामेव चोद्वहेत् ॥ नारद (श्रीधुस 35).

1252. विवाहे वितते तन्त्रे होमकाल उपस्थिते । कन्यामृतमतीं वृद्धा कथं कुर्वन्ति याज्ञिकाः ॥ हविष्मत्या स्नापयित्वा अन्यवस्त्रमलंकृता । युजानामाहुतिं कृत्वा ततः कर्म भवन्ते ॥ अत्रि V. This is quoted as यज्ञपार्थ in सं. र. मा. p. 500 and सं. कौ. p. 714, while the उद्वाहतस्य quotes (pp. 146-147) two verses (one of which is the same as विवाहे and the other very similar) from बुद्धयाज्ञवल्क्य as quoted in the शुद्धस्वरत्नाकर.

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-Brāhmaṇa¹²⁵³ 18. 4. The Nirukta (I. 16) also refers to the usage of offering madhuparka with the word madhuparka repeated thrice. It appears that the Ait. Br. III. 4 when it says that 'if the ruler of men comes as a guest or any one else deserving of honour comes, people kill a bull or a cow (that has contracted a habit of abortion)' refers to Madhuparka,¹²⁵⁴ though that word is not actually used. In all grhya 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 rudrāṇām') are the same. The madhuparka¹²⁵⁵ is offered to *ṛtviks* (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. ṛtvik, ācārya, the bride-groom, the king, the snātaka and a person who is dear to one. Some like Baud.¹²⁵⁶ gr. I. 2. 65 add 'atithi' (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 होवाच किं विद्वाञ्चो दाहन्त्यानामन्त्र्य मधुपर्कं पिबन्तीति । जै. उ. ब्रा. 18. 4 ; जानते मधुपर्कं ग्राह । निश्चक I 16.

1254. तद्यथैवादो मनुष्यराज आगतेऽन्यस्मिन्वार्हति उक्षाणं वा वेहतं वा क्षदन्ते । ऐ. ब्रा. III. 4. This is quoted by मेधा० on मनु III. 119 and by हरदत्त on गौतम 17. 30.

1255. ऋत्विजो ब्रुत्वा मधुपर्कमाहरेत् । स्नातकाद्योपस्थिताय । राज्ञे च । आचार्य-श्चक्षुरपितृव्यमातुलानां च । आश्व. गृ. I. 24. 1-4. The bride-groom, when he comes to the bride's house, is to be honoured with मधुपर्क because he also is generally a स्नातेक. The आचार्य is one who performs one's उपनयन and teaches the Veda.

1256. तथैते अर्घ्या ऋत्विक्श्चक्षुरः पितृव्यो मातुल आचार्यो राजा वा स्नातकः प्रियो बरोऽतिथिरिति । बौ. गृ. I. 2. 65.

Manu III. 119, Sabhāparva 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, Khādira gr. IV. 4. 26, Gobhila gr. IV. 10. 26. *Ārviks* are to be honoured in each *yājña*, even though several *yajñas* are performed in the same year (Yāj. I. 110). Manu (III. 120) 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*. Medhātithi 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 *śākhā* 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, *arghya* 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. वरस्य या भवेच्छाखा तच्छाखायुह्यचोदितः । मधुपर्कः प्रदातव्योऽप्यन्यशास्त्रेपि दातारि ॥ quoted in सं. प्र. p. 823.

1258. Vide Appendix for text

1259. A *viṣṭra* is a seat with 25 *दर्भसः*. 'पञ्चाशता भवेद्द्रव्यम् तद्वर्षेण तु विष्टरः' परिशिष्ट quoted by सं. प्र. p. 821. *अर्घ्ये* is water for washing the hands, in which flowers and perfume (like sandal-wood paste) have been mixed up. मन्त्रमालयादितंयुक्तमुदकमर्चयितव्यम् । नारायण on आश्व. गृ. I. 24. 11.

1260. अहं वर्म &c.—This occurs in पारस्कर I. 3 and मानवयुह्य I. 9. 8 with slight variations.

hold out first to a brāhmaṇa (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 ācamana 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 Savitr, by the arms of Aśvins and the hands of Pūṣan, I accept thee' (Vāj S. I. 24). He looks at it with the three ṛk verses¹²⁶² '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 Triṣṭubh metre' (he wipes fingers) towards the south; with the formula 'may the Ādityas eat thee with the Jagatī 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 formula¹²⁶³ '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 brāhmaṇa towards the north; but if no brāhmaṇa is available he should throw it into water; or he may eat the whole. He then takes ācamana with the water intended for it with the

1261. The words अमुतोपस्तरणमसि occur in the description of मधुपर्क in आप. मन्त्रपाठ II. 10. 3 and आप. गृ. 13. 13., मानवशृङ्ख. I. 9. 15.

1262. The three verses Rg. I. 90. 6-8 all begin with the word मधु 'मधु वाता ऋतायेते मधु क्षरन्ति सिन्धवः' (6), 'मधु नक्तमुतोषसी' (7), 'मधुमाजो वनस्पतिः' (8) and so are very appropriate to मधुपर्क. They occur in वाज. सं. 13. 27-29, are called मधुमती verses and employed in पार. गृ. I. 3, also in मानवशृङ्ख I. 9. 14.

1263. The three मन्त्र 'विराजो दोहोसीति &c.' occur in Pār. gr. I. 3 (but at the time of receiving the arghya water), Śāh. gr. III. 7. 5, Mānava gr. 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.'¹²⁶⁴ 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'^{1264a} (Rg. VIII. 101. 15) and says 'let her go'. Let the madhuparka not be without flesh."

A few small matters may be noted. Several grhya-sūtras (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 those 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 Kausika sūtra (92) speaks of nine kinds of mixtures viz. Brāhma (honey and curds), Aindra (of pāyasa), Saumya (curds and ghee), Pauṣṇa (ghee and mantha), Śārasvata (milk and ghee), Mausala (wine and ghee, this being used only in Sautrāmaṇi and Rājasūya sacrifices), Vāruṇa (water and ghee), Śrāvāṇa (sesame oil and ghee), Pārivrajaka (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. अमृतापिधानमसि—this मन्त्र occurs also in आप. म. पा. II. 10. 4 and आप. गृ. 13. 13.

1264a. The verse माता रुद्राया (referring to the cow) is mentioned in several गृह्यसूत्रs such as the मानव (I. 9. 23), Pār. (I. 3), चै. गृ. I. 2. 50.

offered. When even flesh-eating came to be abhorred, then only pāyasa and such other things were recommended. The Ādiparva (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 gr̥hya 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 Sam. Pr. (p. 868), Nirṇayasindhu p. 310, Sam. 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, Varuna 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 Sam. 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.

Arkavivāha: 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 Sam. Pr. pp. 876-889, Sam. K. p. 819, Nirṇayasindhu, p. 328. It is described in Baud. gr̥. 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 Āp. 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. Āp. 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, Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 12. 22) or *parivindaka* (Yāj. 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 *agredidhiṣū* (Gaut. 15. 15, Vas. I. 18) or *parivedinī*, the elder sister before whom her younger sister marries is called *didhiṣū*. The husbands of these two last respectively bear the appellations *agre-didhiṣupati* and *didhiṣupati*. 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 '*pariyādhātṛ*' 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 hell¹²⁶⁶ (and must perform the penance of Cāndrāyana according to Viṣṇu). The Mit. on

1265. Vide Mit. on Yāj. III. 265 explaining Vas. Dh. S. '(परिवेत्ता) कृच्छ्रान्तिकृच्छ्रौ चरित्वा तस्मै ज्येष्ठाय तौ स्वीदां दत्त्वा ब्रह्मचर्याद्विर्तं भैक्षवद् युक्तपरिमवपरिहारार्थं निवेद्य पुनश्चक्षते । तामेव ...स्वीदां ज्येष्ठाय निवेदितां तेन चाशुजाताश्चक्षते । '

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.

Yaj. III. 265 quotes Hārta-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 Uśanas that a person may kindle sacred fires even before his father or grandfather with the latter's consent. The Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana (I. 76-77) says that there is no sin in taking agnihotra 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 Yogasāstra¹²⁶⁹. Vide Gobhila smṛti (I. 72-74) for similar verses (which are quoted by the Gr. R. p. 90), Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana 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. आतरि चैवं ज्यायसि कनीयान्कन्यान्पुत्रपुत्र्येषु । षडित्येके । गौतम 18. 18-19.

1268. उन्मत्तः किल्बिषी कुष्ठी पतितः क्लीब एव च । राजयद्दामयात्री च न योग्यः स्वात् प्रतीक्षितम् ॥ quoted by मेधा on मनु III. 171 and अपराक p. 445.

1269. क्लीब देशान्तरस्थे च पतिते प्रजितेपि वा । योगशास्त्रामियुक्ते च न दोषः परिवर्द्धने ॥ अत्रि 106. This is quoted as साततयस by अपराक 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. sūryābhyudita, sūryābhinimrukta, kunakhin, śyāvadat, agredidhiṣū, parivitta, vīrahan, brahmahan. 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 (*arāddhi*).

1270. सूर्याभ्युदितः सूर्याभिनिम्रुकः कुनखी श्यावदन्तः परिवित्तिः परिवेताग्रेदिधि-
वृषतिर्वीरहा ब्रह्मोऽह इत्येनस्मिन् । वसिष्ठ I. 18.

CHAPTER XI

POLYGAMY, POLYANDRY AND RIGHTS AND DUTIES ON MARRIAGE

Polygamy: Though monogamy ¹²⁷¹ 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 the 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. ¹²⁷² 159 is a hymn attributed to Śacī, 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) Trita 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)' ¹²⁷³. 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 *पूषा त्वेतो नयतु हस्तशुक्लाश्विना त्वा मवहता रयेन । शुक्राग्नेच्छ शुहपत्नी यथासो वशिनी त्वं विद्यमा वदासि ॥...सम्राज्ञी अवि देवतु ॥* (last quoted above in n. 1229). The word *dampati* (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 असपत्ना सपत्न्या जयन्त्यमिधूवरी । आवृक्षमन्वासां वर्चो राघो अस्थेयसामिव ॥ समजैषमिमा अहं सपत्नीरमिधूवरीः । यथाहमस्य वीरस्य विराजानि जनस्य च ॥ ऋ. X. 159. 5-6. आप. म. पा. reads differently.

1273. सं मा तपन्धमितः सपत्नीरिव पर्शवः । ऋ. I. 105. 8; vide Rg. X. 116. 10 (आदित्यतिनृत्तुतं कनीनाम्) where the Āsvins are said to have made *पश्यन्* the husband of maidens.

same¹²⁷⁴ 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'¹²⁷⁵. In the Śat. Br. (XIII. 4. 1. 9., S. B. E. vol. 44, p. 349) it is said, 'four¹²⁷⁶ wives are in attendance viz. the consecrated queen (*mahiṣī*), the favourite wife (*vāvātā*), the discarded wife (*parivrktā* or *parivrkti*) and the *pālāgālī* (who is low-born)'. The Tai. S. I. 8. 9 refers to the *mahiṣī* and *parivrkti*. In the Vāj. S. (23. 24, 26, 28) there are verses which are addressed to the *mahiṣī*, *vāvātā* and *parivrkti* by the *brahmā*, *udgātā* and *hotā* priests respectively. *Harīścandra* 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 *Maitreī* 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. S. (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.¹²⁷⁷ *Nārada* (*śrīpumsa* v. 95)

1274. यदेकस्मिन्पुत्रे द्वे रशने परिव्रजति तस्मादेको द्वे जाये विन्दते यत्नेकां रशनां द्वयोर्युपयोः परिव्रजति तस्मात्तेका द्वौ पती विन्दते । तै. सं. VI. 6. 4. 3; vide also तै. सं. VI. 5. 1. 4 'तस्मादेको बह्वीर्जाया विन्दते'; तस्मादेकस्य बह्व्यो जाया भवन्ति नैकरये बहवः सहपतयः । ऐ. ब्रा. 12. 11.

1275. पत्न्योऽप्यञ्जन्ति । अत्रिा वा एतद्वयं यत्पत्नयः । अत्रियेवास्मिन्स्तद्व्यति । तै. ब्रा. III. 8. 4; vide शतपथभा. XIII. 2. 6. 7 for the same words.

1276. चतस्रो जाया उपकृता भवन्ति महिषी वावाता परिव्रक्ता पालागली । शतपथ XIII. 4. 1. 9. In रामायण बालकाण्ड 14. 35 the first three out of these four are mentioned in connection with अश्वमेध 'होताव्यवृत्तयोद्वाता द्वयेन समयो-जयन् । महिष्या परिव्रक्तया च वावातामपरां तथा ॥'. In Rg. X. 102. 11 the word परिव्रक्ता occurs which probably means the discarded wife.

1277. धर्मप्रजासंपन्नो दूरे नान्यां कुर्वीत । अन्यतराभावे कार्या प्रायन्यायेयात् । आप. घ. सू. II. 5. 11. 12-13; स्वराजिनं बाहिलीम परिधाप्य दूरव्यतिक्रमिणे भिक्षामिति सप्तगाराणि चरेत् । सा वृत्तिः वपमासात् । आप. घ. सू. I. 10. 28. 19; vide बृहत्संहिता chap 74. 13 where this प्रायश्चित्त for the husband is mentioned and it is said that it is never observed by men. अनुकूलामवागुदां वसां साध्वीं मजावतीम् । त्यजन् भार्यामवस्थाप्यो राज्ञा वृद्धेन सूयसा ॥ नारद (अथिउस 95).

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 Kauṭ. (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 *strīdhana* and money (prescribed to be given) on supersession and besides a fine (to the king) of 24 *panas*.¹²⁷⁸ 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 *śulka* and *strīdhana* 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 Yāj. 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. Devala¹²⁷⁹ quoted in the Gr. R. says that the *śūdra* 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*¹²⁸⁰ 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 Yāj. II. 148 for the amount of *ādhivedanika* to be given by the husband.

1279. एका स्त्रियस्य वैश्यस्य द्वे तिस्रः क्षत्रियस्य च । चतस्रो ब्राह्मणस्य स्त्रुर्भार्या राज्ञो यथेच्छतः ॥ देवल quoted in गृह्यसूत्ररत्नाकर p. 85.

1280. न चाप्यधर्मः कल्याण बहुपत्नीकता वृणाम् । स्त्रीणामधर्मः सुमहान्मर्तुः पूर्वस्य लङ्घने ॥ 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 (Kṛṣṇa) had sixteen thousand wives. Several kings had in historic times as many as a hundred wives. For example, the Cedi king Gāṅgeyadeva alias Vikramāditya is said to have obtained *mukti* (salvation) at Prayāga with his hundred wives¹²⁸² (vide Jabalpur plate of Yaśaḥkarnadeva 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 marriages 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. 482 '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 unsatisfactory. 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 v. Chanchal*, 4 Bom. L. R. 107. In *Virasami v. Appasami*, 1 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. षोडश क्रीतद्वजाणि वासुदेवपरिश्रमः । तासांमासीन्महानादो दृष्ट्वैवार्जुनमागतम् ॥ मौसलपर्व V. 6.

1282. भास्ते मयागवदभूलनिवेशवन्धौ सार्धं सतेन गृहिणीभिरसुत्रं शुक्तिम् । E. I. vol. II. p. 4.

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 ¹²⁸³ 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 Draupadī 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 Draupadī 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 Jaṭilā Gautamī (who had seven sages as husbands) and of Vārkaṣī who had ten Prācetasas 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

1283. Vide Cambridge History of India, vol I. p. 88, Vedic Index I. p. 479.

1284. एकस्य बहुयो विहिता महिष्यः कुशलन्दन। नैकस्या बहुवः पुंसः श्रूयन्ते पतयः कश्चिद्। लोकवेदविषयं त्वं नाधर्मं धर्मविच्छुचिः। कर्तुमर्हसि कौन्तेय कस्मात्ते बुद्धिरी-
कृशी। आदि. 195. 27-29; vide समापर्व 68.35 where Karna speaks of Draupadī as 'bandhaki' (a harlot), because she had many men as her husbands.

1285. युधिष्ठिर replies 'सहस्रो धर्मो महाराज नास्य विप्रो वयं गतिम्। पूर्वेषामाशु-
पूर्वेषां पातं वर्त्मस्तुयामहे ॥'

Mahābhārata. This too also sounds somewhat far-fetched. Kumārīlabhaṭṭa 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 Draupadī 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 *niyoga*), but only to one who is a sagotra; for they declare that a bride is given to the family (of brothers and not to one brother alone); that (*niyoga*) 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 Pārasikas (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 (*dākṣiṇātyas*) 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 *dākṣiṇātyas*. 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 Pārasikas, 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. अथवा अद्वय एव ताः सदृशरूपा द्वौपद्य एकत्वेनोपचरिता इति व्यवहारार्था-
धन्या गम्यते ॥ तन्त्रवार्तिक प. 209

1287. विरुद्धाः प्रतिद्वयन्ते दक्षिणात्येषु संप्रति । स्वमातुलसुतोद्वाहो मातृवन्धुत्व-
द्वेषितः ॥ अभर्तुकात्मातृभार्याग्रहणं चातिद्वेषितम् । कुले कन्याप्रदानं च देशेभ्यः सुदृश्यम् ।
तथा मातृविवाहोऽपि पारसीकेषु दृश्यते । बृहस्पति quoted in the स्मृतिचन्द्रिका I. 10, स्मृतिश्रु.
(वर्णाश्रम प. 130). Vide Jolly's Recht und Sitte, English translation,
p. 102.

1288. Vide Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol. I. p. 483 (1907).

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.¹²⁸⁹ Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji (I. A. vol. 8, p. 88) says that in Kumaun between the Tons and Jumna river about Kalsi, Rajputs, brāhmaṇas and śūdras all practise polyandry and the children are attributed to the eldest brother who is alive. Nilakanṭha,¹²⁹⁰ the commentator of the Mahābhārata, raises (on Ādiparva 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 said¹²⁹¹ 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

1289. Vide the authorities quoted in Jolly's *Recht und Sitte* (Eng. tr. p. 103 foot-notes).

1290. कथं तर्हि द्रौपद्याः पञ्च पाण्डवा भारिषायाश्च दश भवेत्तसा इदानींतनानां नीचानां च द्विवादयः पतयो दृश्यन्ते इति चेन्न देवचरितं चरेदिति न्यायेन देवताकल्पेषु पर्युत्थयोगायेनात् नीचानां पशुप्रायानां चाचारस्याभामाप्याच्च अधिकारिविषयत्वाच्च नियोगस्य । नीलकण्ठ on आदिपर्व 104. 35.

1291. संजानाना उपसदिक्षभिस्तु परनीवन्तो नमस्यं नमस्यन् । ऋ. I. 72. 5; अजान्ते भिन्नं सुधितं न गोभिर्घट्म्यती समनसा कृणोति । ऋ. V. 3-2; स परनी परया सुष्ठु तेन गच्छताम् । यज्ञस्य युक्तौ पुण्यावधूताम् । संजानाना विजहतामरावीः । द्विवि ज्योतिरजर-भारभेताम् । तै. ऋ. 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 Kāthaka Sam. V. 4 and is relied upon by Śabara 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 Āsvamedha 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) prescribes¹²⁹² 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 grhya fire kindled at marriage one was to offer the daily mahāyajñas (Gaut. 5. 6-8) and as regards baliharāṇa, Gobhila gr. (I. 4. 16-19) says that both husband and wife should offer *bali*s, or a brāhmaṇa may offer for them, or the wife may offer in the evening and the husband in the morning¹²⁹³. Manu (III. 121) says that from food cooked in the evening the wife should

1292. विवाहाग्निमन्त्रतोऽजसं नयन्ति । आश्व. गृ. I. 8. 5. पाणिग्रहणादि शुद्धं परिचरेत्स्वयं पत्न्यापि वा पुत्रः कुमार्यन्तेवासी वा । ... यदि तृपसाभ्येत्यत्पुपवसेदित्येके । ... अग्नये स्वाहेति सार्धं जुहुयात्पुण्याय स्वाहेति प्रातस्तृष्णीं द्वितीये उभयत्र । आश्व. गृ. I. 9. 1, 3, 8.

1293. आप. गृ. was against allowing women to perform homa even in grhya fire except in the case of *kāmya* rites and *bali*. श्रियाद्युपेतने क्षारलवणाचराकसंयुक्तस्य च होमं परिचरते । यथोपदेशं कार्यानि बलयश्च । आप. गृ. 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 *sthālipāka* (*vide* Hir. gr. I. 23. 3), washing the slaughtered animal (compare Śat. Br. III. 8. 2 and Gobhila gr. III. 10. 29), looking at the *ājya* in śrauta sacrifices. The *Pūrvamīmāṃsā* 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 *patnī* 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 *patnīs*). The *Mahābhāṣya* says ¹²⁹⁶ that the wife of a *śūdra* is called *patnī* only by analogy (as a *śūdra* 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. तस्या यावदुक्तमाशीर्षिहोत्र्यमनुपयत्वात् । जै. VI. 1. 24.

1295. रामोपि कृत्वा सौवर्ण्यं सीतां पत्नीं यशस्विनीम् । ईजे यज्ञैर्बहुविधैः सह भ्रातृ-
भिरचितैः ॥ गोमिलस्मृति III. 10; 'काश्चर्नीं सम पत्नीं च' in रामायण VII. 91. 25.

1296. पत्युर्नो यज्ञसंयोगे । पा. IV. 1. 33; 'एवमपि तुषजकरस्य पत्नीति न सिध्यति । उपमानात्सिद्धम् । पत्नीवत्पत्नीति ।' महाभाष्य on पा. IV. 1. 33. (vol. II. p. 214).

1297. अर्धो वा एतस्य यज्ञस्य नीयते यस्य द्वयेऽहन् पत्युनालभ्युका भवति । तै. ब्रा. III. 7. 1.

women (independently of the husband) nor vrata (vows) nor fasts (without his consent).' Similarly Kātyāyana propounds¹²⁹⁸ 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 Nityācārapaddhati (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.¹²⁹⁹ 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 Madanapārijāta 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'.¹³⁰⁰ 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 Pūrvamīmāṃsā (IX. 3. 20-21) Jaimini discusses the question whether the direction in the Darśa-pūrṇamāsa 'patnīm saṁnahya' (having girt up the wife) which employs the singular number

1298. नारी स्वत्वननुज्ञाता पित्रा भर्त्रा सुतेन वा । विफलं तद्व्रतेतरया यत्करोत्सौर्ध्व-
देहिकम् ॥ कात्यायन quoted in the व्यवहारमयुख p. 113. This is ascribed to
मार्कण्डेय by परा. मा. II. 1. p. 37. and by हेमाद्रि (प्रतखण्ड part 1. p. 362) to
आदिशुराण.

1299. सुवर्णासु बहुभाषासु विद्यमानास्तु ज्येष्ठया सह धर्मकार्यं कुर्यात् । मिश्रासु च
कनिष्ठयापि समानवर्णया । समानवर्णाया अभावे त्वनन्तरयेवापादि च । न त्वेव द्विजः
शूद्रया ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 26. 1-4.

1300. कुण्वर्णा या रामा रमणायैव न धर्मा ॥ बसिष्ठ 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 *Trikāṇḍamāṇḍana*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 cāṇḍāla.

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 yajñas and by procreating sons he freed himself from those three debts respectively. Vide¹³⁰² Tai. S. VI. 3. 10. 5, Śat. Br. I. 7.2.11, Ait. 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 (prajābhir-agne amṛtatvam-aśyām) prays 'may I obtain immortality through progeny.' Vas. Dh. S. 17. 1-4 quotes these passages of the Tai. S., Ait. 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. भार्याः सन्तीह यावत्पत्न्यभिः सर्वाभिरन्वितः । यद्वा सवर्णया ज्येष्ठभार्यैव समन्वितः ॥ यद्वाधानादुपधुदकामपत्नीविवर्जितः । त्रिकाण्डमण्डन I. 43-44.

1302. जायमानो वै ब्राह्मणश्चिन्तयति जायते ब्रह्मचर्येण ऋषिभ्यो यज्ञेन देवेभ्यः मजया पितृभ्य एष वा अष्टमो यः पुत्री यज्वा ब्रह्मचारिवासी । ते. सं. VI. 3. 10. 5; ऋणं ह वै जायते योऽस्ति । स जायमान एव देवेभ्य ऋषिभ्यः पितृभ्यो मनुष्येभ्यः । शतपथ I. 7. 2. 11; ऋणमस्मिन्संनयत्यमृतत्वं च गच्छति । पिता पुत्रस्य जातस्य परयेच्छेज्जीवतो सुखम् । नापुत्रस्य लोकोऽस्तीति तत्सर्वे पशवो विदुः । ऐ. ब्रा. 33. 1. वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र XI. 47 quotes the first passage.

1303. ब्राह्मणस्य तु सोमविधायजसूययाकयेन संयोगात् । जैमिनि VI. 2. 31.

Tai. S. as illustrative only. Manu (VI. 35) enjoins upon a man that he should not think of *mokṣa* (release from *samsāra*) 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. 11¹³⁰⁴ also derives the word *putra* similarly. Further the water and *pinḍas* (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. 70,¹³⁰⁵ Vanaparva 84. 97, Matsyapurāṇa 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 Śat. 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 (*śrīpūrṇiṣa* 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-sūtra* 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. पुत्रः पुत्रं ज्ञायते नियमनाद्। पुत्रकं तत्तत्तायत इति वा । निरुक्त II. 11.

1305. एष्टया चद्वः पुत्रा यद्येकोपि गयाम् व्रजेत् । यजेत वाश्वमेधेन नीलं वा वृषभ-
त्तजेत् ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 85. 70. The मत्स्यपुराण 207. 39 reads गौरां चापुष्टदे-
त्कन्यां for यजे मेधेन.

husband and to honour him as her god. In the Śat. Br.¹³⁰⁶ princess Sukanyā 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-Likhita¹³⁰⁷ say 'a wife should not hate her husband even if he be impotent (or have swollen testicles), *patita* (guilty of mahāpātaka 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 Rāmāyaṇa (Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa 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.¹³⁰⁸ The Anuśāsana parva 146. 55 says 'the husband is the god of a woman, her (sole) relative, her goal'; the Āśvamedhika-parva 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!' (Śāntiparva 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

1306. यस्यै मां पितादात्रैवाहं तं जीवन्तं दारयामि । इतपथ IV. 1. 5. 9. Vido Manu V. 151 for a paraphrase of this passage. विश्वरूप on या I. 69 makes an objector rely on this Śatapatha passage to show that it allows niyoga after the husband's death.

1307. न भर्तारं द्विषाद्यद्यप्यष्टीवलः स्यात्पतितोऽङ्गहीनो व्याधितो वा पतिर्हि देवता कृणाम् । शङ्खलिलसितं quoted in स्मृतिच० (न्यव. p. 251), परा. मा. II. part 1 p. 38.

1308. पतिर्हि देवो नारीणां पतिर्वन्द्यः पतिर्गतिः । अथशासन 146. 55; मितं ददाति हि पिता मितं भ्राता मितं सुतः । अमितस्य हि दातारं भर्तारं का न पूजयेत् ॥ शान्तिपर्व 148. 6; पतिर्हि देवतं स्त्रीणां पतिरेव परायणम् । मितं ददाति पूजयेत् ॥ मत्स्य 210. 17-18. भार्यकचारिणी गृहविभ्रम्भा देववत्पतिमाच्छ्रूयेन वर्तेत । कामसूत्र 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,¹³⁰⁹ who makes one of the pupils of Kaṇva say about Śakuntalā '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, Vanaparva 233. 19-58 (Draupadī as the speaker), Anuśāsana 123 (Śāṇḍilī declares the conduct of virtuous wives), Veda-Vyāsa-smṛti II. 20-32 (wife's duties from morning till night), Vṛddha-Hārta XI. 84 ff (wife's duties from morning), Sm. C. (vyavahāra section) p. 249 ff, Madanapārijāta pp. 192-195 and other *nibandhas* 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. Ādiparva 74. 12 gives¹³¹⁰ 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

1309. तदेव। मघतः कान्ता त्यज चेनां गृहाण वा। उपपन्ना हि दारेऽप्युता सर्वतोमुखी ॥ शाकुन्तल V.

1310. नारीणां चिरवासो हि बान्धवेषु न रोचते। कीर्तिचारित्र्यधर्मस्तस्माज्जयत मा चिरम् ॥ आदिपर्व 74. 12; compare 'सतीमपि ज्ञातिकुलैकसंश्रयां जनोन्मथा मर्दमतीं विशङ्कते। शाकुन्तल V. 17.

conduct herself decently, to restrain her senses.' Śaṅkha¹³¹¹ 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 sannyāsīn, 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). Draupadī (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. नाशुका गृहान्निर्गच्छेत् । नाशुचरीया । न त्वरितं ब्रजेत् । न परपुरुषमभि-
भाषेतान्यत्र वणिक्प्रजितवृद्धवैश्यः । न नार्मिं दर्शयेत् । आशुकाद्वासः परिदध्यात् । न
स्तनौ विवृतौ कुर्यात् । न हसेदनपादता । भर्तारं तद्वन्धून्वा न द्विष्यात् । न गणिका-धृतार्मि-
सारिणी-प्रजिता-प्रेक्षणिकाभावाभुलकुहककारिकादुःशीलादिभिः सहैकत्र तिष्ठेत् । संसर्गेण हि
कुलस्त्रीणां चारित्र्यं दुष्यति । शङ्ख quoted by the मिताक्षरा on या. I. 87, by अपरार्क
p. 107 (on या. I. 83), भदनपारिजात p. 195; vide also स्मृतिचन्द्र (व्यवहार)
pp. 249-250 and वि. र. p. 430. As to speaking with परपुरुष, vide
वनपर्व 266. 3 एका ह्यहं संभति ते न वाचं ददामि वै भद्रं निषेधं चेदथ । अहं त्वरण्ये कथमे-
कमेका त्वामालपेयं निरता स्वधर्मे ॥ . Vide also अनुशासन 146. 43. 'मूलकारिका'
in the passage of शङ्ख means one who employs herbs &c. for वशीकरण-
Vide वनपर्व 233. 7-14 (the last verse is मूलपचारैर्हि विषं प्रयच्छन्ति जिघांसवः).

husband.¹³¹² Manu (VIII. 361) prescribes the fine of a *suvarṇa* for a man speaking with a woman with whom he is forbidden to speak and Yāj. II. 285 prescribes a fine of one hundred *paṇas* 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 *paṇas* in the case of the man who speaks with a woman with whom he is forbidden to speak. Br̥haspati¹³¹³ 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 vr̥tatas, fasts, observances and worship (of god &c.) with the permission of her husband' say Śāṅkha-Likhita.¹³¹⁴ The Purāṇas frequently descant on *strīdharmā*. 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-khaṇḍa, Dharmāranya section, chap. 7) has a long description of a *pativrātā* '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 *pativrātā* should always use turmeric, *kuṅkuma*, *sindūra*, lamp black (for the eye), a bodice, *tāmbūla*, auspicious ornaments, and should braid her hair' (vv. 28-29). The Padma-purāṇa (Śrī-khaṇḍa, chap. 47, v. 55) says that that wife is *pativrātā* 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. Śāṅkha-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 unguents to the body, walking in parks, sleeping in open places (or uncovered).

1312. सांस्तरिकमायं संख्याय तदुत्तरं व्ययं कुर्यात् । कामसूत्र IV. 1. 32.

1313. पूर्वोक्तानं शुश्रूषवाङ् भोजनव्यञ्जनक्रिया । जयन्त्यासन्नशायित्वं कर्म अणिना-
मुदाहृतम् । बृहस्पति quoted in स्मृतिच०, व्यव. p. 257.

1314. भर्तृरुत्तमा ततोपवासनियमेज्यादीनामारम्भः अधिर्धर्मः । शङ्खलिखित quoted
in स्मृतिच० (व्यवहार) p. 252.

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-parva¹³¹⁵ (123. 17) indicates that a wife whose husband is gone abroad does not apply eyesalve or *rocānū* (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 ‘her¹³¹⁶ 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 Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana¹³¹⁷ (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 *sādhvī*’ (a virtuous woman, a *pativrātā*); but by proving faithless to her husband a

1315. अजनं रोचनां चैव स्नानं मातृयासुलेपनम् । प्रसाधनं च निष्क्रान्ते नाभिनन्दामि मर्तरि ॥ अनुशासन 123. 17.

1316. विवर्णदीनवदना देहसंस्कारवर्जिता । पतिव्रता निराहारा शोष्यते भोषिते पती ॥ वेदव्यासस्मृति II. 52.

1317. अतोऽग्निहोत्रं नित्येष्टिः पितृयज्ञ इति त्रयम् । कर्तव्यं भोषिते पत्यौ नाप्यस्त्वानिष्क्रियान्वितम् ॥ त्रिकाण्डमण्डन 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. Bṛhaspati¹³¹⁸ 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 Damayantī 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 Śāṇḍilī who¹³¹⁹ had attained heavenly worlds tells Sumanā Kaikeyī how she reached that state without wearing *kāśāyas* (dyed garments worn by *saṁnyāsins*) 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 Sāvitrī in the Vanaparva (293-299) illustrates the power of a *pativratā*, who wrung back even from Yama, the dread god of Death, the life of her husband.¹³²⁰ Sāvitrī and Sitā have been held by the women of India for thousands of years as the

1318. आर्तार्तिं सुदिदृक्षुः शोषिते मलिना कृशा ॥ मृते भ्रियेत या पत्यौ सा स्त्री ज्ञेया पतिव्रता ॥ बृहस्पति quoted by अपरार्क p. 109, by the नित. on या. I. 86 (as हारीत's). It is बृहहारीत XI. 199.

1319. नाहं काषायवसना नापि वल्कलधारिणी । न च सुषा च जटिला मूत्रा द्वेषत्वमायता ॥ अद्वितानि च वाक्पानि सर्वाणि पश्यामि च । अममता च भर्तारं कदाचिज्जाहमनयम् ॥ अनुशासन 123. 8-9, 14 &c.

1320. Vide also मत्स्यपुराण 208-214 for the tale of सावित्री. सावित्री says in वनपर्व 297. 53 'न कामये भर्तृविनाश्रुता सुखं न कामये भर्तृविनाश्रुता दिवम् । न कामये भर्तृविनाश्रुता अयं न भर्तृहीना व्यवसायि जीविष्युः ॥'

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 brāhmaṇa, who by his mere angry look made a female crane die when the latter voided its faeces on to the head of the brāhmaṇa and who was rebuked by a pativrātā that the latter was not a crane, when the brāhmaṇa 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 pativrātā like Gāndhārī is in that she can, if she choose, burn the world, she can stop even the motions of the sun and¹³²¹ the moon. The Skanda-purāṇa III (Brahma-khaṇḍa, Brahmāraṇya section chap. 7) first names (verses 14-15) several pativrātās like Arundhatī, Anasūyā, Sāvitrī, Śāṇḍilyā, Satyā, Menā and then waxes eloquent over the tremendous spiritual power of a pativrātā 'just as a snake-charmer¹³²² forcibly draws out from a hole a snake, so a pativrātā 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 pativrātā, 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.'¹³²³ Dakṣa

1321. कृष्ण says to गान्धारी 'शक्रा चासि महाभागे पृथिवीं स चराचराम् । अक्षुषा कोपदीप्तेन मद्भुं तपसो बलात् ॥' शल्यपर्व 63. 21.

1322. चालग्राही यथा चालं बलादुद्धरते बिलात् । एवमुत्क्रम्य दूतेभ्यः पतिं स्वर्गे ब्रजेत्सती ॥ यमदूताः पलायन्ते तामालोक्य पतिव्रताम् । स्कन्दपुराण (ब्रह्मखण्ड), चर्माख्य chap. 7. 54-55. It will be noticed later on that the half verse चालग्राही occurs in numerous works.

1323. वृद्धौ च मातापितरौ साध्वी भार्या शिशुः सुतः । अप्यकार्यज्ञातं कृत्वा मर्त्या मन्दरमवीत् ॥

II. 36 (= Laghu-Āśvalāyana ¹³²⁴ I. 74) defines *poṣyavarga* (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 *poṣyavarga*. ' 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 *paṇas* 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 (*stripuṃsa* 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 Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 34. 62-63) observes that there is nothing that harms one's life as much as adultery. Viśvarūpa 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 Matsyapurāṇa 227. 152-154. It will be seen that about two thousand years ago Manu did not confer

1324. माता पिता शुभर्माणां राजा दीनः समाश्रितः । अभ्यागतोऽतिथिश्चाग्निः पोष्यवर्ग उदाहृतः ॥ दक्ष II. 36. Verse 37 includes other persons among *poṣyavarga* in the case of the well-to-do. Aparārka p. 939 quotes Dakṣa II. 36-37.

1325. रक्षा च स्त्रीणां स्वदारिद्र्येनैतत्त्वमेव न तु ताडनादिका । तथा तासामनर्थोपि संभाष्येत । तथा च लौकिकाः पाञ्चालजिषु भार्गवमिति पठन्ति । विश्वरूप on या. I. 80.

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.¹³²⁶

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 Premkunvar 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 Yāj. 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

1326. 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 ¹³²⁷.

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, ¹³²⁸ kṣatriyas 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. त्रीणि वर्षाण्यष्टुमतीं यो भार्या नाधिगच्छति । स हर्षं भ्रूणहत्याया दोषमुच्छत्य-
संशयम् ॥ ऋतुस्नानां तु यो भार्या संनिधौ नोपगच्छति । पितरस्तस्य तन्मासं तस्मिन् राजसि-
शेते ॥ अर्धः प्रतिनिवेशेन या भार्या स्कन्दयेदुग्रम् । तां ग्राममध्ये विख्याप्य भ्रूणघ्नीं
निर्धमेद्गृहात् ॥ बौ. घ. सू. IV. 1. 19-20, 22. विश्वरूप on या. I. 79 quotes as
Baudhāyana's verses 20 and 22. संवत् 98 is the same as बौ. घ. सू. IV. 1. 20.
पराक्षर (4. 14-15) is similar to Baud. Dh. S. IV. 1. 20 and 22.

1328. भ्रातृपुत्रपौत्रपुत्राणां भार्याः सुद्वेषेण संगताः । अभिजाता विशुष्यन्ति मायश्चित्तेन
नेतराः ॥ चतसस्तु परित्याज्याः शिष्याणां युवगा च या । पतिघ्नी च विशेषेण आङ्घ्रिपगता च
या ॥ वसिष्ठ 21. 12 and 10. The *mita* ascribes the second verse to *त्याज* on
Yāj. I. 72 and to *वसिष्ठ* on या. III. 298.

adultery with a man of degraded caste (like a leather-worker). Nārada¹³²⁹ (stripuṃsa 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'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 penance¹³³¹ prescribed for males in cases of adultery. Vide Atri V. 1-5, Parāśara IV. 20 and XI. 87 and Bṛhad-Yama 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.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* Vas. XXL 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);

1329. अग्निचारे स्त्रिया मौञ्जमयः शयनमेव च । कदम्बं वा कुवांसश्च कर्म चावरक-
रोष्मणम् ॥ नारद (अपुंसक व. 91).

1330. अग्निचारेण दुष्टां तां पत्नीमा दर्शनादृतोः । हतनिर्वर्गकरणां चिक्कतां च
पसेत्यतिः ॥ पुनस्तामार्तवस्नातां पुनर्वद् व्यवहारयेत् ॥ वेदव्यास II. 49-50.

1331. Penance will be lighter or heavier according to the caste of the adulterer. According to मनु XI. 60 adultery is an उपपातक and the ordinary penance for it is मोक्षत or चाण्डाल्यण (मनु XI. 118).

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

1333. *Vide Parami v. Mahadevi* I. L. R. 34. Bom. 278 at p. 283 (*per* Chandavarkar J.).

1334. *Vide Halsbury's Laws of England* (Hailsham ed.) vol. 16 pp. 613-614.

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 ¹³³⁵ (stripuṃsa, 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 ¹³³⁶ 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, varṇasamkara, adultery, pregnancy of a widow from some person other than the husband, abortion ¹³³⁷ &c. We have seen (p. 569) that Yāj. I. 76, Nārada (stripuṃsa, 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 ¹³³⁸ 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. ईर्ष्याद्व्यासमुत्थेतु संनन्दे रागहेतुके । दम्पती विवदेयातां न ज्ञातिषु न राजानि ॥ नारद (श्रीपुंस v. 89).

1336. यद्यपि स्त्रीपुंसयोः परस्परमर्थित्यर्थितया वृषसमक्षं व्यवहारो निषिद्धस्तथापि मत्पक्षेण परंपरया वा विदिते तयोः परस्परवित्तचारे दण्डादिना दम्पती निजवर्ममार्गे राज्ञा रथापनीयो, इतरथा दोषभागभवति । मिताक्षरा.

1337. Vide स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, व्यव. p. 28 quoting नारद, संवर्त and पितृमह for ten अपराधः, 22 पदः, &c.

1338. Vide Salmond's Law of Torts, 9th ed. pp. 71-72.

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 eulogising women and the wife have been set out above (pp. 428ff). The passages noted below may be read in this connection.¹³³⁹ Vide Baud. 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, Ādiparva 74. 140-152, Śāntiparva 144. 6 and 12-17, Anuśāsana 46, Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa 21. 69-76. The Kāmasūtra III. 2 says that women are like flowers (kusuma-sadharmāṇo hi yoṣitaḥ). 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 exceptions¹³⁴⁰ in ancient writers). Some of the smṛtikāras 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.¹³⁴¹ 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 Varuṇapraghāsa¹³⁴²

1339. न गृहं गृहमित्याहुर्गृहिणी गृहस्थ-च्यते । गृहं तु गृहिणीहीनमरण्यसदृशं मतम् ॥ शान्ति 144. 6; नास्ति भार्यासमो बन्धुः नास्ति भार्यासमा गतिः । नास्ति भार्यासमो लोके सहायो धर्मसंग्रहे । शान्ति 144. 16; यदा भार्या च भर्ता च परस्परवशाख्यौ । तदा धर्मार्थकामानां त्रयाणामपि संगतम् ॥ कथं भार्याभूते धर्ममर्थे वा पुरुषः प्रभो । प्रभोति काममथवा तस्यां त्रितयमाहितम् ॥ तथैव भर्तारभूते भार्या धर्मादिसाधने । न समर्था त्रिवर्गोयं दाम्पत्यं ससुद्धाभ्रितः ॥ मार्कण्डेयपुराण 21. 69-71.

1340. Vide Gaut. 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 *parityaṅ* was allowed; vide Vas. 21. 10, Yāj. I. 72.

1341. असवर्णैस्तु यो गर्भः स्त्रीणां योनौ निबिच्यते । अशुद्धा सा भवेजारी यावदूर्ध्वं न शुद्ध्यति ॥ निशुके तु ततः शल्ये रजश्चापि प्रदूश्यते । तदा सा शुध्यते नारी विमलं काञ्चनं यथा ॥ अत्रि verses 195-196, which are almost the same as देवल 50-51. अत्रि adds चलाजारी प्रमुक्ता वा चौरमुक्ता तथापि वा । न त्याज्या इतिवा नारी न कामोऽस्या विधीयते । ननुकाल उपासीत पुष्पकालेन शुध्यति ॥ च. 197-198.

1342. यज्जारं सन्तं न प्रभूयास्त्रियं ज्ञातिं कन्यात् । असौ मे जार इति निर्दिशेत् । तै. ब्रा. I. 6. 5.

(one of the *cāturmāsyas*) 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 (*Maitrāyaṇīya 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. 2¹³⁴³ 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) and¹³⁴⁴ 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 untruth, 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)'¹³⁴⁵. 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

1343. जियो हि दास आयुधानि यत्र किं मा करञ्चला अस्य सेनाः । ऋ. V. 39. 9 ; वत्सालिज्यो निरिन्द्रिया अदायादीरापि पापायुंस उपस्तितरं यद्विद । तै. सं. VI. 5. 8. 2.

1344. निरिन्द्रिया अदायाश्च जियो मता इति श्रुतिः । बौ. ध. सू. II. 2. 53 ; नास्ति क्विर्जा क्रिया गन्त्रेति घर्मे व्यवस्थितिः । निरिन्द्रिया ह्यमन्त्राश्च जियोऽद्युतामिति स्थितिः ॥ मनु IX. 18.

1345. यत्रो वा आयुर्मेतेन वै देवा यज्ज्वाभ्येनाज्ञयेव पत्नीर्निरादृष्टवन्ता इति निरदा पालनञ्च नैशत न दापय च नैशत । शतपथ IV. 4. 2. 13.

worse and worse as time went on, except as to rights of property. Gaut. 18. 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. 28-30) 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 *sapinḍas* 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-khaṇḍa, part i. p. 362 where several texts are quoted including Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa 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. अस्वतन्त्रा धर्मे स्त्री । गौतम 18. 1; अस्वतन्त्रा स्त्री पुरुषप्रधाना । वसिष्ठ V. 1; अस्वतन्त्राः स्त्रियः कार्याः पुरुषैः स्वैर्दिवानिनाम् । विषयेषु च सज्जन्यः संस्थाप्या आत्मनो बन्धे ॥ पिता रक्षति कौमारे भर्ता रक्षति यौवने । रक्षन्ति स्थितिरे पुत्रा न स्त्री स्वातन्त्र्यमर्हति ॥ मनु IX. 2-3. The latter is the same as वसिष्ठ V. 3, Baud. Dh. II. 2. 52, Nārada, dāyabhāga v. 31, अनुशासनपर्व 20. 21.

1347. मृते भर्तृपुत्रायाः प्रतिपक्षः प्रभुः स्त्रियाः । विनियोगाल्मरक्षासु भरणे स च ईश्वरः ॥ परिक्षिणे पतिकुले निर्मनुष्ये निराश्रये । तत्सापिण्डेषु वासत्सु पितृपक्षः प्रभुः स्त्रियाः । स्वातन्त्र्याद्विभग्यन्ति कुले जाता अपि स्त्रियः । अस्वातन्त्र्यमवस्तासां प्रजापतिरकल्पयत् ॥ नारद (दायभागप्रकरण) vv. 28-30. मेधातिथि and कुल्लूक on मनु V. 147 quote the half verse तत्सापिण्डेषु स्त्रियाः and add another half verse 'पक्षद्वयवसाने तु राजा भर्ता स्त्रिया मत्तः', which makes the king the ultimate protector of all women who have no male guardians in the husband's or father's family.

1348. नास्ति स्त्रीणां पृथग्यज्ञो न आर्क्षं नाप्युपोषितम् । भर्तृशुश्रूषयैवैता लोका-
निश्चान्त्रं प्रजान्ति हि ॥ मार्कण्डेय 16. 61.

cited below.¹³⁴⁹ '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 Śambara, 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' (Araṇya-kāṇḍa¹³⁵⁰ 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-Parāśara¹³⁵¹ (Jivānanda'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, cruelty—these are the natural faults of women.'¹³⁵²

There are some writers who even in ancient times could not bear the undeserved censure of women and most vigorously

1349. अनुशासन 20. 14 is मजापतिमतं ह्येतच्च स्त्रीस्वात्मव्यमर्हति ।; अन्ततः स्त्रिय इत्येवं सूत्रकारो व्यवस्यति । अन्ततः स्त्रिय इत्येवं वेदेऽपि हि पठ्यते (अनुशा. 19. 6-7 (the first half probably refers to Manu IX. 18 or Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 52-53) न स्त्रीभ्यः किञ्चिद्व्यद्वै पापीयस्तरमस्ति वै । क्षुरधारा विषं सर्पो वद्विरित्येकतः स्त्रियः । अनुशा. 38. 12 and 29.

1350. अनुशासन 38. 5-6 is almost the same as मनु IX. 14. स्वभावस्त्वेव नारीणां त्रिषु लोकेषु दृश्यते । विमुक्तधर्माश्चपलस्तीक्ष्णा भेदकाराः स्त्रियः ॥ अरण्यकाण्ड 45. 29-30.

1351. स्त्रीणामष्टगुणः कामो व्यवसायश्च षड्गुणः । लज्जा चतुर्गुणा तासामाहारश्च तद्वर्धकः ॥ बृहत्पराशर p. 121.

1352. अन्ततः साहसं माया भूर्खलमतिलोभिता । अशौचत्वं निर्दयत्वं स्त्रीणां दोषाः स्वभावजाः ॥

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 ¹³⁵³ '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, ¹³⁵⁴ Bāṇa and Bhavabhūti, in the classical period

1353. येऽप्यङ्गनानां भवदन्ति दोषान्वैराग्यमार्गेण शुष्यान् विहाय । ते दुर्जना मे मनसो
वितर्कः सद्भाववाक्यानि न तानि तेषाम् ॥ प्रभूत सत्यं केतरोऽङ्गनानां दोषस्तु यो नाचरितो
मनुष्यैः । धर्मेण पुंसिः प्रमदा निरस्ता शुष्याधिकास्ता मनुजान् चोक्तम् ॥ जाया वा स्या-
ज्जनिनी वा स्यात्संभवः स्त्रीकृतो घृणाम् । हे कृतघ्नास्तयोर्निन्दां कुर्वता वः कुतः सुखम् ॥
अहो धार्ढ्यमसाधूनां निन्दतामनयाः स्त्रियः । शुष्णतामिव चौराणां तिष्ठ चौरैति जल्पताम् ॥
पुरुषश्च दुर्लभो कामिनीनां कुशले यानि रहो न तानि पश्चात् । सुकृतज्ञतयाङ्गना गतासूनवसुहृ-
दभिशन्ति सप्तजिह्वम् ॥ बृहत्संहिता 74. 5, 6, 11, 15, 16. Verses 7 and 9 are the
same as Baud. gr. II. 2. 63-64 and verse 10 is Manu III. 58; verses 7-8
are almost the same as वसिष्ठ. 28. 4 and 9.

1354. कालिदास and भवभूति both depict in very delicate and romantic terms the relation between a loving husband and wife 'युहिणी सचिवः सखी मिथः भियशिष्या ललिते कलाविधौ । कथयामि सुखेन मृत्युना हृतता त्वां वद किं न मे हृतम् ॥' रघुवंश VIII. 66; 'येन मित्रं बन्धुता वा समया सर्वे कामाः श्रेयधर्मावित वा । स्त्रीणां भर्ता धर्मदाराश्च पुंसामित्यन्योन्यं वत्स योज्ञातमस्तु ॥' मालतीमाधव VI. Vide also the well-known verse अद्वैतं सुखदुःखयोश्च सुखं &c. in the उत्तररामचरित I.

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 *ācārya* (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. Baud. 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.'¹³⁵⁵ 'The *ācārya* exceeds by his greatness ten *upādhyāyas*, the father exceeds a hundred *ācāryas*, 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, *ācārya* and *upādhyāya*. The Anuśāsana 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

1355. आचार्यः श्रेष्ठो गुरुणां मातेत्येके । गौ. II. 56; माता पुत्रत्वस्य सुवासि कर्माभ्यारभते तस्यां शुश्रूषां निवृत्त्या पतितायामपि । आप. घ. सू. I. 10. 28. 9; पतितायामपि तु मातरं विश्रुत्या दानमभिभाषणमाद्यः । बौ. घ. सू. II. 2. 48; पतितः पिता परित्याज्यो माता तु पुत्रे न पतति । वसिष्ठ 13. 47.

1356. न मातापित्रोरन्तरं गच्छेत्पुत्रः । कामं मातुरेवाशुश्रूषात्सा हि धारिणी पोषणी च । न पुत्रः प्रतिशुच्येतान्यत्र सौत्रामणिषाणाञ्जीवन्मुष्णान्मातुः । शङ्खलिखित quoted in सं. प्र. p. 479; vide also वि. र. p. 357, स्मृतिच० (I. p. 35).

1357. Vide Śāntiparva 108. 16-18 for verses very like अनुशासन 105. 14-16; नास्ति मातुसमा छाया नास्ति मातुसमा गतिः । नास्ति मातुसमं त्राणं नास्ति मातुसमा मिया ॥ शान्ति 267. 31; 'माता शुक्तरा सूर्यः । वनपर्व 313. 60; नास्ति वेदात्परं साधनं नास्ति मातुः परो शुक्रः । नास्ति दानात्परं भिन्नमिह लोके परत्र च । अत्रि 151; नास्ति सत्यात्परो धर्मो नास्ति मातुसमो शुक्रः । शान्ति 343. 18.

Pāṇḍava heroes pay the highest honour to their mother Kuntī. The Ādiparva 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 ('vairāgyamārgena' 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 Pūrvamīmāṃsā 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 censuring 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 *sapinḍas* or *sagotras*. That the widow's right to succeed as heir to her deceased husband was not recognised in ancient

1358. सर्वेषामेव शापानां प्रतिपादो हि विद्यते । न तु मात्राभिः शप्तानां भोक्तुः कश्चन विद्यते ॥ आदिपर्व 37. 4.

1359. एकत्वेऽपि पराणि निन्द्यास्तसमासिचनानि । जै. II. 4. 21; 'न हि निन्दा निन्ध्यं निन्दितुं प्रयुज्यते ।। किं तर्हि । निन्दितादितरत्वं सितुम् । तत्र न निन्दितस्य प्रतिषेधो गम्यते किं त्वितरस्य विधिः ।' ज्ञावर (p. 640); the तन्त्रवार्तिक on जै. I. 2. 7. (p. 115) has 'यथा वक्ष्यति न हि निन्दा निन्ध्यं निन्दितुं प्रवर्तते अपि तु विधेयं स्तोतुमिति.' Vide आनन्दगिरि on बृहदारण्यकभाष्यवार्तिक 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 deceased¹³⁶⁰ husband. This implies that in Northern India widows did not succeed to their husband's property in Yāska's time.

1360. अत्रातेव पुंस एति मतीची गर्तविगिव सनये धनानाम् । ऋ. I. 124. 7; गर्ता-
रोहिणीव धनलाभाय दाक्षिणाजी । गर्तः सभास्यायुः । मृणातेः । सत्यसंगरो भवति । तं तत्र या
अपुत्रा या अपतिका सा आरोहति तां तत्र अक्षेण आगन्ति सा रिक्थं लभते । निरुक्त 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 life-time 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

1361. Vide Colebrooke's Digest of Hindu Law, vol. II. chap. III pp. 158-161 for duties of widows who choose to survive their husbands; vide 'Die Frau' pp. 86-88 where Winternitz draws a dismal and somewhat exaggerated picture of the condition of the Hindu widow.

1362. यैषामग्नेषु विशुर्वे रजते श्रमियामेषु यक्ष युजते ह्यग्ने । ऋ. I. 87. 3.

1363. संवत्सरं प्रेतपत्नी मधुमांसमद्यलवणानि वर्जयेदधः शयति । यन्मासाभिति मौद्वल्यः । अत ऊर्ध्वं शुश्रूषितुमता देवराज्जनयेत्पुत्रमपुत्रा ॥ बौ. ध. सू. II. 2. 66-68.

students (like Sanaka) did'. Kātyāyana 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 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'. Vṛddha-Hārta (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 Harṣacarita (VI, last para) indicates that widows did not apply eye-salve to their eyes nor *rocana* (yellow pigment) to their face and simply tied their hair. ¹³⁶⁶ Pracetas 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

1364. अनुत्रा शयनं भर्तुः पालयन्ती गुरौ स्थिता । सुखीतामरणात्क्षान्ता दायादा ऊर्ध्वमाप्नुयुः ॥ व्रतोपवासनिरता ब्रह्मचर्ये व्यवस्थिता । दमदानरता नित्यमनुज्यापि दिवं व्रजेत् ॥ कात्यायन quoted in वीरः pp. 626-627; the first verse is also quoted in दायभाग, स्मृतिचन्द्र and other works.

1365. शरीरार्थं स्मृता जाया पुण्यापुण्यफले समा । अन्वारुढा जीवती च साध्वी भर्तुर्हिताय सा ॥ बृहस्पति quoted by अपरार्क p. 111.

1366. जनितवेणीवन्धानि निरञ्जनरोचनारोचिषि चषकमधुनि सुखकमलप्रतिविम्बान्य-दृश्यन्त भटोनाम् । हृष-चरित VI, last para.

1367. ताम्बूलान्यञ्जनं चैव काश्यपात्रे च भोजनम् । यतिश्च ब्रह्मचारी च विधवा च निवर्जयेत् ॥ मन्वेतस्मिन् quoted in स्मृतिच. I. p. 222 and सुद्धितत्त्व p. 235; compare ताम्बूलोऽभर्तुकञ्जीपां यतीनां ब्रह्मचारिणाम् । एकैकं मांसद्वयं स्यान्निमित्तं तु सुरासमम् ॥ quoted in स्मृतिच. (वर्णाश्रमः) p. 161.

husband is dead'; while the Śāntiparva (148. 2) remarks 'all widows are in sorrow even if they have many sons.'¹³⁶⁸ The Skandapurāṇa (Kāśikhaṇḍa, chap. 4, vv. 71-106 and III Brahmāranya section chap. 7, vv. 67-81) has long passages on the duties of widows, many verses from which are quoted in the Madanapārijāta (pp. 202-203), the Nirṇayasindhu, Dharma-sindhu and other nibandhas. A few striking verses may be translated here. The Skandapurāṇa (III, Brahmāranya 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'¹³⁶⁹. The Kāśikhaṇḍa 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 *tarpaṇa* 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 bullock 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, Kārtika¹³⁷⁰ and Māgha.' The verse 'vidhavā-kabari-bandho &c' (Skanda,

1368. उत्सृष्टमामिषं भूमौ प्रार्थयन्ति यथा स्वयाः । प्रार्थयन्ति जनाः सर्वे पतिहर्तिनां
तथा स्त्रियम् ॥ आदिपर्व 160. 12; सर्वापि विधवा नारी बहुकुत्रापि शोचते ॥
शान्तिपर्व 148. 2.

1369. अमङ्गलैः सर्वेभ्यो विधवा स्यादमङ्गला । विधवादर्थनात् सिद्धिः कापि जायते
न जायते ॥ विहाय मातरं चैकां सर्वा मङ्गलवर्जिताः । तद्दक्षिणमपि प्राज्ञस्य जेदक्षीविषोप-
मात् ॥ स्कन्दपुराण III, ब्रह्माण्ड 7. 50-51.

1370. विधवाकबरीबन्धो भर्तृबन्धाय जायते । शिरसो वपनं तस्मात् कार्यं विधवया
सदा ॥ एकादशः सदा कार्यो न द्वितीयः कदाचन । मासोपवासं वा कुर्याच्चान्द्रायणमथापि
वा ॥ पर्यङ्कशायिनी नारी विधवा पातयेत्यतिम् । नैवाङ्गोद्धर्तनं कार्यं स्त्रिया विधवया क्वचित् ।
गन्धद्रव्यस्य संभोगौ नैव कार्यस्तथा पुनः । तर्पणं प्रयत्नं कार्यं भर्तृस्तिलकुशोदकैः । तत्पितृस्त-
त्पितृश्चापि नामगोत्रादिपूर्वकम् । नाधिरोहेदुलङ्घाहं प्राणैः कण्ठगतैरपि । कक्षकं न परी-
दध्याद्वासो न विकृतं वसेत् । वैशाखे कार्तिके माघे विशेषनियमं चरेत् ॥ स्कन्दपुराण, काशी-
खण्ड 4. ११. 75. ff.; all these are quoted by the निर्णयसिन्धु p. 626, मदन-
पारिजात (pp. 202-203), स्मृतिसुकाफल p. 160.

Kāśīkhaṇḍa 4.74) is the only verse on which the medieval writers rely for prescribing continual tonsure of widows. That chapter begins by extolling the pativrata (Bṛhaspati does it with regard to Lopāmudrā, the wife of Agastya). It passes one's understanding why when a pativrata whose husband is living is before Bṛhaspati 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. Ramchandra* I. L. R. 22 Bom. 590, it was held that the text 'vidhavā-kabari-bandho' is of doubtful validity (p. 594). Besides 69 verses of this chapter 4 are common to chap. 7 of the Dharmāranya 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 Pṛthvicandrodaya 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

1371. पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदये प्राप्ते । राजस्वलां च पास्यन्तीं पुञ्चलीं पतितां तथा । त्यजेच्छ्रद्धां तथा वन्द्यां विधवां चार्यगोत्रजाय ॥ ... वर्जयेच्छ्राद्धपाकार्यममातृपितृवंशजाय ॥ निर्णय-सिन्धु III, उत्तरार्ध p. 417.

1372. Vide *Honama v. Timannabhat* I. L. R. 1 Bom. 559; *Bhikubai v. Hariba* I. L. R. 49 Bom. 459.

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 Madanapārijāta and other nibandhas that for some time at least before the 14th century A. D. (when the Madanapārijāta 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, Āp. M. Pāṭha 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 vidhavanād-vā iti Carmaśīrah). Carmaśīras 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. Āp. M. P. I. 5. 9 contains the word 'vikeśī' 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 ¹³⁷³ one'. Even taking 'vikeśī' 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 'vikeśī' does not mean 'a widow whose hair is tonsured'; it ordinarily means 'a woman

1373. मा ते गृहे निशि योष उत्थादन्त्यत्र त्वमुदत्यः संनिशन्तु । मा त्वं विकेश्युरा-
वधिष्ठा नीचपत्नी पतिलोके विराज पश्यन्ती प्रजा सुमनस्यमानात् ॥ आप. म. पा. I. 5. 9.
Vide आप. गृ. V. 1 where this मन्त्र along with others is prescribed for
offering āhutis in the marriage rite. It is also employed for the same
purpose in हिरण्य. गृ. I. 19. 7, भारद्वाज गृ. I. 14.

with dishevelled hair'. The third passage is Atharvaveda¹³⁷⁴ 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 Savitṛ release thee'. Here it is impossible to hold that 'vikeśī' 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 'vikīṛṇakeśī' 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. Pitrmedhasūtra,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 (*amātyas*) 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 'keśarañjanam' is to be dissolved as 'keśānām rañjanam' and not as 'keśāśca rañjanam ca' (as Vṛddha-Hārīta XI. 103 makes it clear by employing 'keśānām rañjanārtham vā). It can be shown that

1374. यदीयं दुहिता तव विकेश्यदृश्ये रोदेन कृण्वत्यघम् । अग्निष्ठा तस्मादेनसंः
सजिता च प्रमुञ्चतात् ॥ अथर्व 14. 2. 60.

1375. अस्य भार्याः कनिष्ठमथमाः प्रकीर्णकेश्यो वजेयुः पांसुनसेष्वावपमानाः 'खल्वयं
न्वा स्यादयं नो एवायम्' इति । नौ. पितृभेषसूत्र I. 4. 3; एवममात्या एवं स्त्रियः संयस्य
केशाश्च यथेति त्रिः पुनः प्रति परिचरन्ति । I. 4. 13; एतस्मिन्कालेऽस्यामात्या केसाश्चक्षुषि
धोपयन्ते ये संनिधाने भवन्ति । I. 12. 7; न स्त्रीणां केशवपनं विद्यते न चित्तिर्नेष्टका न
धुनदीहो दाशवस्त्रीणां पात्राणि भवन्तीति विज्ञायते । II. 3. 17.

at least ksatriya 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 tonsure¹³⁷⁶ of widows. In the Harsacarita, Harṣa¹³⁷⁷ 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 Kanauj (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 profuse¹³⁷⁸ tresses.

The orthodox pandits rely on a verse in Vedavyāsa-smṛti¹³⁷⁹ II. 53 'a brāhmaṇa woman should enter fire, clasping the dead body of her husband; if she lives (does not become *sati*) she being *tyaktakeśā* should emaciate her body by *tapas*'. The reading 'brāhmaṇī' for 'jīvanti' is not good, as the word 'brāhmaṇī' 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 (*śoṣayet*), the word 'tyaktakeśā' 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*)¹³⁸⁰ that the attributes of a subject are no part

1376. e. g. 'प्रकीर्णकेशाः क्रोशन्तीः कुरारिव माधव । क्षीपर्व 16. 18 (गान्धारी describes her daughters-in-law); 'प्रकीर्णकेशां सुभोगीं दुर्बोधनशुभाङ्गनाम् । चक्रवेदीनिमां पश्य कृष्ण लक्ष्मणमातरम् ॥ क्षीपर्व 17. 25; vide क्षीपर्व 21. 6, 24. 7, आश्रमवासिपर्व 25. 16; 'प्रकीर्णमूर्धजाः सर्वा विमुक्ताभरणभजः । उरांसि पाणिभिर्गन्त्यो षष्ठ्यन्तं कथयन् क्षियः ॥' मोसलपर्व 7. 17. (on the death of Vasudeva).

1377. बभ्रातु वैद्यवैष्णवीं वरमनुप्यता । हर्षचरित V. (5th para from end); vide हर्षचरित VI. last para quoted above in note 1366.

1378. कस्तलस्थगिताधरपल्लवाः प्रतनुकान्तिकपोलतलोद्वम् । सिसिधुरश्रुजलैर्यदस्ति क्षियः सरलितमधुरालकजालकाः ॥ (E. I. vol. 1 p. 246 verse 16).

1379. सृते भर्तृमादाय ब्राह्मणी वह्निमावेशत् । जीवन्ती (v. l. ब्राह्मणी) चेत् त्यक्तकेशा तपसा शोषयेद् वपुः ॥ वेदव्यास II. 53.

1380. The *grahaikatvanyāya* is as follows: The text ग्रहं संमार्ष्टि does not mean that a single sacrificial vessel is to be cleansed, but rather that all are to be cleansed. The singular number (in *graham*) 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 Vyavahāra-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. 34-46, but those rules are inapplicable, since in the passage of Veda-Vyāsa there is a verb in the potential mood, while in the vedic 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 *govadha* &c. in the case of women (*vide* Parāśara IX. 54-55, Āngiras 163, Yama 54); (3) one whose head is tonsured. For the first meaning *vide* Raghuvamśa IX. 14 (where '*anlakām*' is explained by Mallinātha as 'who have given up ornamenting the hair'). For this meaning of '*tyakta*' *vide* Bhagavadgītā I. 33 '*tyaktajīvitāḥ*'. '*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 '*jīvanī ced vapet keśān tapasā* &c.' Lastly assuming that Veda-Vyāsa refers to tonsure, there is conflict among *smṛtis*, since Vṛddha-Hārta (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 brahmācārī 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 Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 10. 6, its explanation in the Mit. on Yāj. III. 17 and the explanation of the Mit. in the commentary, Bālabhāṭṭī. Āpastamba's sūtra is delivered when the context is about cessation of Veda study (*anadhyāya*). Āp. says '(the student) shall cease studying Veda for 12 days if his mother, father or teacher dies. In the

1381. तुल्यबलविरोधे विकल्पः । गौतम I. 5.

1382. विद्वद्भिश्च पण्डितैः नेष्यते केशवर्धनम् । ऋते महापातकिनो गोहन्तृभ्यां कीर्णिनः ॥ इति मनुस्मृत्यात् । मिता० on वा. 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.¹³⁸³ 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, sattra, 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 combines¹³⁸⁴ 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 impliedly referred 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 *ekaśeṣa* (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. अनुभाविनां च परिवापनम् । आप. ध. सू. I. 3. 10. 6.

1384. वपनं च केषामित्याकाङ्क्षायामापस्तम्बेनोक्तम्-अनुभाविनां च परिवापनम्-इति । अयमर्थः । शावं दुःस्वमनुभवन्तीत्यनुभाविनः सपिण्डास्तेषां चाविशेषेण वपनमुत्ताल्प-वयसमित्यपेक्षायामिदमेवोपपत्तिरित्यनुभाविनां च परिवापनमिति । अनु एवाश्राद्धवन्ती-त्यनुभाविनोऽल्पवयसस्तेषां वपनमिति । अनुभाविनः पुत्रा इति केचित्सम्यन्ते । गङ्गायां भास्कर-क्षेत्रे मातापित्रोर्दुर्धृत्वा । आधानकाले सोमे च वपनं समस्तं स्मृतम् ॥ इति नियमदर्शनात् । निता. on या. III. 17.

to be shaved. The *Nirṇayasindhu* ¹³⁸⁵ (composed in 1612 A. D.) and the *Bālabhaṭṭi* (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 *Bālabhaṭṭi* 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 *Madana-pārijāta* 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 *smṛti* verses of doubtful import seem to refer to it, other *smṛtis* like *Vṛddha-Hārīta* are to an opposite effect. Some of the *smṛti* 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 *yatis* 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. अनुभाविनः पुत्रादय इत्येके । पुत्रः पत्नी च वपनं कुर्वन्ते यथाविधि । पिण्डदानोचितोऽन्योपि कुर्वादिथ्यं समाहितः । इत्यपराके व्यासोक्तः । निर्णयसिन्धु III, उत्तरार्ध p. 591 ; *vide* बालभट्टी on प्रायश्चित्त (pp. 49-51 of Gharpure's ed.) 'अत्र पित्रादिग्रहणं भर्तृरूपलक्षणम् । पुत्रः पत्नी समाहितः । इति व्यासेन पत्न्या अपि वपनाविधानात् ।' pp. 50-51.

1386. तथा वपनं दुःखावभाविभिः सर्वैः सपिण्डैः पुत्रैरेव स्वस्वदेशाचारानुसारेण प्रथमदिनमभ्युति विषमादिनेष्वपि श्राद्धादिप्रदानाद्युक्तं कर्तव्यम् । यदाह आपस्तम्बः । अनुभावानां च परिवापनमिति । मदनपारिजात p. 415.

1387. *Vide* S. B. E. vol. 20 (*Vinaya texts*) p. 321. For Jaina nuns cutting off their tresses or plucking their hair, *vide* *Uttarādhyayana* XXII. 30. (S. B. E. vol. 45, p. 116).

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 Skandapurāṇa 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 untensured 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 untensured 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 Tēngalai) of the Śrī-vaiṣṇavas (followers of Rāmānuja) tonsure of widows has been forbidden for centuries, though that sect is most orthodox in other matters.¹³⁸⁸ The Śūdrakamalakāra remarks that widows in Gauḍa keep their hair.¹³⁸⁹

From very ancient times, it appears the idea was that women should not be killed on any account. The Śat. 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 Viśvarūpa, 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

1388. Vide Indian Antiquary vol. III pp. 136-137 for passages quoted from many works forbidding the tonsure of widows.

1389. अत एव गौडज्जीनां विधवानां शिखा दृश्यते । शुद्धकमलाकर p. 50.

1390. स्त्री वैधः पच्छीर्न वै स्त्रियं मृत्त्युत त्वस्या जीवन्त्या एवाददत इति । शतपथ 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. Ādiparva¹³⁹¹ 158. 31 says 'those who know dharma declare that women are not to be killed'. The Sabhāparva 41. 13 prescribes 'one's weapons should not be directed against women, cows, brāhmaṇas, against one who gave livelihood or shelter'. In the Śāntiparva (135. 14) even thieves are instructed not to kill women. Vide also Ādi. 155. 2, 217. 4, Vanaparva 206. 46. The Rāmāyaṇa (Bālakāṇḍa) also breathes this sentiment, when Rāma was called upon to kill the ogress Tātakā.

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-Hārta VII. 192 prescribes the cutting of the nose, ear and lip for attempt to murder the husband or her foetus. 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 saṁskāras performed with Vedic mantras and how they came to be regarded as entirely dependent on men. Their position became assimilated to that of the sūdras¹³⁹² 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 sūdras were to sip water only once for that purpose (Manu V. 139, Yāj. I. 21). The dvijātis were¹³⁹³ to take their bath to the accompaniment of Vedic mantras, while women and sūdras were to bathe silently. Sūdras and women were to perform what is called āmaśrāddha (i. e. śrāddha without cooked food).¹³⁹⁴ The same penance was prescribed for killing a sūdra 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.

1391. अवस्था स्त्रिय इत्याहुर्धर्मज्ञा धर्मनिश्चये । आदिपर्व 158. 31 ; स्त्रीषु गोषु न राज्ञाणि पातयेद् ब्राह्मणेभ्यश्च । यस्य चाज्ञानि सुखीत यत्र च स्वात्मनिश्चयः ॥ सभापर्व 41. 13.

1392. 'स्त्रीशूद्रश्च सधर्माणः' इति वाक्यात्' इत्यत्र. म. p. 112; द्विजस्त्रीणामपि औतज्ञानाभ्यासेऽधिकारिता । वदन्ति केचिद्विद्वांसः स्त्रीणां शूद्रसमानताम् । सूतसंहिता quoted in शूद्रकमलाकर p. 231.

1393. ब्रह्मसूत्रविशार् चैव मन्त्रवत्स्नानमिष्यते । तूष्णीमेव हि शूद्रस्य स्त्रीणां च कुर्वन् नन्दन ॥ विष्णु quoted in स्मृतिच. I. p. 181.

1394. स्त्रीशूद्रैः श्वपचश्चैव जातकर्मणि चाप्यथ । आत्मश्राद्धं तथा कुर्याद्विधिना पार्ष्णेन तु ॥ अथेतत् quoted in स्मृतिच० (आश्व०) pp. 491-92.

II. 70, Nārada, ṛṇādāna, vv. 178, 190, 191), but Manu VIII. 68, 70, Yāj. II. 72, and Nārada, ṛṇādāna 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, ṛṇādāna 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 Tristhalisetu (of Nārāyaṇa) quotes a passage of the Bṛhan-Nāradiya 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 daughter ¹³⁹⁶ of a *patita* was not regarded as *patita*, though the son of a *patita* was regarded as *patita* (vide Vas. 13. 51-53, Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 13. 4, Yāj. III. 261). Women ¹³⁹⁷ had to undergo only half of the *prāyaścitta* that men had to undergo for the same lapse (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 brāhmaṇas learned in the Vedas were to be free from taxes, the women of all varṇas (except those of *pratiloma* castes) had to pay no taxes, ¹³⁹⁹ according to Āp. Dh.

1395. छीणामनुपनीतानां सूद्राणां च नरेश्वर । स्थापने नाधिकारोऽस्ति विष्णोर्वा
संकरस्य च । इति बृहदारण्यके (quoted in सूद्रकमलाकर p. 32).

1396. पतितेनोत्पन्नः पतितो भवतीत्याहुरन्यत्र स्त्रियाः । सा हि परगामिनी । तामरि-
क्यानुपेयात् । वसिष्ठ 13. 51-53 ; कन्यां ससुद्वहेद्देशं सोपवासात्मकं चनाम् । या. III. 261.
The *mita* on ya. III. 261 quotes Vas. and a passage from हारीतधर्मसूत्र to
the same effect.

1397. मायश्चित्तार्थमर्हन्ति स्त्रियो रोगिण एव च । विष्णु 54. 33, देवल 30, quoted
in *mita* on ya. III. 293 ; बालवृद्धस्त्रीणामधर्मायश्चित्तम् । च्यवन quoted by अपराक
p. 1199.

1398. पतिवयसः स्त्रियः । आप. घ. सू. I. 4. 14. 18.

1399. अकरः ओत्रियः । सर्ववर्णानां च स्त्रियः । आप. घ. सू. II. 10. 26. 10-11 ;
अकरः ओत्रियो राजपुमाननाधमव्रजितबालवृद्धतृणप्रजाताः । वसिष्ठ 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, saṁnyāsins and brāhmaṇas and brahmacārins had to pay no tax at a ferry (Manu VIII. 407 and Viṣṇu 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 Viṣṇu 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 ¹⁴⁰⁰ 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 *tulā* (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. 14. 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

1400. स्त्रीषु रात्रौ वहिर्ग्रामादन्तर्गमन्यरात्रिषु । व्यवहारः कृतोऽप्येष पुनः कर्तव्यतामियात् ॥ नारद I. 43.

1401. वेदस्नातकस्य यदङ्घ्रिं त्रिवाहो भवति मासिके वार्षिके चाङ्घ्रिं तस्मिन् यत् स्त्रिय आहुः पारंपर्यागतं शिक्षाचारं तत्स्मरति । वैखानसस्मार्त III. 21.

look at the spectators with the verse Rg. X. 85. 33.¹⁴⁰² 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.¹⁴⁰³ (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 gr̥hya and dharma sūtras there is no reference to any veil for women when moving in public. Pāṇini III. 2. 36 teaches the formation of 'asūryampaśyā' (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-kāṇḍa¹⁴⁰⁴ (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 Sabhāparva¹⁴⁰⁵ 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

1402. सुमङ्गलिरियं वधूरिमां समेत पश्यत। सौभाग्यमस्यै दत्त्वायायास्तं विप्रेतन॥ ऋ. X. 85. 33. This occurs in आप. म. पा. I. 9. 5. and is prescribed in आप. गृ. 6. 11 for japa after a boy is seated on the bride's lap. In Kāṭhaka gr̥. 25. 46 the verse 'sumangalir-iyam' is to be repeated when the bride sees the polestar and Arundhatī and is addressed to these latter. In Hir. Gr̥. I. 19. 4 this verse is repeated by the bridegroom when the bride is brought to him before the fire, which is about to be kindled.

1403. तद्यथैवादः स्तुषा। श्वशुराल्लज्जमाना निलीयमानेत्येवमेव सा सेना भज्यमाना निलीयमानेति। दे. ब्रा. 12. 11.

1404. या न शक्या पुरा द्रष्टुं भूतैराकाशगैरपि। तामथ सीतां पश्यन्ति राजमार्गगता जनाः॥ बुद्धकाण्ड 33. 8; व्यसनेषु न कृच्छ्रेषु न दुष्टेषु स्वयंवरं। न क्रतौ नो विवाहे वा दर्शनं दृश्यते स्त्रियः॥ बुद्धकाण्ड 116. 28.

1405. धर्म्यां स्त्रियं सर्वां पूर्वं न नयन्तीति नः श्रुतम्। स नष्टः कौरवेयेषु पूर्वो धर्मः समाप्तः॥ सभापर्व 69. 9.

was brought to the assembly-hall when Yudhiṣṭhira 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 Sabhāparva 97. 4-7, Śalyaparva 19. 63, Striparva 9. 9-10, Āśrama-vāsi-parva 15. 13. In the Harṣacarita (IV) princess Rājyaśrī, whom the intended bride-groom Grahavarmā 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 Sthānviśvara (modern Thanesar) Bāṇa 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 Kādambarī also (para 99) Bāṇa describes Patralekhā as covering her face with a veil of red cloth. In the Śākuntala ¹⁴⁰⁶ 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 Sāṅkhyatattva-kaumudī of Vācaspati (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 *purda*.

1406. तत्र...अरुणोऽशुकावशुषितमुखी...वधूमपश्यत् । हर्षचरित IV, 4th para from end; 'यत्र च...निःश्वासात्तुष्टमधुकरकुलान्येव रमणीयं सुखावरणं कुलजिनाचारो जालिका । हर्षचरित III p. 44 of my edition; vide a similar conceit in 'विकचनयनकुवलयकुपुहलालीनयालिकुलसंदरपा नीलांशुकजालिकयेव निवद्धावैवदना । हर्षचरित I. p. 15 of my edition; 'सक्रमोपकालोहितरागेणांशुकेन रचितवशुषठनया...कन्यकया &c.' कादम्बरी, पूर्वभाग para 99; कारिवद्वयशुषठनवती नातिपरिस्फुटशरीरलावण्या । शाकुन्तल 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 smrtis 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 elders¹⁴⁰⁸ and have intercourse only during the menstrual period (excluding the first four days). She may obtain a son from a sapinda, 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 *kṣetrāja*. The wife is called *kṣetra*¹⁴⁰⁹ (field), the husband of the wife or widow is called *kṣetrin* or *kṣetrika* (to whom the wife or widow belongs) and the person appointed to produce offspring is called *bījin* (one who sows the seed) or *niyogin* (Vas. 17. 64, one who is appointed).

1407. अपतिरपत्यालिप्सुर्देवरात् । शुक्रमयता नर्तुमतीयात् । पिण्डगोत्रैर्विसंबन्धेभ्यो योनिमात्राद् । नोदेवरादित्येके । नातिद्वितीयम् । गौतम 18. 4-8. हरदत्त explains नातिद्वितीयम् differently 'प्रथममपत्यमतीत्य द्वितीयं न जनयेदिति' (i. e. not more than one son is to be so procreated).

1408. The word शुक्र means only the relatives of the husband and not the father of the widow 'शुक्रश्च श्वश्रुश्च देवरादयो भर्तृसगोत्रा मृष्ट्या न पित्रा-दयः' मेघा० on मनु IX. 59. हरदत्त differs and explains गौतम 18. 5 as 'शुक्रभिः पतिपक्षैः पितृपक्षैर्वा नियुक्ता सती संयुज्येत'. Manu (IX. 60-61) shows that some said that only one son could be had by *niyoga*, while others held that two could be had.

1409. Vide मनु IX. 32, 33 and 53 for the words क्षेत्र, क्षेत्रिक, बीजिन्; गौतम 18. 11 and Ap. Dh. S. II. 6. 13. 6 employ the word क्षेत्र for wife and Gaut. IV. 3 has the word 'bījin'.

The Vas. Dh. S. (17. 56-65) similarly prescribes ¹⁴¹⁰ '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 *kṣetrāja* 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 (stripuṃsa, 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 *sagotra* or *mātrbandhu*

1410. ऊर्ध्वं विद्य(कर्म)युथोनिःसंवन्धान्तं निपात्य पिता भ्राता वा नियोगं कारयेत् । न सोन्मादात्मवशां स्वाधितां वा नियुज्यथात् । ज्यायसीमपि । बोद्धा वर्षाणि । न चे-
दात्मयात्रा स्यात् । भ्राजापत्ये सुहृते पाणिग्रहवदुपचरेदन्यत्र संप्रहारस्य वाङ्मूपावप्यदण्डपात्र-
व्याघ्र रिक्त्यलोभाभास्ति नियोगः । वसिष्ठ 17. 56-61, 65.

1411. भ्राजापत्य सुहृत् is the same as ब्राह्म सुहृत् viz. the last watch of the night (i. e. $\frac{1}{4}$ ths of an hour before sunrise). Vide वसिष्ठ 12. 47, मनु 4. 92.

1412. The idea is that the widow must not be moved to the act by a mercenary motive. According to धारेश्वर whose views are cited in the वीरमिनोदय of भिनभिन्न (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. Dhāreśvara apparently based his view on some ancient texts. Vas. in the last sentence negatives such ideas.

may be appointed to procreate a *kṣetrajā* son, who should get the inheritance.¹⁴¹³ 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,¹⁴¹⁴ *śrīpūrṇa*, 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, *śrīpūrṇa* 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, *śrīpūrṇa* 85-86) and a son, born of such intercourse, would be a bastard and not entitled to any wealth (Nārada, *śrīpūrṇa* 84-85) and that he would¹⁴¹⁵ 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 *paṇas*. 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. वृद्धस्तु व्याधितो वा राजा मातृवन्धुतुल्यगुणवत्सामन्तानामन्यतमेन क्षेत्रे बीज-
सुत्यादयेत् । कौटिल्य (I. 17. p. 35); क्षेत्रे वा जनयेदस्य नियुक्तः क्षेत्रजं सुतम् । मातृ-
वन्धुः सगोत्रो वा तस्मै तत्पदोदोद्धनम् ॥ कौटिल्य III. 6 (p. 163).

1414. धृतानामन्यस्य गात्राणि वैलेनाविकृतेन वा । सुखान्-सुखं परिहरन् गात्रैर्गोत्रान्य-
संस्पृशन् ॥ नारद (श्रीपुस्त) verse 82. विश्वरूप on Ya. I. 68 says धृतान्यजनवचनं
कालमवृत्तिनिरोधार्थम् । ततश्चाङ्गिनादि वैकारिकत्वाद् दूरापेतम् ।

1415. अनियुक्ता तु या नारी देवराजनयेत्सुतम् ॥ जायजातभरिक्थीयं तमाहुर्ब्रह्म-
वादिनः । नारद (श्रीपुस्त) 84-85.

tions that it must not have been very much prevalent and instances must have been rather rare.

While ancient Dharmaśāstras like Gautama allowed *niyoga*, there were other dharmaśāstras and writers almost as old as Gautama that condemned the practice and forbade it. Āp. Dh. S.¹⁴¹⁶ 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 *sagotra* 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 refers¹⁴¹⁷ to the view of *Aupajāṅhani* that it is only the *aurasa* 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 *dvi-jātis* 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 *varṇa-saṁkara*, 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. अविशिष्टं हि परस्वं पाणोः । तद्व्यतिक्रमे खलु पुनश्च भयोर्नरकः । नियमारम्भणो हि वर्षायान्मुदय एवमारम्भणादपत्त्यात् । आप. ध. सू. II. 10. 27. 5-7.

1417. An औपजन्धनि or *जुनि* is a teacher mentioned in the वंश at the end of Br. Up. II. 6 and IV. 6. इदानीमहमीष्यामि स्त्रीणां जनक नो पुरा । यतो यमस्य सादने जनयितुः पुत्रममुवन् ॥ रेतोधाः पुत्रं नयति परेत्य यमसादने । तस्माद्भार्या रक्षन्ति निर्वृतः परेतसः ॥ अग्रमत्ता रक्षय तन्नुमेतं मा वः क्षेत्रे परत्रीजानि वाप्युः । जनयितुः पुत्रो भवति सांपराये भोवं वेत्ता कुशले तन्नुमेतम् ॥ औ. ध. सू. II. 2. 39-41 = आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 13. 6 (with slight variations). मत्स्यपुराण 49. 13 has the half verse रेतोधां नयते पुत्रः परेतं यमसादनात् । 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 *Mīmāṃsā* interpretation that the same word in the same passage or context should have only one meaning. *Brhaspati*¹⁴¹⁸ refers to the fact that the *Manusmṛiti* 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 one¹⁴¹⁹ who is procreated on an appointed wife or widow by a *sapinda* of the husband or by a *brāhmaṇa*.' The *Mahābhārata* is replete with cases of *niyoga*. *Ādiparva* (95 and 103) narrates how *Satyavatī* pressed *Bhīṣma* to procreate sons for his younger brother *Vicitravīrya* (who was dead) from his queens and how (Ādi. 105) when *Bhīṣma* refused *Vyāsa* ultimately was appointed by *Vyāsa*'s mother *Satyavatī* and procreated *Dhṛtarāṣṭra* and *Pāṇdu*. *Kumārila* *bhaṭṭa*¹⁴²⁰ replies to

1418. उक्तो नियोगो मुनिना निषिद्धः स्वयमेव तु । युष्मकमादशक्योयं कर्तुमन्यैर्विधा-
नतः ॥ तपोज्ञानसमायुक्ताः कृतत्रेतायुगे नराः । ह्यपरे च कलौ नृणां शक्तिरानिर्विनिर्मिता ॥
अनेकधाः कृताः पुत्राः क्षत्रिभिश्च पुरातनैः । न शक्यन्तेऽधुना कर्तुं शक्तिहीनैरिवन्तैः ॥ बृह-
quoted by अपराक्ष p. 97 (on Yāj. I. 68-69) and by कुल्लूक on मनु IX. 68.

1419. नियुक्तायां सपिण्डेनोत्तमवर्णेन वोत्पादितः क्षेत्रजो द्वितीयः । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 15. 3.

1420. The objector says 'कृष्णद्वैपायनस्य युहीतनैष्ठिकमङ्गलचर्यस्य विचित्रवीर्य-
दारेवपत्योत्पादनमसङ्गः' (तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 203 on जै. I. 3. 7) and the reply is
'द्वैपायनस्यापि स्वनिधोमादपतिरपत्यलिप्सुर्देवरादृक्मेरितादृतुमतीयात् इत्येवमागमाभावात्-
सर्वत्रात्रावुजायावुजजननं मातृकृतपञ्चात्करिष्यमाणतपोबलेन नातिदुष्करम् । अथोपि
नस्तादृक्तपोबलो निवहेत्स कुपोदेव । तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 208 (on the same sūtra).

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. Pāṇdu himself is said to have asked Kuntī to procreate sons for him by *niyoga* from a brāhmaṇa endowed with great *tapas* (Ādi. 120) and tells her certain stories of *niyoga* (Ādi. 120-123) and winds up by saying that three sons is ¹⁴²¹ the limit and that if a fourth or a fifth were procreated the woman would be *svairiṇī* (a wanton woman) and *bandhaki* (harlot). Ādiparva (chap. 64 and 104) states that when Paraśurāma tried to exterminate the kṣatriyas thousands of kṣatriya widows approached brāhmaṇas for the procreation of sons. ¹⁴²² Vide Ādiparva, chap. 104 and 177, Anuśāsana, chap. 44. 52-53, Śānti 72. 12 for other references and examples of *niyoga*. ¹⁴²³

Owing to the bewildering and often conflicting rules about *niyoga* in the *smṛtis*, commentators like Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi, who wrote at a time when *niyoga* was almost unheard of, made heroic though unsatisfactory efforts to bring order out of chaos. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 69 states several views on the point. The first is that *niyoga* 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 *niyoga* was both forbidden and allowed). A fourth view (which seems to be the view of Viśvarūpa himself) was that the *smṛti* texts about *niyoga* refer to *sūdras* ¹⁴²⁴ (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. नातश्चतुर्थे प्रसवमापत्स्वपि चदन्त्युत । अतः परं स्वैरिणी स्याद्बन्धकी एवमे भवेत् ॥ आदिपर्व 123. 77.

1422. ब्राह्मणान् क्षत्रिया राजान् सुतार्थिन्योऽभिचक्रुः । श्रुतावृतौ नरस्याथ न कामावावृतौ तथा ॥ तेभ्यश्च लेभिरे गर्भे क्षत्रियास्ताः सहस्रज्ञाः । आदिपर्व 64. 5-7 ; एवमन्वे सहेष्वासा ब्राह्मणेः क्षत्रिया सुवि । जाताः परमधर्मज्ञा वीर्यवन्तो महाबलाः ॥ आदिपर्व 104. 56 ; ब्राह्मणो युगवाक्कश्चिद्भवेनोपनिमन्त्यताम् । विचित्रवीर्यक्षेत्रेषु यः ससुप्तादयेत्यजाः ॥ आदि. 105. 2 ; पत्यभावे यथैव स्त्री देवरं कुर्वते पतिम् । शान्ति 72. 12.

1423. Vide Dr. Winternitz's paper (Notes on Mahābhārata) in J. R. A. S. 1897 pp. 716-732 'for Niyoga in the great epic'.

1424. एवं तावच्छूद्राणां नियोगाधिकार उक्तः । विश्वरूप at the end of his com. on I. 69. A little above विश्वरूप remarks that there is a usage of *niyoga* among *sūdras*.

verses of Vṛddhamanu¹⁴²⁵ and a gāthā of Vāyu. Viśvarūpa further says that the procreation of sons by Vyāsa from the queens of Vicitravīrya should be paid no heed (i. e. is not to be relied on) like the marriage of Draupadī (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 (kṣatriyas). The proud princely families very likely thought it below their dignity to associate widowed queens with ordinary kṣatriyas. It is possible to hold that they chose brāhmanas for appointment, as the latter were deemed to be higher than even kings in the spiritual domain. It is impossible to believe that brāhmanas, who had no temporal power, could coerce the proud and warlike caste into choosing brāhmanas for niyoga, unless the teaching of the smṛtis fell in with the notions of the ruling houses themselves 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. Nirukta¹⁴²⁶ 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. 6.¹⁴²⁷ A third view was that the son belonged to both the begetter and the owner of the wife. This is the view of Nārada (striṣṭrīṇṣa 58), Yāj. II. 127, Manu IX. 53, Gaut. 18. 13.

1425. तथा च वृद्धमनुः । ब्रह्मणामेव धर्मोयं पत्यो मेतेऽन्यत्प्रयः । लोभान्मुद्वेद-
विद्विज्जिः क्षत्रियैरपि चर्यते ॥ बाबुभोक्ता तथा गार्वा पठन्त्यत्र मनीषिणः । विभ्राणां न
नियोगोस्ति मेते पत्यो न वेदन्त्य ॥ and the गार्वा is अकार्यमेतद्विभ्राणां विधवा यजि-
शुष्यते । उच्यते वा सुते पत्यो देवरेण विशेषतः ॥ विश्वरूपः ।

1426. तद्यथा जनयितुः भजा एवमर्थयि कृत्वा पुत्राद्विद्वान्मनः । निरुक्त III. 1.

1427. उत्पादयितुः पुत्र इति हि ब्राह्मणम् । आप. घ. सू. II. 6. 13. 5; पाणिनीयदृश्ये
नमैव इति वेदेषु निश्चितम् । 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 Yāj. 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 Rgveda¹⁴²⁸ X. 40, 2 we read 'what sacrificer invites you (Āsvins) 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 Yāj. 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' (dvitīyo 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 hankering for a son evinced 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

1427 a. उक्तं च । यथा नियोगधर्मो नो नास्त्यन्वयानयोपि वा । तथोद्धारविभागोपि नैव संभति वर्तते ॥ इति । मितः on या. II. 117 ; स्त्रिणां पुनर्विवाहस्तु देवरात्युत्संसतिः । एवातर्क्यं च कालियुगे कार्यं न कदाचन ॥' मत्स्यपुराण quoted by अपरार्क p. 97.

1428. को वां सनुना विधवेव देवरं मर्यं न योषा कुप्यते सधरन् आ. ॥ ऋ. 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 dharmaśāstra texts do not allow this. A man who has an *aurasa* son can have no ksetraja 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

REMARRIAGE OF WIDOWS

Remarriage 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 (*śrīpuruṣa*, v. 45) says that there are seven sorts of wives (mentioned in order) who have been previously married to another man (*parapūrvā*); among them, the *punarbhū* is of three kinds¹⁴³⁰ and the *svairinī* (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 *svairinīs* 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

1429. Vide Vedic Index vol. I. pp. 476-478, 'Die Witve in Veda' (the widow in the Veda), a paper by Dr. Winternitz in the Vienna Oriental Journal (1915) vol. 29, pp. 172-203 for discussion of some Vedic passages bearing on the question.

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 wantonness¹⁴³¹ (as the smṛti rules about niyoga are not observed by them or her). Nārada says that each preceding one of the punarbhūs and svairiṇīs 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 'punaḥ saṁskṛtā'); a svairiṇī 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 Śaṅkha (3 punarbhūs and 4 svairiṇīs) 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 prāyaścittas to be performed by those women. It is the second husband and the son of the second marriage that bear the appellation 'paunarbhava' (pati or putra respectively) and not the first husband. Vide Sm. Pr. pp. 740-741. The Sm. C. (I. p. 75) quotes a passage from Baudhāyana and certain verses of Kaśyapa. According to Kaśyapa¹⁴³² 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 bride-groom, (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 bride-groom 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 svairiṇī 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 स्वेरिणी is described as साहस, as it is no more than *vyābhicāra*, though with the elder's permission.

1432. वाचा वृत्ता मनोवृत्ता कृतकौतुकमङ्गला । उदकस्पर्शिता या च या च पाणि-
बुद्धीतिका ॥ आग्निं परिगता या च पुनर्युग्मसवा च या । इत्येताः कश्यपेनोक्ता दहन्ति कुल-
मग्निवत् ॥ कश्यप quoted by स्मृतिच. I. 75.

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 Kāśyapa'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 borne¹⁴³³ 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 Śat. Br., where she had been only offered to the sage Cyavana 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. Yāj. I. 67 when he speaks of *akṣatā* refers to all the six varieties of Kāśyapa or the first four varieties of Baudhāyana and when he speaks of 'kṣatā' he refers to the seventh variety of Kāśyapa 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 (striPurāṇa, v. 97), Parāśara IV. 30 and Agnīpurāṇa 154. 5-6 have the same verse 'another husband

1433. वाग्दत्ता मनोदत्ता अग्निं परिगता सप्तमं पदं नीता युक्ता गृहीतगर्भा मभूता चेति सप्तविधा पुनर्भूभवति । अतस्तां गृहीत्वा न मजां धर्मं च विन्देत् । बौधायन quoted in स्मृतिच० I. p. 75, सं. प्र. p. 735.

1434. अग्निर्वाचा च दत्तायां श्रियेतादौ वरो यदि । न च मन्त्रोपनीता स्यात्कुमारी पितुरेव सा ॥ पाणिग्राहे मृते बाला केवलं मन्त्रसंस्कृता । सा चेदक्षतयोनिः स्यात्पुनः संस्कारमर्हति ॥ वसिष्ठ 17. 72 and 74.

1435. पौनर्भवश्चतुर्थः । या कौमारं मर्तारक्षुष्यान्यैः सह चरित्वा तस्यैव कुटुम्बमाभ्यवति सा पुनर्भूभवति । या च क्लीबं पतितकुम्भं वा मर्तारक्षुष्यान्यं पतिं विन्दते मृते वा सा पुनर्भूभवति । वसिष्ठ 17. 18-20.

is ordained for women in five calamities viz. when the husband is lost (unheard of), is dead, has become a *saṁnyāsin*, is impotent or is *patita*.¹⁴³⁶ 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 Medhātithi (on Manu V. 157) explain that the word *pati* means only 'pālaka' (guardian). Medhātithi¹⁴³⁷ (on Manu III. 10 and V. 163) is not dead against *niyoga*, but he is opposed to the remarriage of widows. Even the *Smṛtyarthasāra* (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 *saptapadi*, 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.¹⁴³⁸

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 *saṁskāra* has taken place or who is of a different *varṇa*, 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 *kuṇḍa* 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. नष्टे मृते प्रव्रजिते कृषि च पतिते पतौ । पञ्चस्वापस्तु नारीणां पतिरन्यो विधीयते ॥ नारद (श्रीधुतप्रकरण 97).

1437. यत्तु नष्टे विधीयते इति तत्र पालनात्पतिमन्यमाश्रयेत् सैरन्यकर्मादिना-
स्त्वित्यर्थम् । मेधातिथि on मनु V. 157; तथा स्वर्गं श्रुत्युत्पत्तिपतिनेनापत्यजननमापदि
प्रतिषिध्यते नियोगस्तृत्या तु तत्पुनरप्युक्तसारयते । तदेतदप्यतोत्पादनशुक्रमतिषिद्धत्वाद्भि-
कल्पते । मेधा. on मनु V. 163.

1438. मृतेऽन्यस्मै तथा देया वरे सप्तपदात्पुरा । पुरा पुरुषसंयोगान्मृते देयेति केचन ॥
सत्तावदृष्टे कन्यैव पुनर्देयेति केचन । आगर्भधारणात्कन्या पुनर्देयेति चापरे । देशकालादिमा-
धर्मा अनुष्ठेया विजानता ॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 12.

1439. न द्वितीयश्च साध्वीनां क्वचिद्धर्तोपदिश्यते । मनु V. 162; न विवाहविधायुक्तं
विधवावेदनं पुनः ॥ मनु IX. 65; सकृत्कन्या प्रदीयते । मनु IX. 47; पाणिग्रहणिका मन्त्राः
कन्यास्त्वेव प्रतिष्ठिताः । मनु VIII. 226. Vide आश्व. श्र. I. 7. 13, आप. म. पा. I. 5. 7
&c for the मन्त्र 'अथमथं तु देवं कन्या अग्निमयक्षत &c.', where the word कन्या
(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. 226 (the Vedic mantras used in pāṇigrahaṇa are applicable to maidens only) are opposed to the remarriage of widows. The Brahmapurāṇa and other purāṇas forbid remarriage of widows in the Kali 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 sagotra, 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 saṁskāra 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 Dīrghatamas forbade remarriage and also *niyoga*.¹⁴⁴⁰ Manu himself speaks of the saṁskāra of a pregnant girl (IX. 172-173). Baud. Dh. S. IV. 1. 18, Vas. Dh. S. 17. 74, Yāj. I. 167 speak of the saṁskāra of remarriage (paunarbhava saṁskāra). 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 saṁskāra 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 (stripuṁsa, verses 98-101) gives the

1440. एक एव पतिर्नार्या यावज्जीवं परायणम् । सुते जीवति वा तस्मिन्नापरं माप्नुयात्-
त्यतिथि ॥ अभिगम्य परं नारी पतिव्रति न संशयः । अपतीनां तु नारीणामथप्रभृति पातकम् ॥
आदि 104. 35-36.

1441. यदि सा बालविधवा बलारयकार्यवा कश्चित् । तदा पुनस्तु संस्कारां सुहीता
येन केनचित् ॥ महाभारत quoted by अपरार्क p. 97.

following directions.¹⁴⁴² '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? Vasiṣṭha 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 Rūpaṇa that, as Nala was not heard of for many years, Damayanti was going to celebrate a svayamvara and Rūpaṇa hurries for it and does not think it a strange thing (Vanaparva 70. 24).

1442. अष्टौ वर्षाण्युदीक्षितं ब्राह्मणी प्रोषितं पतिम् । अप्रसूता तु चत्वारि परतोऽन्यं समाश्रयेत् ॥ ... जीवति श्रममात्रे तु रथादेष्टुं द्विष्यतीति ॥ अप्रवृत्तौ तु भूतानां दृष्टिरेवा प्रजापतेः । अतोऽन्यगमने क्षीणामेष दोषो न विद्यते । नारद (स्त्रीपुंस ११. १८-१९.).

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 vaiśya—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 vaiśya 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 Strīdhana' (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. कन्यामद् इति वचनादक्षताया एव नैवमिकं दानम् । पिता स्वकन्यामपि दद्यादिति केचित् । विचक्ष्य on या. I. 63.

1445. उत यत्पतयो दश स्त्रियाः पूर्वे अजाह्वनाः । न ह्यजा चेष्टस्तमग्रहीत्स एव पतिरेकया ॥ आह्वय एव पतिर्न राजन्यो न वैश्यः । तत्क्षुर्यैः मनुवक्षेति पञ्चम्यो मानवेभ्यः ॥ अथर्ववेद V. 17. 8-9. उत is explained by the निबन्ध (e. g. I. 19) generally as अपि, whenever it is at the beginning of a verse or pāda.

1446. या पूर्वे पतिं निश्वाऽयान्यं विन्दतेऽपरम् । पञ्चौद्वनं च तावजं ददातो न वि शोषतः ॥ समानलोको भवति पुनर्युवापरः पतिः । योऽजं पञ्चौद्वनं दक्षिणाज्योतिषं ददाति ॥ अथर्ववेद IX. 5. 27-28.

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 'daidhisavya' (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 brāhmaṇas 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 sūdras 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.¹⁴⁴⁷ 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 Gujarat, *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

1447. *Vide* Steele's 'Law and Custom of Hindu Castes' pp. 26, 168-169.

consent of the first husband but with the permission of the caste.¹⁴⁴⁸ 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 Census¹⁴⁴⁹ 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 spinsters 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

1448. Vide *Reg. v. Karsan Goja*, 2 Bombay High Court Reports 117; *Reg. v. Sambhu*, 1 Bom. 347, *Keshav v. Bai Gandhi*, 39 Bom. 538.

1449. Vide Census of India 1931 vol. I. 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 R̥gveda 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 R̥g. X. 18. 7-8 ¹⁴⁵⁰ 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 Sāyana 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. इमा नारीरविधवाः सुपत्नीराजनेन सर्पिषा सं विशन्तु । अनश्वोऽनमर्षिवाः सुरत्ना आरोहन्तु जनयो योनिमग्रे ॥ उदीर्ष्व नार्यमि जीवलोकं गतासुमेतसु षोष एहि । वस्तत्रामरय दिधिषोस्तवेदं पत्युर्जनित्वममि सं बभूथ ॥ ऋ. X. 18. 7-8. अथर्ववेद (XII. 2. 31 and XVIII. 3. 57) has the verse इमा नारीः, but reads संस्तु-शन्ताम् for संविशन्तु. तै. आ. VI. 10 has the verse इमा नारीः, but reads संस्तुशन्ताम् and सुज्ञेवाः for संविशन्तु and सुरत्नाः; तै. आ. VI. 1 and अथर्ववेद 18. 3. 2. have उदीर्ष्व etc. but तै. आ. reads इतास्तु for गतासु, त्वमेतत् for तवेदं and बभूथ for बभूथ. The most difficult words are the last quarter of R̥g X. 18. 8. बभूथ requires a subject in the 2nd person which does not occur in the latter half of the verse.

1451. इमा नारीरविधवाः सुपत्नीरित्यजाना ईक्षेत । आश्व. गृ. IV. 6. 12; उत्तरत पत्नीम् । धनुश्च क्षत्रियाय । तामुत्थापयेद्द्वारः पतिस्थानीयोऽन्तेवासी जरासो वोदीर्ष्व नार्यमि जीवलोकमिति । आश्व. गृ. IV. 2. 16.-18 These sūtras are referred to by अपरार्क p. 112. The com. on Tai. Ār. holds that the latter half calls upon the wife of the deceased to remarry.

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 'udīrṣva'. The Śān. 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 'uttbāpinyah' (verses addressed for making one rise). There is another mantra in the Atharvaveda (18. 3. 1) and Tai. Ār. VI. 1¹⁴⁵² '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 Vedic authority to the practice of *satī* (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 Āśv. gr., the Bṛhad-devatā (VII. 12) and the Baud. pitṛmedhasūtra (I. 21. 11). The two verses 'iyam nārī' and Rg. X. 18. 8 are employed by the Baudhāyana-Pitṛmedhasūtra¹⁴⁵³ 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 Bṛhad-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 'udīrṣva &c.'. But the Bṛhad-devatā¹⁴⁵⁴ 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 Rgvidhāna¹⁴⁵⁵ (III. 8. 4) says that the brother-in-law should call back the wife

1452. इयं नारी पतिलोकं दृष्ट्वा ना निपद्यत उप त्वा मर्त्यं प्रेतम् । विभ्रं पुराणमस्तु पालयन्ती तस्यै प्रजां द्रवि गं चेह धेहि ॥ तै. आ. VI. 1; अथास्य भार्यास्तुपसंवेशयति । इयं नारी धेहि इति । तां प्रति हितः सन्ये पाणावभिषाद्योत्थापयति उदीर्ष्व... बभूव इति । बौ. पितृमेधसूत्र I. 8. 1-2.

1453. अथैनमेतया सन्ध्या सह चितायामादधति । बौ. पितृमेधसूत्र I. 8. 7.

1454. उदीर्ष्व नारीत्यनया सुतं पल्पयिष्यति । आता कनीयान् प्रेतस्य निगद्य प्रतियेषति ॥ बृहदेवता VII. 13.

1455. आतृभार्यामधुनस्य संतानार्थं सुते पतौ । देवरोऽन्वाकृशन्दीक्षुर्दाभ्येति निवर्तयेत् ॥ ऋग्विधान 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 nārī', 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 *sati* 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 'udīrṣva' as referring to niyoga (which is most probably referred to in Rg. X. 40. 2 ko vām śayutrā vidhaveva devaram). 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 dharmaśāstra 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 saṁskāra, that the status of wife-hood arises from that saṁskāra, that even if the husband or wife became *patita*, the saṁskāra 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 saṁskāra of marriage performed on her.¹⁴⁵⁶ 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 thero* (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 saṁnyāsin 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,

1456. Vide विश्वरूप on या. III. 253-254 कोचि तु परित्यक्तासु पारदारमायश्चित्तं नेच्छन्ति संवाग्धिनिमित्तत्वाद् दारशब्दस्य । ... तथा च सति विधवास्वपि पारदार्यं न स्यात् । न च स्वभिचारादिमित्तस्यापगमो युक्तः संस्कारनिमित्तत्वाद् दारशब्दस्य । तस्य च पतनेऽप्यनपगमात् । अत एव पतिता योयितः कृतमायश्चित्ताः पुनर्न संस्क्रियन्ते । अन्यथा तु पतनेन संस्कारस्यापगमात् कृतमायश्चित्ता अप्यदाराः स्युः । अतो स्वभिचारिणीष्वप्यस्यैव पारदार्यम् ।

92, 101, 105-106); therefore it follows that a wife could not for ever desert even a *patita* husband. In modern times the Indian courts¹⁴⁵⁷ 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 Marumakkattayam or Aliyasantana Law prevalent in Malabar.

The Arthasāstra of Kauṭilya contains some interesting observations bearing on divorce.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.' Kauṭilya himself says (in III. 2) that the first four forms viz. brāhma, prajāpatya, āra and daiva are dharmya (approved), since they are brought about under the authority of the father.¹⁴⁵⁹ Therefore according to Kauṭilya there can

1457. Vide *The Government of Bombay v. Ganga* I. L. R. 4. Bom. 330; *in the matter of Ram Kumari* I. L. R. 18 Cal. 264; *Budansa v. Fatma Bi* 26 Madras Law Journal p. 260.

1458. अमोक्षया भर्तुरकामस्य द्वेषती भार्या । भार्यायाश्च भर्ता । परस्परं द्वेषान्मोक्षः क्रीविमकाराद्वा पुरुषश्चेन्मोक्षमिच्छेद्ययागृहीतमस्यै दद्यात् । पुरुषविमकाराद्वा स्त्री चेन्मोक्षमिच्छेच्चार्ये यथागृहीतं दद्यात् । अमोक्षो धर्मविवाहानामिति । अर्थशास्त्र III. 3.

1459. पितृमनागाश्चत्वारः पूर्वैर्धर्म्याः । अर्थशास्त्र 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,¹⁴⁶⁰ 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 such cruelty as, without adultery, would have entitled her to a divorce a *mensa et thoro* 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 *sāstric* 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 1630 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 *sati* 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 *sati* 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 Hindoos is revolting to the feelings of human nature; it is nowhere enjoined by the religion of the Hindoos 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 times¹⁴⁶² at such burning nor do the ancient grhya-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 Hindoos 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 Nārāyaṇīya 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: अग्ने व्रतानि व्रतपतिरसि पत्न्याद्युपममृतं चरिष्यामि तच्छोकं तन्मे राक्षताय । इह त्वा अग्ने नमसा विधेम सुवर्गस्य लोकस्य समेत्यै । जुषामो अद्य हविषा जातवेदो विशानि त्वा सखतो नय मा पत्युरग्ने (pp. 295-296). These, to say the least, are of doubtful authenticity.

except Viṣṇu contains any reference to *satī*. The Manusmṛti is entirely silent about it. It is stated in Strabo (XV. 1. 30 and 62) that the Greeks under Alexander found *satī* practised among the Cathaei 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 Virāṭa-parva Sairandhri is ordered to be burnt with Kicaka,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. Devakī, Bhadrā, Rohini and Madirā burnt themselves with him and (chap. 7. 73-74) that Rukmiṇī, Gāndhārī, Śaibya, Haimavati, Jāmbavati 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, Rukmiṇī and others, entered fire on the death of Kṛṣṇa.¹⁴⁶⁶ The Śāntiparva (chap. 148) describes how a *kapoti* (female pigeon) entered fire on the death of her husband the bird.¹⁴⁶⁷ In the Striparva (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 भर्तारि ब्रह्मचर्यं तदन्वारोहणं वा । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 25. 14 quoted by the Mitākṣara on Ya. I. 86.

1464. आदिपर्व 95. 65 'तत्रैनं चिताग्निर्यं माद्री समन्वारोह ।; आदि 125. 29 'शक्रः शरीरेण सह समापीदुं कलेवरम् । दग्धव्यं सुप्रविच्छिन्नमेतद्वार्यं त्रियं कुक् ॥'

1465. सैरन्ध्र्याः स्रुतपुत्रेण सह दाहं विनां पतिः । विराट्पर्व 23. 8.

1466. अष्टौ महिष्यः कथिता रुक्मिणीप्रभृत्यास्तु याः । उपसृष्टा हरेर्देहं विविशुस्ता हुताशनम् ॥ विष्णुपुराण V. 38. 2.

1467. पतिव्रता संमदीप्तां प्रविशेश हुताशनम् ॥ ततश्चित्राङ्गदुधरं भर्तारं सान्त्वयत्यत । ततः स्वर्गं गतः पक्षी भार्यया सह संगतः । शान्ति 148. 10-12. This passage is quoted in the Mit. on Yaj. I. 86 in support of the plea that *satī* 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 Paithlnasi, Angiras, Vyāghrapād which apparently forbid self-immolation to brāhmaṇa widows.¹⁴⁶⁸ The authors of digests explain away these passages by saying that they only prohibit self-immolation 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.¹⁴⁶⁹ In the Rāmāyaṇa,¹⁴⁷⁰ (Uttarakāṇḍa 17. 15) there is a reference to the self-immolation of a brāhmaṇa woman (the wife of a *brahmarsi* and mother of Vedavati, who when molested by Rāvaṇa burnt herself in fire). The Mahābhārata (Strī-parva 23. 34 ff.) on the other hand describes how Kṛpī, the wife of Droṇa, 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.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 *sahamarāṇa* or *sahagamana* or *anvārohaṇa* (when she

अनुगमनं नास्ति ब्राह्मण्या ब्रह्मशासनात् । इतरेषां तु वर्णानां
या स्त्री ब्राह्मणजातीया सृते पतिमनुव्रजेत् । सा स्वर्गमाप्नु-
यति ॥ व्याख्यात् । न श्रियेत समं भर्ता ब्राह्मणी शोकमोहिता ।
श्रीमद्भागवते ॥ श्रीगीताव्यासोक्तिः ॥ quoted by अपरार्क p. 112. These are
quoted by the *मिता* on या. I. 86 but without name. पृथक्चित्ते सभासु न विप्र-
गन्तुमर्हति । अन्त्यासां चैव नारीणां अधिभार्यं परः स्मृतः ॥ उशानसु quoted by अपरार्क
p. 112 and by *मिता* on या. I. 86.

1469. सृते भर्तारमादाय ब्राह्मणी वद्धिमाविशेत् । जीवन्ती (व. I. ब्राह्मणी) चैर्यक-
केशा तपसा शोषयेद्बहुः ॥ वेदव्यास II. 53 quoted above in note 1379.

1470. अपरार्क p. 112 refers to the रामायण 'अत एव रामायणादौ ब्राह्म-
ण्यादीनां स्वभर्तृशरीरलिङ्गपूर्वकं स्वशरीरदहनमुपाश्रयायते ।'

1471. तां पश्य रुद्रीमाती शुक्रकेशीमधोमुखीम् । इतं पतिमुपासन्तीं शोचं शश्वतां
वरम् ॥ चाणैर्मित्तलैर्नाणं घृष्टद्युम्नेन केशव । उपास्ते वै सुखे शोचं जटिला ब्रह्मचारिणी ॥
श्रीपर्व 23.

ascends the funeral pyre of her husband and is burnt along with his corpse), but *anumaraṇa* 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* (sandals) or even without any memento of his if none be available¹⁴⁷² (vide *Aparārka* p. 111 and *Madana-pārijāta* 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 *Gāthāsaptasatī* (VII. 33) there is a reference to a woman being decked for *anumaraṇa* (*Nirṇ.* ed.). The *Kāmasūtra* VI. 3.53 speaks of *anumaraṇa*. It has been shown (at p. 579) how *Varāhamihira* admires women for their courage in being burnt with their husbands. The *Harṣacarita* (Uchhvāsa 5) describes how Yaśomatī, the chief queen of king *Prabhākaravardhana* and mother of *Harṣa*, consigned herself to fire when the king was dying. But this is not a proper case of *satī*, as she burnt herself even before her husband died. In another passage of the *Harṣacarita* (V, in the description of night) the glory of moon-lotuses is said to be laughing like a woman intent on *anumaraṇa*, who is decked with ear ornaments and wears garlands on her head.¹⁴⁷³ *Bāṇa* in his *Kādambarī* in a most eloquent and well-reasoned passage condemns *anumaraṇa*.¹⁴⁷⁴ The *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*¹⁴⁷⁵ I. 13. 57 speaks of *Gāndhārī's* burning herself on the death of her husband, *Dhṛtarāṣṭra*. The

1472. देशान्तरं भूते तस्मिन्साध्वी तत्पादुकाद्वयम् । निधायोरसि संशुद्धा भविष्ये जात-
वेदसम् ॥ न त्वेदेवादासाध्वी स्त्री न भवेदात्मधातिनी । व्यहृच्छौचे तु निर्वृते आर्द्रं मामोति
ज्ञान्यतम् ॥ *महापुराण* quoted by *अपरार्क* p. 111., where *अपरार्क* tells us that
Vedic verses which render self-immolation free from the sin of suicide
are verses like 'imā nārīr' (*Rg.* X. 18. 7) quoted in note 1450.

1473. Vide the passage beginning with 'दन्तामलयत्रमसाधितकणिकासु
केसरमालाकल्पितसुषुम्भमालिकासु अनुभर्तुमिवोद्यतासु महसितसुखीषु कुसुमदलदम्भीषु' *हर्ष-
चरित* V (6th para from the end).

1474. यदेतदनुमरणं नाम तदतिनिष्फलम् । in paragraph 177 of my edition
of the *pūrvabhāga*, which *Candrāpīḍa* addresses to *Mahāśvetā*, where he
gives instances of famous women like *Rati*, *Pṛthā*, *Uttarā*, *Duṣśalā* that
did not resort to *sahagamana* and winds up 'अन्याश्च रक्षांसुरासुरसुनिमज्ज-
सिद्धगन्धर्वकन्यका भर्तृरहितैः श्रूयन्ते सहस्रो विधृतजीविताः'.

1475. *रघुनन्दन* in his *शुद्धितरंग* (p. 242) quotes the passage of the
भागवतपुराण.

{ Rājatarāṅgiṇī 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 Rājyavati, widow of Dharmadeva, bids her son Mahādeva to take up the reins of government that she may follow her husband); the Belaturu Inscription of śaka 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 śaka 1103 to a temple by Sinda Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Rācamalla on a request by two *satis*, widows of his general Becirāja ; E. I. vol. 20, p. 168 (of Cedi *samvat* 919) which refers to three queens that became *satis* ; E. I. vol. X, p. 39 where the Temara gate stone inscription of śaka 1246 speaks of Māṇikyadevi as *sati* on the death of her husband Āmana who was an officer of king Hariścandra ; E. I. vol. 20 p. 58 (Mistrā 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 śaka 1365 and 1362. In an article on ' *Sati* 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 *sati* is that of Ramābāi, 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 ' *Sati* immolation which is not *sati* ', 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 *māstikkal* i. e. stone monument for *mahāsati* a great *sati*, and ' *virakkal* ' for brave and devoted men) are erected

in memory of *satīs* 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 Prabhākaravaradhana. The Rājatarāṅgiṇī VII. 481 narrates how when the queen of king Ananta became a *satī* on her husband's death, her litter-carrier and some other men and three of her *dāsīs* followed her in death. There is the example of a mother burning herself on the funeral pyre of her son (vide Rājatarāṅgiṇī 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. *Satī* 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 *satī* 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 brāhmaṇas, 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. आनीतो पुष्पद्विजैः पुत्रैरभितलत्रयदीवृन्दविधुयमानचामरनखलजीनां
शुकचरौ पयोचरौ । हर्षचरित V.

The rewards promised to a *sati* were as follows: Śaṅkha and Āṅgīras¹⁴⁷⁷ say 'she who follows her husband in death dwells in heaven for as many years as there are hairs 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 bevy 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)'. Hārīta 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 anvārohaṇa is common to the women of all castes from the brāhmaṇa to the cāṇḍāla, provided they are not pregnant or they have no young children (at the husband's death)'.¹⁴⁷⁸

There were old commentators who were opposed to the practice of *sati*. Medhātithi on Manu V. 157 (Kāmaṁ tu &c.) compares this practice to *śyenayāga* which a man performed by

1477. तिष्ठः कोट्योर्ध्वकोटी च यानि लोमानि मासुषे । तावत्कालं वसेत्सर्वं भर्तारं
यास्यञ्छति ॥ इत्यालम्बाही यथा सर्पं बलाकुक्षरते विलात् । तद्वदुद्धृत्य सा नारी सह तेनैव
भोदते ॥ तत्र सा मर्त्यपरमा स्तूपमानाप्लरोगणैः । कीदृते पतिना सार्धं यावद्विद्वाश्चतुर्दश ॥
ब्रह्मभो वा कुतश्चो वा मित्रभो वा भवेत्यतिः । पुनात्यविधवा नारी तमादाय भुता तु या ॥
सुते भर्तारि या नारी समारोहेद्भुताशनम् । सावन्धतीसमाचारा स्वर्गलोके महीयते ॥ याव-
च्छाशौ सुते पत्यौ स्त्री नात्मानं अदादयेत् । तावत्तु सुच्यते सा हि श्रीशरीरात्कथंचन ॥ quoted
by the *mitakṣara* on ya. I. 86, अपरार्क p. 110, छुद्धितत्त्व p. 234. The two verses
तिष्ठः कोट्यो &c. are also पराशर IV. 32 and 33 and ब्रह्मपुराण, गौतमीयब्राह्मण
chap. 10. 76 and 74.

1478. अयं च सर्वासां श्रीणामगमिणीनामबालापत्यानामाचाण्डालं साधारणो
घर्मः । भर्तारं यास्यञ्छतीत्यविशेषोपादानात् । मित्ता० on ya. I. 86; vide the same
words in मद्. पा. p. 196 and स्मृतिखण्ड (संस्कार p. 162), in which latter
they are expressly quoted from विश्वामित्र.

way of black magic to kill his enemy. He says¹⁴⁷⁹ that though Āṅgiras allowed 'anumarāṇa' it is suicide and is really forbidden to women. Just as the Veda says 'śyenēnābhicaran yajet' and yet śyenayāga is not looked upon as dharma, but rather as adharmā (vide Śābara on Jaimini I. 1. 2), so, though Āṅgiras speaks of it, it is really *adharmā*; 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 Āṅgiras, still her action is *aśāstriya* (not in accordance with the śāstras); 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 śyenayāga is no doubt undesirable and therefore adharmā, but that is so because the object of śyenayāga 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 *anumarāṇa* desires only heaven, she is not doing anything contrary to the *śruti* texts. This is the reasoning of the Mitākṣarā 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 *anumarāṇa* is a special or exceptional śāstra 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. पुंवत्कीणामपि प्रतिषिद्ध आत्मत्यागो यदप्याङ्गिरसे पतिमञ्जुभिरेक्षित्युक्तं तदपि नित्यवद्वयं कर्तव्यम् । फलस्युत्तिस्तत्रास्ति फलकामायाश्चाधिकारे रथेनतुल्यता । तथैव रथेनेन हिंस्याच्छतानीत्यधिकारस्यातिप्रवृद्धतरङ्गेषा-धतया सत्यामपि प्रवृत्तौ न धर्मत्वम्, एवमिहापि अतिप्रवृद्धफलाभिलाषायाः सत्यापि प्रतिषेधे तदतिक्रमेण मरणे प्रवृत्तुपपत्तेर्न शास्त्रीयत्वमतीत्येव प्रतिमनु मरणेऽपि क्षियाः प्रतिषेधः । किं च 'तस्माद्गृहं न पुरायुषः प्रेयात्' इति अत्यक्षश्रुतिविरोधोऽयम् । मेधा० on मनु V. 156. The words of शबर are 'नैव रथेनावयः कर्तव्या विज्ञायन्ते । यो हि हिंसितुमिच्छेत्तस्यायमप्युपाय इति तेषामुपदेशः । रथेनेनाभिचरत्यजेतेति हि समाभनन्ति नाभिचरितस्याभिहितम् । on जै. I. 1. 2. p. 19.

The Sm. C. also expressly says that anvārohana,¹⁴⁸⁰ though recommended by the Viṣṇu Dh. S. (25. 14) and Āṅgiras, is inferior to brahmacarya (leading a celibate life), since the rewards of anvārohana 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.'¹⁴⁸¹ 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 anvārohana, but not *anumarāṇa*. 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'¹⁴⁸²—from the Bṛhan-Nāradya 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.

Āpastamba (verse) prescribes the Prājāpatya penance for a woman who having first resolved to burn herself on the funeral pyre turns back from it at the last moment.¹⁴⁸³ 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.¹⁴⁸⁴ The widow bathes and puts on two white garments, takes kuśa 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,

1480. यत्तु विष्णुना धर्मान्तरशुक्तं सृष्टे भर्तारि ब्रह्मचर्यं तदन्वारोहणं वा तद्येत्-
धर्मान्तरमपि ब्रह्मचर्यधर्माजयन्त्यम् । निरुद्धफलत्वात् । स्मृतिचन्द्रोऽनं न्यव. p. 254.

1481. सर्वासांमेव नारीणामग्निप्रपतनादृते । नान्यो धर्मो हि विज्ञेयो सृष्टे भर्तारि
कर्हिचित् ॥ अङ्गिरस्य quoted by अपरार्क p. 109, परा. मा. II. 1. p. 58, अङ्गितत्त्व
(p. 234 reads साध्वीनामेव नारीणां). साध्वीनामेव नारीणां is also बृहद्दशरते
XI. 202.

1482. बालापत्याश्च गर्भिणी अहस्तस्तवस्तथा । रजस्वला राजसुते नारोहन्ति चित्तं
क्षुभे ॥ नारदीयपुराण quoted by परा. मा. II. part 1, p. 58, अङ्गितत्त्व p. 236, स्मृति-
शुकाफल I. p. 162 (ascribes to और्व). 'बालसंवर्धनं त्यक्त्वा बालापत्या न गच्छति ।
रजस्वला क्षतिका च रक्षेद्गर्भं च गर्भिणी ॥ बृहस्पति quoted by परा. मा. and अङ्गितत्त्व.

1483. सितिभ्रष्टा तु या नारी मोहाद्विचलितः । प्रजापत्येन शुभ्येतु तस्माद्दे
पापकर्मणः ॥ आपस्तम्ब quoted by अपरार्क p. 1193 and अङ्गितत्त्व p. 243.

1484. Vide appendix under 1484.

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 namaḥ' and ascends the kindled pyre. The long-winded preamble of the *samkalpa* 'arundhatī...patipūtātvakāmā' is based upon the verses of Aṅgiras 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 'ārohanu jalayoni-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*¹⁴⁸⁵ 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 Rgveda 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 gr̥hyasūtra of Āśv. made use of it with that meaning. Raghunandana, a profound student of dharmasāstras and smṛtis (and often styled *Smārta-bhaṭṭācārya*), could not have been ignorant of what Āśv. said. The procedure as prescribed in the *Nirṇaya-sindhu*¹⁴⁸⁶ of *Kamalākarabhaṭṭa*, whose mother became a *satī*

1485. *शुद्धितत्त्व* (p. 235) itself quotes the *ब्रह्मपुराण* text 'अग्नेदवादाव साध्वी स्त्री'

1486. *Vide निर्णयसिन्धु* III, अचरार्थ p. 623 and धर्मसिन्धु pp. 483-484. The *निर्णयसिन्धु* expressly refers to the Gauda procedure as different from his "गौडास्तु 'इमा नारीरविधवाः' इति 'ओं इमाः पतिवताः ... विभावसुभ्य' इति च विप्रः पठेदित्याहुः ।".

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.¹⁴⁸⁷ 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 surviving¹⁴⁸⁸ 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 *Jīmūtavāhana*; he makes it clear that he followed a predecessor called *Jiten-driya*. 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 दायभाग (ed. by Jivānanda, 1893) 'अतोऽविशेषेणैव विभक्त्यायनपेक्षयैव अयुक्तस्य भर्तुः कुलनधने पत्न्याधिकारी जितेन्द्रियोक्त आदरणीयः ।' p. 46; 'पत्नी च भर्तुधनं कुलीतेव परं न तु तस्य दानविभक्तिकयात्कर्तुमर्हति' 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'.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.¹⁴⁹⁰

Modern India does not justify the practice of *sati*, but it is a warped mentality that rebukes modern Indians for expressing admiration and reverence for the cool and unfaltering courage of Indian women in becoming *satis* or performing the *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.

1489. Vide Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays* (ed. of 1837) vol. I. p. 122.

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

VESYĀ

Vesyā—(Courtesan). 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 Encyclopædia Britannica on prostitution will be an eye-opener to many who will be inclined to turn their nose at Indian conditions.

From the *R̥gveda* we find that there were women who were common to several men i. e. who were courtezans or prostitutes. In *R̥g. 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 courtesan.¹⁴⁹¹ It has already been seen how in *R̥g. II. 29. 1* reference is made to a woman who gives birth in secret to a child and leaves it aside. In *R̥g. I. 66. 4, I. 117. 18, I. 134. 3* and other places *jāra* (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 *prāyaścitta* is necessary but eight hand-fuls 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 *Ādiparva* (115. 39) narrates how a *vesyā* waited upon *Dhṛtarāṣṭra* when his wife *Gāndhārī* was pregnant.¹⁴⁹² In the *Udyogaparva* (30. 38) *Yudhiṣṭhira* sends greetings to the *vesyās* 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 शुभा अवाप्तो यस्या साधारण्येव भवतो निमित्तः । ऋ. I. 167. 4.

1492. गान्धारीं क्षिप्रमानवाशुद्रेण विवर्षता । धृतराजं महाराजं वेत्या पर्यचर-
त्किल ॥ आदि 115. 39.

is said that carts, markets and courtezans also accompanied them (Udyoga 151. 58). Vide also Vanaparva 239. 37, Karpaparva 94. 26. Yāj. 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 *bhujisyā* (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 paṇas against another person having intercourse with them. Nārada ¹⁴⁹⁴ (stripūṃsa, 78-79) says 'intercourse is permitted with wanton women (svairiṇī) 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 *Apsarases* (heavenly nymphs) called *pañcacūḍās*, states that such courtezans 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 prajāpatya penance is prescribed for him who has intercourse with a *veśyā* (vide Atri v. 271). Nārada ¹⁴⁹⁵ (vetanasyānapākarma 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 *veśyā*. Vide Yāj. II. 292 and Matsyapurāṇa 227. 144-145 for

1493. अवच्छास्य दासीषु भुजिष्यासु तथैव च । गम्यास्वपि पुमान्दाप्यः पञ्चाशत्यजिकं दमश्च ॥ याज्ञ. II. 290. The Mitā explains 'ता एव स्वामिना भुज्याहानिष्युदासीर्यि युह एव स्थातव्यमित्येवं पुत्रयान्तरोपभोगतो निश्चया अवच्छाः । पुत्रयनियतपरिहृदा भुजिष्याः ।'.

1494. स्वरिष्यनाङ्गणी वेदया दासी निष्कासिनी च या । गम्याः स्तुराजलोभ्येन क्षियो न प्रतिलोभतः ॥ आरवेव तु भुजिष्यासु दाषः स्वात्परदारवत् । गम्या अपि हि नोपेया पत्न्या परपरिहृदाः ॥ नारदः क्षीयुस 78-79.

1495. छुत्कं युहीत्या पण्यञ्जी नेच्छन्ती द्विस्तदाप्युपात् । अमय चरतदा छुत्कमद्युष्य पुमान् क्षिप्य ॥ नारदः (वेतनस्यानपाकर्म 18).

similar provisions. The Matsyapurāṇa chap. 70 dilates upon veśyādharmā. The Kāmasūtra I. 3. 20 defines a *gaṇikā* as a *veśyā* 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 veśyās.

Concubines 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 escheats 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 śrāddhas. The Mit. says that the concubines here referred to are those called *avaruddhā* (and not *bhujisṛā*) 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. *bhujisṛā*) 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 *saṃskāras* enumerated above (pp. 195-197), the Mahāyajñas, Utsarjana and Upākarma will be described under the next chapter, viz. *āhnikā* and *antyeṣṭi* under *āśauca*.

1496. अद्यायिकं राजगामि योषिदभ्युपैर्बर्द्धेदिकम् । अपात्य ओत्रियद्रव्यं ओत्रिये-
व्यस्तदप्येत् ॥ कात्यायन quoted in the *mita* on Yāj. II. 135. *mita* 'तत्त्रोपायमश-
नाच्छाद्यनोपयुक्तं और्बर्द्धेदिकं धनिनः आद्याद्युपयुक्तं चापात्यपरिहृत्य राजगामि मवतीति
संनयः । अस्यापवादः । ओत्रियद्रव्यं च योषिदभ्युपैर्बर्द्धेदिकमपात्य ओत्रियापोपपादये-
दिति । एतदभ्यवकृत्तुमिति च । योषिदग्रहणात् । नारदवचनं च अन्यत्र नास्ति ॥ ...
इत्यवकृत्तुमिति च । अत्रिद्रव्यमिति च ।

1497. L. R. 53. I. A. 153 = 50 Bom. 604.

CHAPTER XVII

ĀHNIKA AND ĀCĀRA

(Daily and periodical duties and ceremonies)

This forms a very important topic of dharmaśāstra. The daily duties of the *brahmacārin* 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 *gṛhastha* (the householder).

Before the *āhnika* 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 (IIL 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. 90). 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. तेनैव गृहस्थो योनिरयजतत्वादिदरेषाम् । गो. III. 3.

away from the world of Brahma.¹⁴⁹⁹ In the Mahābhārata also the eulogy of the order of householder is frequent. Śāntiparva 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'.¹⁵⁰⁰ 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. Baud. Dh. S. III. 1. 1, Devala (quoted in the Mit. on Yāj. I. 128) and other works divide a householder into two varieties viz. śālīna and yāyāvara,¹⁵⁰¹ the latter being superior to the former.¹⁵⁰² The śālīna

1499. नित्योदकी नित्ययज्ञोपवीती नित्यस्वाध्यायी पतिताम्रवर्जी । ऋतौ च गच्छन्विधिवच्च जुह्वन् ब्राह्मणश्चयवते मङ्गलीकात् ॥ वसिष्ठ VIII. 17 (X. 31 is the same in prose). Vide note 691 above.

1500. यथा मातरमाश्रित्य सर्वे जीवन्ति जन्तवः । एवं गार्हस्थ्यमाश्रित्य वर्तन्व इतराऽन्माः ॥ शान्तिपर्व 270. 6-7 (= Vas. VIII. 16, where the last pāda is सर्वे जीवन्ति भिक्षुकाः).

1501. अथ शालीन-यायावर-चक्रचरधर्मकाङ्क्षिणां नवमिदृशोऽभिर्वर्तमानानाम् । शाला-अयत्वाच्छालीनत्वम् । वृथा वरया यातीति यायावरत्वम् । अनुक्रमेण चरणाच्चक्रचरत्वम् । बौ. ध. सू. III. 1. 1, 3-5. बौ. derives शालीन from शाला (a house) and यायावर from या (to go) and वर (best). पाणिनि V. 2. 20 (which is explained in the Mahābhāṣya) teaches that शालीन in the sense of bashful (अपुष्ट) is derived from शाला. Probably in Pāṇini's day householders had not come to be divided into शालीन and यायावर. बौ. appears to hold that there is a third variety called चक्रचर, but this does not occur elsewhere.

1502. यथाह देवलः । द्विविधो गृहस्थो यायावरः शालीनश्च । तयोर्यायावरः भवतो याजनाद्यापनभतिग्रहरित्यसंशयवर्जनात् । षड्कर्मभिर्हितैः षष्ठ्यचतुष्पादगृहग्रामधनधान्य-जुको शालीनः । इति । शालीनोपि चतुर्विधः । याजनाद्यापनभतिग्रहकृषिवाणिज्यपाशुपाल्यैः षड्मिर्जावत्येकः । याजनादिभिर्जातिभिरन्यः । याजनाद्यापनाभ्यामपरः । चतुस्तत्त्वध्यापनेनैव । मिता. on या. I. 128. कुसुलधान्यको वा त्यालुम्भीधान्यक एव वा । ग्रहैहिको वापि भवेद्गृहस्तानिक एव वा ॥ मनु IV. 7. मेधा explains the kusūla as a granary built with bricks and indicates that he may store in it as much as such a granary will hold ; while *kumbhā* means a receptacle storing as much as will last for six months. हारीत quoted in Gr. R. derives 'सर्वस्ववस्थासु षड्ब्रह्मैव शाला इति शालीनः शालावानिति वा शालीनः शालायामात्मवृत्तिमिर्वालीनः शालीनः । शालीनादात्मवृत्तिपापनाह्वर इति यायावरः । दश दश रात्रीवसन्त्यातीति यायावरः । परास्वष्टसु वृत्तिष्वात्मानं यापयतीति यायावरः । अथारयाष्टौ वृत्तयो भवन्ति । उच्छशिलायाचितोपपन्नसंज्ञानञ्जुत्कण्ठकुडालकोती । (pp. 415 and 419).

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.¹⁵⁰³ The Baud. gr. III. 5. 4 refers to yāyāvara. The word 'yāyāvara' occurs in the Tai. S. V. 2. 1. 7¹⁵⁰⁴ '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. 5¹⁵⁰⁵ (= Vaik. Dh. S. I. 5) householders are divided into four classes. The first class (called vārtāvṛtti)

1503. उद्वसाय शालीन आर्ध्वीताउद्वसाय यायावरीयः । आप. औ. V. 3. 22. The com. उद्वदत्त explains यायावर as यात्वा यात्वा यत्र कचन वासीति.

1504. तस्माद्यायावरः क्षेप्यस्येक्षे । तै. सं. V. 2. 1. 7.

1505. गृहस्थाश्चतुर्विधा वार्तावृत्तिः शालीनवृत्तिर्यायावरो धोराचारिकश्चेति । वार्ता-
वृत्तिः कृषिगोरक्ष्यवाणिज्योपजीवी । शालीनवृत्तिर्नियमैर्युतः पारुष्यैरिष्टाग्निनाधाय पक्षे
पक्षे दर्शपूर्णमासयाजी चतुर्थे चतुर्थे मासेषु चातुर्मास्ययाजी षट्सु षट्सु मासेषु पशुबन्धयाजी
प्रतिसंवत्सरं सोमयाजी च । यायावरो हविर्भक्षः समिपक्षैश्च यजते याजयत्यधीते ऽध्यापयति
ददाति प्रतिशृङ्गाति षट्कर्मानिरतो नित्यमाग्निपरिचरणमतिथिभ्योऽभ्यागतेभ्योऽन्नाद्यं च कुर्वते ।
धोराचारिको नियमैर्युक्तो यजते न याजयत्यधीते नाध्यापयति ददाति न प्रतिशृङ्गाति उच्छ-
वृत्तिषुपजीवति नारायणपरायणः सायंप्रातरग्निहोत्रं कृत्वा मार्गशीर्ष-ज्येष्ठमासयोरसिधारान्नं
वनौषधिभिरग्निपरिचरणं करोति । वैखानसगृह्य VIII. 5. Vide also IV. 2 for शालीन
and यायावर. The असिधारान्नत according to the com. consists in standing
in water for tapas in मार्गशीर्ष and in the midst of five fires in ज्येष्ठ. The
असिधारान्नत is differently defined in other works. Vide नीतिशतक of भट्टहरि
verse 64 (Telang's ed.) 'प्रदानं प्रच्छन्नं...विषमभासिधारान्नतमिदम्.'

maintains itself by agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade; the second (*śālina*) observes various *niyamas* (vide Yāj. III. 313), offers *pākayajñas* (sacrifices of cooked food), kindles the *śrauta* fires, offers the *darśa* and *pūrṇamāsa* sacrifices each half month, offers *cāturmāsya*s, 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 (*śrauta* and *smārta*), and gives food to guests that come to him; the fourth (called *ghorācārīka*, 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 *Mārgaśīrṣa* 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 *Bṛhat-Parāśara* p. 290 (*Jivānanda'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, *Dakṣa* II, *Vedavyāsa* III, *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* 29-30 and 34, *Nṛsiṃha-purāṇa* 58. 45-106, *Kūrmapurāṇa* (*uttarārdha* chap. 15-16), *Laghu-Hārīta* IV. p. 183 ff (*Jivānanda*), *Dronaparva* 82, *Vanaparva* 2. 53-63, *Āśvamedhika* 45. 16-25, *Anuśāsana-parva* 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 *Gr̥hastharatnākara*, the *Āhnikatattva* of *Raghunandana*, the *Vīramitrodaya* (*Āhnikaprakāśa*), the *Smṛtimuktāphala* (*Āhnikakāṇḍa*). 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 *Anuśāsana-parva*¹⁵⁰⁶ (141. 25-26)

1506. अहिंसा सत्यवचनं सर्वभूताद्युक्तमनसम् । शमो दानं धैर्याशक्तिर्गार्हस्थ्यो धर्म उच्यते ॥ परदारब्धसंगो न्यासस्त्रीपरिरक्षणम् । अदत्तादानविरमो मधुमांसस्य वर्जनम् । एष पञ्चविधो धर्मो बृहत्शालः सुखोदयः ॥ अनुशासनपर्व 141. 25-26.

says 'shimsā, truthfulness, compassion towards all beings, quiescence, charity according to one's ability—this is the best dharma for a gr̥hastha (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 sādharmaṇa dharmas) have already been discussed above (pp. 3-11).

From very ancient times there were several ways of dividing the day. Sometimes the word 'ahah' 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 have¹⁵⁰⁷ 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. pūrvāhna (period before noon) and aparāhna (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 prāṭhasavana, mādhyandina-savana and tṛtiya-savana. Vide Rg. III. 53. 8 where these three parts of the day are mentioned when Indra comes to drink Soma for a *muhūrta* 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,¹⁵⁰⁸ viz. *prāṭah* or *udaya* (sunrise), *saṃgava*, *mādhyandina* 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 *muhūrtas*. In some *smṛtis* and *purāṇas* these five parts are mentioned and defined; e. g. in the *Prajāpatismṛti*,

1507. अहश्च कृष्णमहरजुं च विवर्ते रजसी वेद्यामिः । वैश्वानरो जायमानो न राजावातिरज्योतिषामिस्तमांसि ॥ ऋ. VI. 9. 1. This verse is explained in the *निबन्ध* II. 21 'अहश्च कृष्णं रात्रिः शुक्लं च अहरजुं नमः । &c.'

1508. उता यातं संगवे प्रातरहो मध्यन्दिन उदिता सूर्यस्य । ऋ. V. 76. 3. Here प्रातः, संगव and मध्यन्दिन are expressly named. संगव is the time of milking the cows after they return from grazing pastures to which they were taken at dawn. Vide आश्व. श्रौ. III. 12. 1-2 प्रदीवान्तो होमकालः संगवान्तः प्रातः on which the com. says 'यस्मिन्काले गावो वर्तन्ते सदासते स संगवः कालः तावत्पर्यन्तं प्रातर्होमकालः'. तस्मा उद्यन्त्यो हिङ्गुणाति संगवः मत्वौति । मध्यन्दिन उद्वापत्यपराह्णः प्रतिहरत्यस्तं यस्मिन्ननमः ॥ अथर्ववेद IX. 5. 4-5.

vv. 156-157, Matsyapurāṇa 22. 82-84, 124. 88-90, Vāyu 50. 170-174. *Vide* Aparārka p. 465 (on Yāj. I. 226) where a *śruti* passage and verses from Vyāsa are quoted about these five parts.¹⁵⁰⁹ The whole day of twenty-four hours was divided into thirty muhūrtas; *vide* Śat. Br. XII. 3. 2, 5, S. B. E. vol. 44, p. 169 where the year is said to have 10800 muhūrtas (360 x 30). The Tai. Br. III. 10. 1 gives the names of the fifteen muhūrtas of day-time, such as Citra, Ketu &c.

The Madanapārijāta p. 496 quotes Vyāsa for the fifteen parts of the day.

The smṛtis however generally divide day-time into eight parts. Dakṣa 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. Kauṭilya¹⁵¹¹ 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-Hārta 99, Laghu-Śātātapa 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, Āśvamedhika parva 90. 26-27.¹⁵¹⁴

1509. प्रातःकालो सुहृत्क्षीरसंगवस्तावदेव तु । मत्स्य 22. 82 ; रेखाभभूतयथादित्ये निरुह्य गते रवौ । भावस्तनः स्मृतः कालो भागः सोऽक्षरं पञ्चमः ॥ विष्णुपुराण quoted by कुल्लुक on मनु 3. 280.

1510. आद्यादङ्कोऽष्टभागाद्यदूर्ध्वं भागत्रयं भवेत् । स कालो व्यवहारस्य शास्त्रदृष्टो मनीषिभिः ॥ कात्यायन quoted by अपरार्क p. 601 (on Yāj. II. 1.)

1511. नाडिकाभिरष्टदशा रात्रिं च विभजेत् छायाभमाणेन वा । द्वितीये पौरजान-पदानां कार्याणि पश्येत् । अर्थशास्त्र I. 19. According to the ब्रह्मपुराण, two नाडिकाः are equal to a सुहृत् 'नाडिकाभ्यामथ द्वाभ्यां सुहृत्तौ द्विजसत्तमाः ।' The सूर्यसिद्धान्त (मध्यमाधिकार ७. 12) has 'नाडीषट्चतुर्नाक्षत्रमहोरात्रं प्रकीर्तितम् ॥'

1512. दिवसस्याष्टमे भागे मन्दोभवति भास्करः । स कालः कुतपो ज्ञेयः पितृणां वृत्तमक्षयम् ॥ वसिष्ठ XI. 36.

1513. न चिरादिव दिवसाष्टमभागमाजि स्यष्टमासि भास्वति मृते । कादम्बरी para 24.

1514. षष्ठे काले मयाहारः प्राप्तोऽयमनुजस्तव । वनपर्व 180. 16 ; षष्ठे षष्ठे तदा काले वसूव मितभोजनः । वनपर्व 293. 9.

The principal matters to be discussed under *āhnika* are: getting up from bed, *śauca* (bodily purity), *dantadhāvana* (brushing the teeth), *snāna* (bath), *saṁdhyā*, *tarpaṇa*, 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 *Sūryasiddhānta*¹⁵¹⁷ 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 *nāḍīs* (or *ghaṭikās*) before sunrise and the four *nāḍīs* after sunset are included in daytime (*dina*) 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. संख्या स्नानं जपे होमे देवतातिथिपूजनम् । आतिथ्यं वैश्वदेवं च षड् कर्माणि दिने दिने ॥ पराशर I. 39.

1516. मैत्रं प्रसाधनं स्नानं दन्तधावनमञ्जनम् । पूर्वाह्न एव कुर्वीत देवतानां च पूजनम् ॥ मनु IV. 152. मित्र is the presiding deity over the anus and so *maitra* means *mūtrapurīṣotsarga*.

1517. उद्ययादुद्यं मनोर्भूमिसावनवासरः । सूर्यसिद्धान्त (संख्यमाधिकार ४. 36.)

1518. त्रियामो रजनीं प्राहुस्त्यक्त्वाद्यन्तचतुष्टयम् । नाडीनां तदुभे संधे दिवसाद्यन्त-संज्ञिते ॥ ब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराण quoted in the आह्निकतरव p. 327 and सं. प्र. p. 81.

1519. ब्राह्मे सुहृत् सुध्येत धर्मार्थौ चातुर्चिन्तयेत् । कायक्लेशाश्च तन्मूलान्वेदतस्त्वयमेव च ॥ मनु IV. 92; ब्राह्मे सुहृत्तोरारजेः पश्चिमो यामः । ब्राह्मी भारती तत्प्रबोधहेतुत्वात् । सुहृत्-शब्दोऽत्र कालमात्रवचनः । कुल्लूक. The first half also occurs in अनुशासनपर्व 104. 16, ब्रह्मपुराण 113. 17, मार्कण्डेयपुराण 34. 17. The कूर्मपुराण as quoted in परा. मा. I. 1. p. 220-221 has almost the same verse as मनु. Compare 'गहनमपर्व-रात्रमासशुद्धिमसादाः कवय इव महीपाश्विस्तस्ययथजातम् ॥' शिशुपालवध 11. 6.

only time generally and not a period of two ghaṭikās 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. l. p. 220)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. Pītāmaha quoted in the Sm. C. (I. p. 88) says that the last watch of the night is called 'brāhma muhūrta'. 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 brahmācārīn 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'¹⁵²¹ (or abhinimrukta) to denote one who is asleep when the sun sets. The Gobhila-smṛti (in verse) I. 139 says that on getting up one should wash one's eyes. In the R̥gvidhāna it is ordained that on getting up one should wipe one's eyes with water after reciting R̥g. 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 Āhnikā-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.¹⁵²² These verses are repeated even now by some

1520. सूर्योदयात्प्रागर्धमहरे द्वौ शुद्धर्तौ तत्राद्यो ब्राह्मो द्वितीयो रौद्रः । परा. मा. I. part 1 p. 220. रात्रेश्च पश्चिमे यामे शुद्धर्तौ यस्तृतीयकः । स ब्राह्म इति विख्यातो विहितः संभोधने ॥ सुमन्तु q. in आह्निकतत्त्व p. 326 ; रात्रेस्तु पश्चिमो यामो शुद्धर्तौ ब्राह्म उच्यते । इति पितृमहस्मरणात् । स्मृतिच. I. p. 88.

1521. सूर्याभ्युदितो ब्रह्मचारी तिष्ठेद्दहशुक्लानोऽभ्यस्तमितश्च रात्रिं जपन् सावित्रीम् । गौ. 23. 21 ; 'स्वपन्नमिनिशुक्तो नाश्वान् वाग्यतो रात्रिमासीत् श्वोभूत उदकशुपस्थस्य वाचं निशुजेत् । आप. घ. सू. II. 5. 12. 13 ; वयः सुपर्णा इत्येतां जपन्वे विन्दते श्रियम् । इत्युपक्रम्य अक्षिणी मातृत्वाय निभुजीतैतथा सह । चक्षुष्मान्भवति श्रीमात्मा लक्ष्मीः मतिवाधते । इति ऋग्विधाने उक्तम् । आह्निकप्रकाश p. 19 ; वयः सुपर्णा is R̥g. X. 73. 11. This verse is explained in निरुक्त IV. 3.

1522. ब्रह्मा धुरारिञ्जिपुरान्तकारी भातुः शशी भूमेधुवो बुधश्च । शुक्रश्च शुक्रः शनि-राहुकेतवः कुर्वन्तु सर्वे मम सुप्रभातम् ॥ This is वामनपुराण 14. 23. These five are quoted in आह्निकप्रकाश p. 16, आचारमयूख p. 6, स्मृतिशु. (आह्निक) p. 210 (where they are ascribed to दक्ष).

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 Āhnikatattva (p. 327) quotes a verse to be repeated on getting up from bed in which the serpent Karkoṭaka, Damayanti, kings Nala and Rūpaṇa are remembered for removing the effects of Kali,¹⁵²⁴ and the Smṛtimuktāphala quotes a verse about Nala, Yudhiṣṭhira, Sitā and Kṛṣṇa as *punyaśloka* (singing of whose glory is holy)¹⁵²⁵. The Ācāraśatna (p. 10 a) states that one should repeat the names of certain famous and long-lived (cīrājīvins) personages viz. Aśvatthāman, Bali, Vyāsa, Hanūmān, Bibhiṣaṇa, Kṛpa, Parāśurāma and Mārkaṇḍeya and also the names of five holy women, Ahalyā, Draupadī, Sitā, Tārā and Mandodarī. Even now old men brought up in the orthodox ways repeat these names on getting up.

In some works it is said that if on getting 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).¹⁵²⁶ 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 नित्याचारपद्धति pp. 15-16, आह्निकप्रकाश p. 21. These verses viz. महाभारत, स्वर्गारोहणिक पर्व 5. 60-63, are called भारतसावित्री (in verse 64). Their first pādas are मातापितृसहस्राणि, हर्षस्थानसहस्राणि, ऊर्ध्वपादुर्वारौन्धेय, न जातु कामाक्ष भयाक्ष लोभाद्.

1524. कर्कोटकस्य नागस्य दुमयन्त्या नलस्य च । कतुपर्णस्य राजर्षेः कीर्तनं कालिनाशनम् ॥ महाभारत, वनपर्व 79. 10, quoted in आह्निकतत्त्व p. 327 and स्मृतिश्रु. (आह्निक) p. 211.

1525. पुण्यश्लोको नलो राजा पुण्यश्लोको युधिष्ठिरः । पुण्यश्लोका च वेदैही पुण्यश्लोको जनार्दनः ॥ quoted in स्मृतिश्रु. (आह्निक p. 210), आचारमयूख p. 6.

1526. These verses are from भोमिलस्मृति II. 163 and 165 (called कर्मपदीय also) quoted in आह्निकतत्त्व p. 327, आह्निकप्र. p. 22, स्मृतिश्रु. (आह्निक) p. 211. I read पापिष्ठं दुर्मनामन्यं (and not मद्यं or मर्त्यं 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) it¹⁵²⁷ 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, Yāj. I. 16-17, 134, 154, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 60. 1-26, Śaṅkha,¹⁵²⁸ 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.¹⁵²⁹ One should answer calls of nature away from a human habitation towards the south or south-west. Manu V. 126 and Yāj. 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

1527. यश्च मां पदा स्फुरति मत्पङ्क्तं सूर्यं च मेहत । तस्य वृश्चामि ते मूलं न च्छायां कारोऽपरम् ॥ अथर्व XIII. 1. 56; मेक्ष्याभ्यूर्ध्वस्तिष्ठन्मा मा हिसिपुरीश्वराः ॥ अथर्व VII. 102 (107). 1.

1528. न गोमयकुटोत्तसाद्भवलचिति-दम्भान-वल्मीकि-वल्मीखलगोष्ठानिलपर्वतधुलानेषु मेहेत क्षताचारत्वात् । सङ्ख quoted in मितान on या. I. 134.

1529. उच्चारं मेथुने चैव प्रभावे दन्तधावने । स्नाने भोजनकाले च वदस्य भौनं समाचरेत् ॥ दारित quoted in आह्निकप्रकाश p. 26. This is लघुद्वारित verse 40; अत्रि 323 is पुरीषे मेथुने होमे प्रभावे दन्तधावने । स्नानभोजनजल्येषु सदा भौनं समाचरेत् ॥

and seven to both hands, three to both feet together. This is the extent of *śauca* required for householders, and for brahmācārin, forest hermit and saṁnyāsin, twice, thrice and four times as much is required. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 17 remarks that for all āśramas 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.¹⁵²⁰ The Smṛtyarthasāra¹⁵²¹ (p. 19) following Dakṣa V. 12 says that at night only half of the *śauca* 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, śūdras, 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.¹⁵²² 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 *yajñōpavīta* should be suspended from the right ear or he should throw it on his

1520. यावत्साधिवति मन्येत तावच्छौचं विधीयते । प्रमाणं शौचसंख्यायां न सिद्धेऽपदिश्यते ॥ देवल in ग्रह. र. p. 147 and स्मृतिच० I. p. 93.

1531. Vide विश्वरूप on या. I. 17 वल्मीकास्तृत्करोत्या वा जलात् पाये कृता च वा । कृतशौचावशिष्टा च वल्मिः शौचं न विद्यते ॥; also मार्कण्डेयपुराण-34. 65-66, स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 19.

1532. अर्धप्रभृतिमात्रा तु प्रथमा श्रुतिका स्मृता । द्वितीया च तृतीया च तदधर्माभिः प्रकीर्तिता ॥ दक्ष V. 7. The first half is quoted even by विश्वरूप on या. I. 17.

back in the *nivṛta* form.¹⁵³³ According to Yāj. I. 16 the *yajñopavīta* should be suspended from the right ear only. Vanaparva 59. 2 describes that *kālī* (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 *śauca*. Śauca is according to Gaut. VIII. 24 one of the *ātmagunās*. Even the Rg. (in VII. 56. 12 and other verses) appears to emphasize cleanliness (*śucitva*).¹⁵³⁴ According to Hārīta 'śauca is the first path to *dharma*, it is the resting place of brahma (Veda), the abode of *śrī* (prosperity), the means of clearing (or soothing) the mind, the favourite of gods, the means of realizing the *Ātman* and the awakener of intelligence.'¹⁵³⁵ According to Baud. Dh. S. III. 1. 26, Hārīta, Dakṣa V. 3 and Vyāghrapāda (quoted in Sm. C. I. p. 93) śauca is of two kinds,¹⁵³⁶ *bāhya* (outward) and *āntara* or *ābhyantara* (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 *artha* (i. e. of the vessels and things to be used in all matters) and of *śarīra* (cf. one's body); Hārīta divides *ābhyantara* into five, *mānasa* (mental), *cākṣuṣa* (of the eye i. e. not looking at things that should not be looked at), *ghrāṇya* (of the nose), *vācya* (of speech), *svādya* (of the tongue). According to a verse quoted by Haradatta on Gaut. VIII. 24 śauca 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 (Jivānanda p. 632) speaks of five kinds of śauca 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, Atri v. 31 and others there are twelve *malas* (filthy exudations or impurities) of the human body, viz. fat, semen, blood, marrow, urine, faeces, mucus of the nose, ear-wax, phlegm, tears,

1533. अङ्गिरा अपि । कृत्वा यज्ञोपवीतं तु धृततः कण्ठलम्बितम् । विष्णुत्रं तु गृहीतुं यद्वा कर्णे समाहितः । कर्णे निधानमेकवक्त्रविषयम् । तथा च सारूप्यायनशुद्धम् । यद्येकवक्त्रो यज्ञोपवीतं कर्णे कृत्वा मूत्रपुरीषोत्सर्गं कुर्यात् इति । स्मृतिच. I. p. 89. Vide शाङ्खायनशुद्ध IV. 12. 22 (S. B. E. vol 29 p. 126).

1534. शुची वो ह्ययः मरुतः शुचीनां शुचिं हि नोऽप्यधरं शुचिभ्यः । ऋतेन सत्यश्रुतसाय आयच्छुचिजन्मानः शुचयः पावकाः ॥ ऋ. VII. 56. 12.

1535. तत्र द्वासीतः । शौचं नाम धर्मादिपथो ब्रह्मायतनं शिष्योपिवासो मनसः प्रसादनं देवानां मिथं शरीरे क्षेत्रदर्शनं शुद्धिमनोधनम् । गृह. र. p. 522.

1536. शौचं च द्विविधं शौकं बाह्यमाभ्यन्तरं तथा । मूत्रलास्यां स्मृतं बाह्यं भावशुद्धिस्तथाभ्यन्तरम् ॥ दक्ष V. 3 and व्यासपाद.

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 (*ganḍūṣa*) of water (vide *Smṛtimuktāphala*, *śhnika* 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 *ācamana*.¹⁵³⁷ A good deal has been said about *ācamana* above (pp. 315-316) under *upanayana*. *Ācamana* (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 tīrtha* described above (n. 750). The word *tīrtha* 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.¹⁵³⁸ 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, *Dakṣa* II. 18). Some works like the *Śātyāyanakalpa* and *Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha* quoted by *Viśvarūpa* on *Yāj. I.* 19 name five *tīrthas* 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 *pārameṣṭhya* (the centre of the right palm). The *Pār. gr. parīṣiṣṭa* names the above five, except that it substitutes the name *āgneya* for *pārameṣṭhya*. The *Śāṅkha-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 *āgneya* (centre of the palm) and the sixth being *ūrṣa* (the roots and tips of all fingers together). According to some, *daiva tīrtha* means the tips of the fingers and the centre of the palm is either *saumya* or *āgneya*. According to *Hārīta* the

1537. तत्र हस्तौ पादौ प्रक्षाल्य यज्ञोपवीती शुद्धं मूत्रं पादौ मतिष्ठान् यक्षकच्छशिक्षः
पुष्करिकाक्षमिष्टदेवतां स्मृत्या मन्त्रतिस्थं फेनशुद्धं द्रवहितं संहतान्जुलिपाणिनाऽम्बुं ग्रहीत्वाऽङ्गु-
लकनिष्ठिके शुक्त्वा शेषं वीक्षितं ननुतार्थेन त्रिचतुर्वारं समाहितः पिबेत् । स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 20.

1538. तैर्यमिति च दक्षिणहस्तेऽवतारदेवतानामयेयम् । लोकेषु दुकाचवतारे तीर्थ-
शब्दः प्रसिद्धः । तानि च विशेषकार्यापेक्षिकत्वात् स्मृत्यर्थं देवताभिरुपायन्ते । विष्णुस्मृ. on
सं. I. 19.

daiva ¹⁵³⁹ tīrtha is to be used in mārjana, worship of gods, offering of *bali* and in *bhojana*; the kāya tīrtha is to be employed in lāja-homa (homa of fried grain) and daily homa, the pīṭya in all rites for dead ancestors. Touching the kamaṇḍalu (water jar), eating curds and fresh products of the fields (navāṇṇa) are to be done with the saumya tīrtha (Smṛtyarthasāra p. 20). When there is difficulty of getting water and an occasion for purification by ācamana arises, one should touch one's right ¹⁵⁴⁰ 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 ¹⁵⁴¹). The first of these four is the method usually followed now by most brāhmanas.

Danta-dhāvana (brushing the teeth).

Danta-dhāvana comes after śauca and ācamana and before snāna (bath). *Vide* Yāj. I. 98 and Dakṣa II. 6. The practice of daily danta-dhāvana has existed in India from the most ancient times. The Tai. S. ¹⁵⁴² (II. 5. 1. 7) when enumerating the actions which a *rajasvalā* (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 aṅga (a subordinate

1539. तत्र दारीतः । मार्जनार्चनवलिकर्मभोजनानि देवेन दीर्घेन कुर्वात् । इति । देवं तीर्थमङ्गुल्यग्रम् । स्मृतिच. I. p. 226.

1540. आपत्सु नैमित्तिककर्माङ्गाचमनस्थाने अवगम्यस्पर्शनं स्वाम्मनःशुद्धयर्थम् । स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 21.

1541. आपस्तम्बस्मृतौ । आदौ पौराणिकं प्रोक्तं स्मार्तमागममेव च । औत्त चतुर्विधं श्राद्धरात्र्यां ब्रह्मवादिनः ॥ अच्युताद्यैः समाचारमेकेशवाच्येस्तु नामभिः । अङ्गानां स्पर्शनं कुर्वादेतत्पौराणिकं मतम् ॥ स्मृतिश्रु. (आङ्गिक) p. 221.

1542. या दतो धावते तस्यै व्यावद्व्य । तै. सं. II. 5. 1. 7.

constituent part) of bath or morning prayer.¹⁵⁴³ Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 8. 5 forbids¹⁵⁴⁴ 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 (*ibid.* I. 3. 11. 10-12).¹⁵⁴⁵ The brahmacārin 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 dantadhāvana 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 Gobhilasmṛti¹⁵⁴⁶ (which is also called Chandoga-pariśiṣṭa 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.'¹⁵⁴⁷ Therefore the same mantra is to be employed every day after samāvartana. In some of the digests (like the Āhnikaprakāśa

1543. अत्र संख्यायां ज्ञाने च दन्तधावनस्य नाङ्गत्वम् । सुखे पशुष्विते नित्यं भवत्य-
प्रयतो नरः । तस्मात्सर्वप्रयत्नेन भक्षयेदन्तधावनम् ॥ इति वृद्धशातातप्यवचनेन स्वतन्त्रस्यैव
शुद्धिहेतुयामिधानात् । आह्निकप्रकाश p. 121; the verse सुखे पशुष्विते is लघु-
शातातप्य 74.

1544. स्वैरिकर्मसु च यथा दन्तप्रक्षालनोत्सादनावलेखनानीति । आप. घ.
I. 2. 8. 4-5; vide आप. घ. सू. I. 3. 11. 10-11 for the same words followed
by तावन्तं कालं नाधीयीताव्यापयेद्वा.

1545. खट्वाशयनदन्तधावनप्रक्षालनाज्जनीयज्जनोपानच्छत्रवर्जी । वसिष्ठ VII. 15.

1546. दन्तान् प्रक्षाल्य नथादौ गृहे चेतदमन्त्रवत् । नारदायुक्तवार्क्षी यदष्टाङ्गुलम्
पादितम् । सत्त्वं च दन्तकाष्ठं स्यात्तदग्रेण मधावयेत् ॥ ... परिजप्य च मन्त्रेण भक्षयेदन्त-
धावनम् ॥ आयुर्वेले पशो वर्चः प्रजां पशून् वसूनि च । नद्धा प्रज्ञां च मेधां च त्वं नो देहि वन-
स्पते ॥ गोमिलस्मृति I. 137-140. This मन्त्र is quoted by the मिता० on याज्ञ.
I. 98 and by almost all digests on धर्मशास्त्र.

1547. औदुम्बरेण दन्तान्धावेत् । अजाद्याय स्यूहर्षं सोमो राजायमागमत् । स मे सुखं
प्रमादयति पशसा च भगेन च । इति । दन्तप्रक्षालनादीनि नित्यम् । पारस्कर II. 6.
The मन्त्र 'अजाद्याय' occurs in आप. स. पा. II. 7. 19 with variations.
सोम is the king of plants and hence the *udumbara* twig is called 'this
king Soma'.

pp. 121-122) it is stated that that mantra may be employed by the students of the Śukla Yajurveda, while those who study the Gobhila gr̥hya 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 vaṭa, asana, arka, khadira, karañja, badara, sarja, nimba, arimeda, apāmārga, mālatī, kakubha, bilva, āmra (mango), punnāga, śirīṣa and further the twig must be astringent, pungent or bitter in taste and not sweet or sour.¹⁵⁴⁸ Vide Bṛhat-Sambitā of Varāhamihira chap. 85, Laghu-Hārīta (Jivānanda 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 palāśa,¹⁵⁴⁹ śleṣmātaka, ariṣṭa, vibhītaka, dhava, bandhūka, nirgudī, śīgru, tilva, tinduka, inguda, guggulu, śamī, pīlu, 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 *āṅgulas* in length and it should be washed before its use and after using it 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 *āṅgulas* in length or a

1548. वटासनार्काखादिरकरजद्वसर्जनिष्कारिमेदापामार्गमालतीकुम्भिल्वानामप्यतमम् । कषायं तिक्तं कटुकं च । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 61. 14-15; आश्रमालाशिल्वानामपामार्गशिरीषयोः । खादिरस्य करजस्य कदम्बरस्य तथैव च ॥ अर्कस्य करवीरस्य कुटजस्य विशेषतः ॥ वाग्यतः मातृव्याय मक्षयेदन्तधावनम् ॥ माण्डूकीशिक्षा of अथर्ववेद (ed. by Bhagavad-datta, Lahore) IV. 1-2; सर्वे कण्टकिनः पुण्याः क्षीरिष्यश्च यशस्विनः । नारद; आश्रयुक्तागन्धिल्वानामपामार्गशिरीषयोः । मक्षयेत् मातृव्याय वाग्यतो दन्तधावनम् । अङ्गिरसः । All these are quoted in the स्मृतिच० I. pp. 105-106 and other digests. 'सर्वे कण्टकिनः ... यशस्विनः' is वृत्तिहपुराण 58. 49.

1549. पालाशमासनं पादुके दन्तधावनमिति च वर्जयेत् । गौतम IX. 44, आप. घ. सू. I. 11. 32. 9 (reads दन्तधालनं), वसिष्ठ XII. 34., बौ. घ. सू. II. 3. 30.

span in length (prādeśa); Garga (quoted in Sm. C. I. p. 105) says that the twig should be 10, 9, 8, 7 or 4 aṅgulas 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 Laghu-Hārīta (Jivānanda I. p. 183) and Nṛsimhapurāṇa 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-purāṇa 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 water¹⁵⁵¹. Paiṭhīnasi (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 (Āhnika-prakāśa, 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 (Smṛtyarthasāra p. 25). Viṣṇu¹⁵⁵² Dh. S. 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. यदाह वृक्षयाश्वत्थः । इष्टकालोदपाषाणैरितराङ्गुलिभिस्तदा । शुक्त्वा चानामिकाङ्गुलौ न कुप्यद्वन्तधावनम् ॥ स्मृतिच. I. p. 106 ; vide लघुशातातय v. 73.

1551. प्रतिपत्तर्वषट्तिष्ठ नवम्यां चैव सप्तमाः । दन्तानां काष्ठसंयोगाद्दहत्या सप्तमं कुलम् ॥ अभावे दन्तकाष्ठानां प्रतिपिच्छदिनेषु च । अपां द्वादशगणद्वयैश्चसञ्चिद्धिं समाचरेत् । लघुहारीत, दृष्टिहपुराण 58. 50-52 ; vide लघुवाचस्पलायन I. 14-15, स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 25 ; अश्वत्थसप्तमं 127. 4 condemns the use of a twig on the new moon day.

1552. आतर्जुत्वा च यतवाग्भक्षयेद्वन्तधावनम् ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 61. 16 ; एतेन आतःकाले भोजनोत्तरे दन्तलक्षणनिर्हरणार्थं भोजने दन्तलक्षणानि निर्हृत्याचमनं चरोदिति देवलस्वरसाक्षि-क्षमपि दन्तधावनं कार्यम् । आह्निकम्. p. 125. The अष्टाङ्गसंग्रह I. 3 also recommends this 'आतर्जुत्वा च यतवाग्भक्षयेद्वन्तधावनम् ॥'. 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 dantakāṣṭha 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 yajñopavīta, it becomes useless and brings no reward here or in the next world' (quoted in Kṛtyaratnākara p. 47). Śātātapa¹⁵⁵³ says 'in japa, homa, dāna, svādhyāya (study of the Veda) or in pītṛtarpaṇa one should have in his hand gold, silver and kuśas'. One should have at the time of ācamana &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 darśa day (new moon) in the month of Śrāvapa and the darbhas so collected are never stale and may be used again and again¹⁵⁵⁴. 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 (Smṛtyarthasāra 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 kutapas and those the tips of which are cut off are called tṛṇa¹⁵⁵⁵ (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 pākayajñas, they should be with roots when used in rites for the pītṛs and variegated when used in vaiśva-deva. Those darbhas that were held in the hand at the time of offering piṇḍas to the dead or in śrāddhas or in pītṛtarpaṇa or at the time of urination or voiding faeces should be thrown away (Smṛtyarthasāra p. 37). If kuśa grass is not available, then kāsa or dūrvā may be employed instead.

1553. शातातपः । जपे होमे तथा दाने स्वाध्याये पितृतर्पणे । अशुभं तु करं कुर्यात्कु-
र्णरजतैः कुशैः ॥ स्मृतिच. I. p. 108 ; vide स्मृत्यर्थसार for a similar verse. अत्र
चत्वारः पक्षाः । हस्तद्वये दर्भधारणम् । हस्तद्वये पवित्रधारणं दक्षिणे पवित्रं वामे कुशा दक्षिण
पवित्रमयमिति । आचाररत्न p. 24 b. Vide गोमिहस्मृति I. 28 quoted by अपरार्क
pp. 43 and 480.

1554. मासे नमस्यमावास्या तस्यां दुर्भोज्यो मतः । अयातयामास्ते दुर्भा निषोभ्याः
स्युः पुनः पुनः ॥ हारीत quoted in स्मृतिच. I. p. 107. Vide स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 36,
लेखितस्मृति v. 41, मरीचि quoted in कृत्यरत्नाकर p. 67.

1555. अमशुताः रभुता दुर्भाः मशुतारु कुशाः रभुताः । सशूलाः कुतपाः धोकाश्लिषा-
(भारतुमसंज्ञिताः ॥ ब्रह्महारीत VII. 44 ; this is quoted as कौशिक's in स्मृतिच
• I p. 103.) and as of कात्यायन in स्मृतिच. (आह्निक p. 231.)

The subject of snāna can be treated from various points of view. Snāna ¹⁵⁵⁶ is either *mukhya* (principal) or *gaṇa* (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 ¹⁵⁵⁷ have to bathe in or with water every day the whole body together with the head also (Baud. Dh. S. II. 4. 4, Manu II. 176 and IV. 82) and *dvijātis* have to do it with Vedic mantras. This is *nitya*. This 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 seen and unseen (i. e. spiritual) results 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 brahmacārins, 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 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

1556. स्नानं तु द्विविधं प्रोक्तं गणशुद्धयभेदतः । तयोस्तु वारणं मुख्यं तद्युनः षड्विधं भवेत् ॥ नित्यं नैमित्तिकं काम्यं क्रियाङ्गं सत्कथणम् । क्रियास्नानं तथा षष्ठं चोदा स्नानं प्रकीर्तितम् ॥ quoted by अपरार्क p. 127, मद्. पा. 236, स्मृतिच० I. p. 110, गृह. र. pp. 200-201, परा. मा. I. 1. p. 268. The 2nd verse is शुद्धस्मृति VIII. 1.

1557. अपोवगाहनं ज्ञानं विहितं सार्ववर्णिकम् । मन्त्रवत्प्रोक्षणं चापि द्विजातीनां विशिष्यते ॥ चौ. ध. सू. II. 4. 4; स्नानं च सर्ववर्णानां कार्यं शौचपुरःसारम् । समन्त्रक द्विजानां स्वात्मशुद्ध्याणाममन्त्रकम् ॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 26.

1558. अस्नानस्तु युमाजार्हो जप्याग्निहवनादियुः । प्रातःस्नानं तदर्थं च नित्यस्नानं प्रकीर्तितम् ॥ शुद्ध VIII. 2 quoted in अपरार्क p. 127.

1559. अत्यन्तमलिनः कायो नवच्छिद्रसमन्वितः । अवत्येष दिवा राज्ञी प्रातःस्नानं विशेषनम् । प्रातःस्नानं प्रशंसन्ति दृष्टादृष्टकरं हि तत् । सर्वमर्हति शुद्धात्मा प्रातःस्नानं जपादिकम् ॥ दृष्ट II. 7 and 9 quoted in अपरार्क p. 125 and स्मृतिच. I. p. 111.

1560. प्रातर्मध्याह्नयोः स्नानं धानप्रस्थगृहस्थयोः । यतेस्त्रिवर्णं प्रोक्तं सकृत् सङ्ग-चारिणः ॥ दृष्ट quoted in स्मृतिच० I. p. 181 and स्मृत्यर्थसार. p. 26; उभे संध्ये तु स्नानस्य नास्ति नैस्तु गृहाग्निर्होतुः । तिसृष्वपि च संध्यासु स्नानस्य च तपस्विभिः ॥ योगिवाक्य-धत्तव quoted in गृह. 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 brahmacārīn, 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 ¹⁵⁶¹ Dh. S. 64. 8). Gobhila-smṛti (II. 24) says that ¹⁵⁶² 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 mādhyāhna (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, kuśas, sesame and sandalwood paste ¹⁵⁶³. 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 ¹⁵⁶⁴. Night means specially the two middle watches (Manu IV. 129, Kullūka thereon and Parāśara XII. 27).

1561. प्रातःस्नानं यथाकृच्छ्रं प्राचीनलोके स्नायात् । विष्णुव. सू. 64. 8; उषस्त्रयसि यत्स्नानं संख्यायामुदितेऽपि वा । प्राजापत्येन तदुत्थं सर्वपापप्रणाशनम् ॥ चतुर्विंशतिमत् । both quoted by the स्मृतिच० I. p. 111.

1562. अल्पत्वाद्धोमकालस्य बहुत्वात्स्नानं कर्मणः । मातर्न तदुत्थात्स्नानं होमलोपो विगर्हितः ॥ गोमिल II. 24, quoted in स्मृतिच० I. p. 111.

1563. चतुर्थेऽहस्तथा भागे ज्ञानार्थं शुद्धमाहरेत् । तिलपुष्पकुशादींश्च ज्ञायाच्चाकृत्रिमे जले ॥ दक्ष II. 43; ततो मध्याह्नसमये ज्ञानार्थं शुद्धमाहरेत् । पुष्पाक्षतान्कुशतिलान् गोमयं गन्धमेव च ॥ लघुव्यास II. 9 (Jivānanda, part 2). The first is quoted in स्मृतिच० I. p. 181 and by अपरार्क p. 128 and the 2nd in परा. मा. I. 1. p. 269.

1564. अस्तमिते च ज्ञानम् (वर्जयेत्) ॥ आप. घ. सू. I. 11. 32. 8, बौ. घ. सू. II. 3. 29; राहुदर्शनसंक्रातिविवाहात्पयवृद्धिषु । ज्ञानदानादिकं कुर्वन्निशि काश्यपतेषु च ॥ देवल quoted by अपरार्क pp. 135, 229, स्मृतिच० I. pp. 120, 229; vide पराशर 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 effect¹⁵⁶⁵. Naimittika and kāmya 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 reservoir¹⁵⁶⁶) 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 Baud. 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 (*rajasvatī* is used in a double sense) one should not bathe in them in those months, except in rivers that

1565. ज्ञानं तु वद्वितमेन तथैव परवारिणा ॥ शरीरशुद्धिर्विशेषा न तु ज्ञानफलं लभेत् । शङ्ख VIII. 9-10 ; वृथा ततोदकं ज्ञानं वृथा जाप्यमवैदिकम् । वृथा रतमभुजस्य वृथा शुक्रमसामिकम् ॥ दक्ष IV. 64. The first is quoted in स्मृतिच. I. p. 128.

1566. निरुद्धासु न कुर्षीरक्षंशमाकृतन सेतुकृत् । तस्मात्परकृतान्तेदूर कूपान्श्च परिवर्जयेत् ॥ उद्ग्रह्य वापि त्रीन्यिष्टान्कुर्षादापत्सु नो सदा । निरुद्धासु तु द्युत्पिष्टान्कूपान्कीन-चर्दोस्तथा ॥ बौ. ध. सू. II. 3. 7 and 9. Vide शुद्धयस्त्राकार p. 195 for explanation.

directly reach the sea.¹⁵⁶⁷ But even in these months one may bathe in muddy rivers at the time of upākarma or utsarga, 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.¹⁵⁶⁸

The actual bath is described differently in different sūtras, smṛtis and digests. Gobhila-smṛti (I. 137) says¹⁵⁶⁹ 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 removed¹⁵⁷⁰ 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 ṣṭhā' (Rg. X. 9. 1-3), with the four verses 'hiranyavarṇāḥ' (Tai. S. V. 6. 1. 1-2) and with the verse 'idamāpaḥ pravahata' (Rg. I. 23. 22 or X. 9. 8). Then while still plunged in water he should thrice mutter the Aghamaṣaṇa hymn (Rg. X. 190. 1-3, ṛtam ca satyam &c.) or he may mutter 'tad viṣṇoḥ paramam padam' (Rg. I. 22. 20) or the Drupadā Sāvitrī verse (Vāj. S. 20. 20) or the anuvāka beginning with 'yuñjate mana' (Rg. V. 81. 1-5) or the Puruṣasūkta (Rg. X. 90. 1-16). 'Having bathed he should, with his garment still wet, perform *tarpaṇa* of gods and Manes while still in the water. But if he has changed his clothes, then he may do it (*tarpaṇa*) after

1567. मासद्वयं आषाढादि सर्वा मयो रजस्वलाः । तासु स्नानं न कुर्यात् वर्जयित्वा सङ्क्रमाः ॥ घृष्टः स हस्त्राप्यष्टौ च गतिर्वासां न विद्यते । न ता नदीशब्दवद्वा गतोस्ते एतन्कीर्तिताः ॥ उपोषाकर्माणि चोत्सर्गं भेतस्नाने तथैव च । चन्द्रसूर्यग्रहे चैव रजोदोषो न विद्यते ॥ गोभिलस्मृति I. 141-143, quoted by अपरार्क p. 135, स्मृतिचन्द्र I. pp. 130-131, गृह. र. 197-198 &c. अपरार्क p. 905 quotes a smṛti that a dhanus is equal to 96 āṅgulas and that 2000 bows are equal to one *krośa*.

1568. उद्बुधोऽभिमन्त्रयन् पुण्यं स्थावरत्नसम्पत्तं तस्माज्जादेयं तस्मादपि साधुपरिपृष्टीतं सर्वत्र एव गाङ्गा । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 64. 17.

1569. यथाहनि तथा प्रातर्निर्यं आयादनातुरः । दन्ताम्भेसात्थ नद्यादौ गृहे चैतद्वन्त्रवत् ॥ गोभिल I. 137; vide गृह. र. p. 179 for explanation.

1570. भुजोयैः कुतललापकथेभिः निमज्ज्यापो हि डेति तिसृभिर्हिरण्यवर्णा इति चतसृभिर्दिग्भाषः भवद्वेति चतुर्थमभिमन्त्रयेत् । ततोऽप्यु निमज्जतिरथमर्घ्यं जपेत् । तद्विष्णोः परमं पदमिति वा । भुपदां सावित्री वा । युञ्जते मन इत्युक्त्वा वा । शुक्लसूक्तं वा । आतश्चार्द्रवासा देवपितृतर्पणमन्त्रैः स्थ एव कुर्यात् परिवर्तितवासाश्चेत्तर्पितुं कुर्यात् । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 64. 18-24.

coming out of the water'. Even now many brāhmanas mutter the Puruṣasūkta while bathing. Śāṅkha-smṛti (IX) has a brief description of snāna which consists in invoking water, then mārjana with the three verses (āpo hi sṭhā), then repeating certain Vedic verses like 'hiranya-varṇāḥ', 'śan-no devīr', 'śam na āpaḥ' (Atharvaveda I. 6. 1 and 4) and thrice repeating Agha-marṣaṇa. Vide Madanapārijāta pp. 270-271, Gr. R. pp. 206-208 and Par. M. I. 1. pp. 274-275 where the whole of Śāṅkha (IX) is quoted. The Snānasūtra¹⁵⁷¹ of Kātyāyana says "Now then will be treated the daily obligatory bath in a river and the like. Having fetched loose earth, cowdung, 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 yajñopavita, he should perform ācamana and invoke the water with the verse 'urum hi' (Rg. I. 24. 8 = Vāj. S. 8. 23), stir it (with his thumb) with the verses 'ye te śatam' (vide Par. gr. I. 2). He should fill his joined hands with water with the verse 'sumitriyā naḥ' (Vāj. S. VI. 22) and should cast it on the ground with the verse 'durmitriyā' (Vāj. S. VI. 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 smear his body with loose earth. Facing the sun with the verse 'idam viṣṇur' (Rg. I. 22. 17 = Vāj. S. 5. 15), he should dive into the water and bathe with the verse 'āpo asmān' (Rg. X. 17. 10 = Vāj. S. IV. 2), then raise up his body with the mantra 'ud-id-ābhyah' (Vāj. S. IV. 2), again dip into water and again raise his head out of the water, perform ācamana and smear his body with cowdung with the mantra 'mā nastoke.' (Rg. I. 114. 1 = Vāj. S. 16. 16). Then he should bathe with the

1571. अथातो नित्यस्नानं नद्यादौ । शुद्धमथकुशतिलसुमनस आहुत्योदकान्तं गत्वा शुचौ देशे स्थाप्य मक्षाल्य पाणिपादं कुशोपग्रहो बद्धशिक्षी यज्ञोपवीत्याचम्योरं हीति तोयमा-
मज्ज्यापतयेद्ये ते शतमिति । सुमित्रया न हत्यपीऽञ्जलिनादाय दुर्मित्रया इति द्वेष्यं प्रति
निषिञ्चेत् । कटिं वस्त्रपृष्ठजङ्घे चरणौ करौ शुद्धा त्रिभिः मक्षाल्याचम्य नमस्योदकमालमेदङ्गानि
शुद्धं विष्णुरिति स्यामिसुखो निमज्जेदापो अस्मानिति स्नात्वोदकाभ्य इत्युन्मज्य निमज्ज्यो-
न्मज्ज्याचम्य गोमयेन त्रिलम्बेन्मा नस्तोक इति । ततोभिषिञ्चेद्विंशं मे वरुणोति चतसृभिर्माषि
उडुचमं सुञ्जलववशुथेत्यन्ते चैतजिमज्ज्यान्मज्ज्याचम्य दुर्मैः पावयेदापो द्विष्टोति तिसृभिरिदमापो
होविष्मतीर्देवीराय इति द्वाभ्यामपो देवा मुपदादिव राज्ञो देवीरपो रसमपो देवीः पुनन्तु मेति
नवभिश्चित्यतिर्मर्योकारेण व्याहृतिर्माषाययी चादावन्ते चान्तर्जलऽयमर्थं त्रिरावर्तयेद्
मुपदादिवायं गौरिति वा वृचं प्राणायामं वा साशिरसोमिति वा विष्णोर्वा स्मरणम् ॥ कात्यायनोऽयं
स्नानसूत्र. ग्रह. र. (pp. 208-211) quotes this and explains some portion and
differs from a Bhāṣya thereon.

four mantras 'imam me Varuṇa' (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 ācamana and sprinkle with darbha blades his body with the nine verses, viz. the three beginning with 'āpo hi sṭhā' (Rg. X. 9. 1-3 = Vāj. S. 11. 50-52), 'idam-āpaḥ' (Vāj. S. VI. 17), with the two verses 'haviṣmatīr' (Vāj. S. VI. 23) and 'devīrāpaḥ' (Vāj. S. I. 12), 'apo devāḥ' (Vāj. S. X. 1), 'drupadād-iva' (Vāj. S. 20. 20), 'śan-no devīr' (Vāj. S. 36. 12), 'apām rasam' (Vāj. S. 9. 3), 'āpo devīḥ', and 'punantu mā'. Then he should repeat thrice, while diving in water, the Aghamaṛṣaṇa hymn (Rg. X. 190. 1-3) preceded by the mantra 'cit patir-mā' (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. 6) or he should perform prāṇāyāma with the śiras (viz. āpo jyotī 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 ācamana and then prāṇāyāma thrice".¹⁵⁷²

Yogi-Yājñavalkya quoted by Aparārka and other works says that when a man is unable to perform the elaborate snāna described by himself and others, he should engage only in this; he should invoke the water, then perform ācamana, then mārjana (sprinkling water on body with kuśa blades) and then snāna and muttering of Aghamaṛṣaṇa (Rg. X. 190.1-3)¹⁵⁷³ thrice. The Gr. R. (pp. 215-217) quotes the method of snāna according to the Padmapurāṇa and the Nṛsiṃhapurāṇa 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 Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 28) also gives a brief procedure of snāna.

1572. उत्तीर्य चैते वाससी परिधाय शुद्धो करौ भक्षालयाचम्य त्रिराचम्यक्ष्वत् ।
कात्यायनीयज्ञानध्व 2.

1573. योऽसौ विस्तरतः प्रोक्तः स्नानस्य विधिश्चतस्रः । अस्नामन्त्यर्था कुर्वीजेतत्रायं विधि-
चक्षते ॥ ज्ञानमन्तर्जले चैव मार्जनाचमने तथा । जलाभिमन्त्रणं चैव तीर्थस्य परिकल्पनम् ॥
अथमर्पणद्वारेण त्रिरावृत्तेन नित्यतः । ज्ञानाचरणमित्येतत्समुद्दिष्टं महात्मभिः ॥ योगियाज्ञ-
वल्क्य quoted by अपरार्क p. 134, ग्रह. र. p. 212 (where it is explained).

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.¹⁵⁷⁴

The earth to be employed (like soap) for cleansing the body was to be obtained from a pure place and not from an¹⁵⁷⁵ 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 'āsvakrānte¹⁵⁷⁶ &c.' Laghu-Hārīta (v. 70-71) says 'earth secured after digging eight *āṅgulas* 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.¹⁵⁷⁷

Bathing with water is divided into six varieties by Śāṅkha *smṛti* (VIII. 1-11), Agnipurāṇa 155. 3-4 and others, viz. *nitya*, *naimittika*, *kāmya*, *kriyāṅga*, *malāpakarṣaṇa* (or *abhyāṅga-snāna*),

1574. सङ्कलितौ । अनन्यं अनन्यः स्नायात्तावमेवेत नोद्धर्ष्यं कुर्यात् पादेन पाणिना वा जलमतिहन्त्यास्मादापो वै सर्वा देवताः । गृहस्थरत्नाकर p. 191-192; vide वसिष्ठ VI. 36-37 न पादेन पाणिना वा जलमतिहन्त्यात् । न जलेन जलम् ॥ .

1575. भुजिकाः सप्त न ग्राह्या वल्मीकान्मूषकरश्चत् । अन्तर्जलाश्च मान्गन्ताश्च वृक्षभूलाश्चरालपाश्च ॥ परशौचावशिष्टा च अयस्कामैः सर्वा बुधैः । क्षुधिदेशात् संग्राह्या भुजिका स्नानहेतवे ॥ दृक् II. 44-45. Vide शातातप quoted by गृह. र. p. 188 and परा. मा. I. part 1 p. 271. Vide अत्रि 321-322 for the seven kinds of earth to be avoided.

1576. The verses अश्वक्रान्ते are दृक् II. 46-47 and occur in तै. आ. X. 1, the मत्स्यपुराण 102. 10-12. Vide स्मृतिच. I. p. 183.

1577. क्षुणा दृक् स्नानशीलं भजन्ते बलं रूपं स्वरवर्णमञ्जुभिः । स्पर्शश्च मन्त्रश्चिह्नश्च । अथ लौकिकार्थं मन्त्राश्च नार्थः ॥ उद्योगपर्व 37. 33. दृक् II. 13 is similar which occurs also in स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 25.

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 cāṇḍāla, 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. 38, Manu V. 85 and 103, Yāj. III. 30, Laghu-Āśvalāyana 20. 24). According to Manu V. 144, Śaṅkha-smṛti 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. 15. 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 Bauddhas, Pāsupatas, Jainas, Lokāyatikas, atheists, dvijātis 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. पुत्रजन्मनि यज्ञे च तथा चात्ययकर्मणि । राहोश्च दर्शने दानं भस्मर्तुं नान्यदा निशि ॥ पराशर XII. 26.

1579. पतितचण्डालस्यैकोदर्वयाशवस्युदितस्युद्विग्नस्यैव स चैकोदकोपस्पर्शना-
च्छुभ्येत् । शवाद्युभये च ॥ गौ. 14. 28-29 ; सपिण्डभरणे चैव पुत्रजन्मनि वै तथा । ज्ञानं
नैमित्तिकं शस्त्रं भवदग्निं महर्षयः ॥ लघुआश्वलायन 20. 24.

1580. ब्रुःस्वमे मैथुने वान्ते विरिक्ते क्षुरकर्मणि । जितयूपश्मशानास्वर्वा स्पर्शमे स्नान-
माचरेत् ॥ पराशर quoted in मिता० on या. III. 30, which is slightly different
from the printed पराशर XII. 1.; क्षुरकर्मणि वान्ते च क्षीसंभोगे च पुत्रक । छापीत
चैलवान्मासः कटसूत्रिभ्युपेत्य च ॥ मार्कण्डेयपुराण 34. 82-83; vide Baud. Dh. S. I. 5.
52 for a verse similar to पराशर's.

1581. शैवान्पाण्डुपेतान् स्पृष्ट्वा लोकापतिकानास्तिकान् । विकर्मस्थानं द्विजान् शूद्रांस्त-
वासा जलमावेशेत् ॥ ब्रह्माण्डपुराण quoted in मिता० on या. III. 30.; स्पृष्टेच
I. p. 118 quotes बद्धिज्ञानत reading 'बौद्धाश्च पाण्डुपताञ्जैवान् लोकापतिक-
कापितान् । विक स्पृष्ट्वा सवासा जलमावेशेत्'.

several birds (like the crow) and animals (like the cock and village hog), which are passed over for want of space.

Kāmya-snāna ¹⁵⁸² (bath for some desired object) is that which is taken when one goes to a tirtha (a sacred place) or when there is some astrological conjunction like the moon being in the constellation of *puṣya* (vide Śaṅkhaśmṛti VIII. 4) or when one bathes in the morning in the two months of Māgha and Phālguna 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*. ¹⁵⁸³

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 *malāpakarṣaka* or *abhyāṅga-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 tithis 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 (āmālaka) at the time of bath except on the 7th and 9th tithis and on parva days. ¹⁵⁸⁴ 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 Śaṅkhaśmṛti IX. that is called *kriyā-snāna*. ¹⁵⁸⁵

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. पुष्पस्नानादिकं स्नानं देवज्ञाविधिचोदितम् । तद्धि काम्यं सप्तद्विधं नाकाम-
स्तत्परोजयेत् ॥ सङ्ख VIII. 4.

1583. इष्टापूर्तक्रियार्थं यत् क्रियाङ्गं स्नानमुच्यते । स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 27; मलापकर्ष-
णार्थं तु स्नानमभ्यङ्गपूर्वकम् । मलापकर्षणार्थाय भवतिस्तस्य नामयथा ॥ सङ्ख VIII. 6.

1584. श्रीकामस्तु सदा स्नानं सुर्वीतमलकैर्नरः । सप्तमीं नवमीं चैव पर्यकारं च
वर्जयेत् ॥ मार्कण्डेय quoted in स्मृतिचन्द्र I. p. 123.

1585. स्नानमेव फलं तीर्थे क्रियारनानं तदुच्यते । स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 27. Śaṅkha IX is
quoted by Sm. C. I. p. 127, Gr. R. pp. 206-8, Par. M. I. part 1 p. 274.

is called *kāpila-snāna*.¹⁵⁸⁶ 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.¹⁵⁸⁷ 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.¹⁵⁸⁸

The bath with water is called *Vārūṇa* (as *Varuṇa* is the lord of waters, according to Rg. VII. 49. 3 'yāsām rājā Varuṇo' &c.) and *Vārūṇa* is the principal kind of bath. There are six kinds of *gaṇa snānas* 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 *Vārūṇa* as the seventh) are enumerated and defined in *Yogayājñavalkya* and other works and they are: *mantrasnāna*, *bhauma*, *āgneya*, *vāyavya*, *divya*, *mānasa*. *Dakṣa* II. 15-16 and *Parāśara* XII. 9-11 mention these except *bhauma* and *mānasa* and employ the word *brāhma* in place of *mantrasnāna*. The *Vaik.* gr. (I. 2 and 5) employs both words 'mantra' and 'gurvanujñā' as synonymous. *Garga* and *Bṛhaspati* omit *bhauma* and *mānasa* and speak of *sārasvatā-snāna* 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-prakāśa*

1586. अशिरस्कं भवेत् स्नानं स्नानाशक्तौ तु कर्मिण्यम् । आर्द्धेण वाससा वापि मार्जमं
द्वैहिकं विदुः ॥ जाबालि quoted by अपरार्क p. 135; 'आर्द्धेण कर्पटेनाङ्गशोधनं कापिलं
विदुः ।' बृहस्पति; both quoted by स्थितिच० I. p. 134, आह्निकप्रकाश p. 197.

1587. आगुरस्नान उल्लेखे दशकृत्वो ज्ञानागुरः । स्नात्वा स्नात्वा स्थुलेदेनं ततो ह्यभ्येत्स
आगुरः ॥ यम (Jivānanda, part I p. 565), बृहत्पराशर chap. VI. p. 208 (Jivān-
anda, part II); quoted as यम's in स्थितिच० I. p. 121, आह्निकप्रकाश p. 197.

1588. चराभिधूता या नारी रजसा च परिधूता । ... चतुर्थेदनि संशते स्थुलेद्व्या तु
ता क्षियम् । सा सचैलावनीक्षीपः स्नात्वा स्नात्वा पुनः स्थुलेद्व ॥ दशद्विदशकृत्वो वा
आचामेच्च पुनः पुनः । अ-जे तु वाससां दयमिरुताः ह्यद्वा भवेत्तु सा । उशनस्य quoted by
स्थितिच० I. p. 121.

pp. 196-197). The mantrasnāna¹⁵⁸⁹ consists in sprinkling water with the verses 'āpo hi ṣṭhā' (Rg. X. 9. 1-3), the *bhauma* (or *pārthiva*) in smearing the body with loose earth, *āgneya* in smearing the body with holy ashes, *vāyavya* 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 *mānasa* 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 XII, 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 said¹⁵⁹⁰ that a man had to perform *tarpaṇa* as an *aṅga* of snāna immediately after it and before *saṁdhyā* prayer and then again the same day as an *aṅga* of *brahmayajña*; while others held that *tarpaṇa* was to be performed only once in the day after *saṁdhyā* prayer. One has to perform *tarpaṇa* according to the procedure prescribed in one's *śākhā* (Vedic school) but Sāṅkha prescribes a brief *tarpaṇa* which consists in the words 'may the universe from Brahmā down to a bunch of grass be satisfied' (or satiated) and offering three *aṅgalis* (joined hands) of water. When he performs *tarpaṇa*

1589. असामर्थ्याच्छरीरस्य कालशक्त्याद्यपेक्षया । मन्त्रस्नानादितः सप्त केचिद्विच्छन्ति सूरयः । मानसं मौर्मं तथाग्रेयं वायव्यं दिव्यमेव च । वारुणं मानसं चैव सप्त स्नानान्य-
क्षकमात् ॥ आपो हिष्ठादिभिर्मानसं सुदालम्ब्य पायिवत् । आग्नेयं भरमना स्नानं वायव्यं
गौरजः स्मृतम् ॥ यत् सातपथ्येण तद्विष्यं स्नानमुच्यते । वारुणं चावगाहस्तु मानसं विष्णु-
चिन्तनम् । ... कालादेशादसामर्थ्यात्सर्वं तुल्यफलं स्मृतम् ॥ मानसं भवरं स्नानं केचिद्वि-
च्छन्ति सूरयः । योगयाज्ञवल्क्य quoted by अपरार्क pp. 134-135, स्मृतिचन्द्र l. p. 133,
ग्रह. र. p. 203. विश्वरूप on या I. 22 quotes दक्ष II. 15.

1590. इदं च स्नानाङ्गतर्पणं स्नानान्यवहितोत्तरमेव कार्यम् । अङ्गानां प्रधानदेशका-
लावयौचित्यात् । यत्तु कार्यायनादिभिः संख्यावन्दनमङ्गयज्ञाद्युत्तरं तर्पणमभिहितं तत्
पञ्चयज्ञान्तर्गतमात्महिकतर्पणाभिप्रायम् । आक्षिपकमात्रा p. 191; vide the next page
also and p. 144 'स्पष्टमेतत्पराशरमाधवीये श्रुतिश्रुतिमते । यथा । स्नानादुत्तरं
सावत्तर्येतिपुद्गेवताः । उत्तीर्य पीडयेद्ब्रह्मं संख्याकर्म ततः परम् । इति । एवं च यत् क्वचित्त-
र्पणोत्तरतर्पणाभिधानं तद्वद्वर्कतयस्वतन्त्रतर्पणाभिप्रायकम् । मैत्रिल्यास्तु यथाहमि-
त्या श्रुतिरिति वचनेन माध्वाक्षिककामातिदेशात् संख्योत्तरमेव प्रातास्नानाङ्गतर्पणम् । शिष्ट-
चारोपेक्षमेव ।

standing in water, he should not wring the water from the ends of his garment until he has finished it. He should then wring¹⁵⁹¹ 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 brahmachārin 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 'vāsas' or 'vastra'. In the Tai. S. (VI. 1. 1. 3) it is said that *kṣauma* (linen) cloth is worn when a person takes the *dikṣā* (initiatory rite) for a Vedic sacrifice. In the Kāthaka Sam. XV. 1 *kṣauma* cloth is said to be the fee in a certain rite. In the Atharvaveda VIII. 2. 16 we have the two words 'vāsaḥ' (outer garment) and 'nīvi' (under garment)¹⁵⁹² 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 Nestr¹⁵⁹³ priest is about to lead up the sacrificer's wife he makes her put on a *kuśa* upper garment (*vāsas*) or a *kuśa* skirt next to the cloth that

1591. शङ्खः । आबद्धस्तन्वपर्यन्तं जघत्पुष्पत्विति ब्रुवन् । जलाञ्जलित्रयं दद्यादेतत्सं-
क्षेपतर्पणम् । आह्निकप्रकाश p. 145. चतुःसंवेद्यं वासोन्तं रत्नातो निष्पीडयेत्स्थले । ये के
चास्मत्कुले जाता इति मन्त्रेण मानवः । मन्त्रश्च काष्ठाजोनिनीकः । ये के चास्मत्कुले जाता
अधुना गोत्रिणो भूताः । ते युजन्तु मया दत्तं वस्त्रनिष्पीडनोदकम् ॥ रघुतिथि. (आह्निक) p. 250.

1592. यत्ने वासः परिधानं वां नीविं कुशवे त्वम् । अथर्ववेद VIII. 2. 16.

1593. तस्माज्जेषा पत्नीयुद्धानेष्वन्कौशं वासः परिधापयति कौशं वा चण्डातकमन्तरं
क्षिप्तवसनान् । शतपथभा. V. 2. 1. 8. कौश may mean 'made of silk or made
of *kuśa* grass'.

one who is initiated for the sacrifice wears. In the Br. Up. II. 3. 6. there ¹⁵⁹⁴ 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 Parusni 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 (Viṣṇu Dh. 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 Āp. Dh. S. (II. 2. 4. 22-23) 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.). Vas. 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 *yajñopavītas* &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 umbrellas. 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'¹⁵⁹⁵ 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 *abhicāra* (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. तस्य हैतस्य पुत्रस्य रूपं यथा माहारजनं वासो यथा पाण्डुविकं &c. बृह. उप. II. 3. 6.

1595. अथ स्नातकस्य अन्तर्वास उत्तरीयम् । वैणवं वेणुं चारयेत् । सोढुर्कं च कनकं-
लुम् । द्विजोपवीतौ । उष्णीषमजिनस्तुत्तरशुभ्रानहौ छत्रमौषासनं दर्शपूर्णमासौ । बौ. ध. सू.
I. 3. 1-6. Compare for red clothes and turban in magic rites सार on जै.
III. 8. 12 'हयेने शुभ्रते लोहितोष्णीषा लोहितवर्तना शैत्यजः मन्वन्तीति ।'

of flax or if they are not available cotton or woollen ones. Śābara on Jaimini X. 4. 13 quotes *śruti* passages to the effect that the sacrificer and his wife wear fresh unused clothes in the model sacrifice and in the Mahāvratā the sacrificer wears in addition a *tārpya* (silk garment) and his wife wears one made of kuśa grass.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 *snātaka* 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. 8. 24 remarks 'what a man, while wearing reddish garments, does such as japa, homa, receiving gifts, offerings made to gods and Manes, does not reach the gods.'¹⁵⁹⁹ Cloth dyed in indigo is also forbidden and a male has to undergo a fast and take *pañcagavya* 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 Aṅgiras, verses 32-39 (which are almost the same as Āpastamba's). Gaut. 9. 5-7, Manu IV. 66, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 71. 47, Mārka. purāṇa¹⁶⁰⁰ 34. 42-43 prescribe that one should not wear the shoes, garments

1596. महाव्रते क्षुपते ताप्यं यजमानः परिधत्ते दुर्ममर्षं परीति इति । अस्ति तु भक्तौ अहर्तं वासः परिधत्ते इति । शबर on जै. X, 4. 13. Vide Baud. Dh. S. I. 6. 13 as to how *tārpya* is to be purified. The word अहर्तं has two meanings; (1) cloth fresh from the loom (to be worn in marriages and similar *maṅgala* ceremonies); (2) garment that is washed, but not used for many days, that is virtually new and has its fringes intact. Vide Sm. C. I. p. 113.

1597. होमदेवार्चनायास्तु क्रियास्तु पठने तथा । नैकवस्त्रः भवर्तत द्विजो नाश्वमने जपे ॥ विष्णुपुराण III. 12. 20, quoted by हेमाद्रि (व्रतसंग्रह p. 35).

1598. सति विभवे न जीर्णमलवद्वासाः स्यात् । न रक्तकुल्लवणमप्यधृतं वासो विधु-
यात् । गौतम 9. 4-5; सर्वान्द्राणां वासांसि वर्जयेत् । कृष्णं च स्वामाविकम् । अशुद्धांसि वासो
वर्जयेत् । अशुद्धिदं च शक्तिविषये । आप. ध. सू. I. 11. 30. 10-13.

1599. काषायवासा यास्तु भवेत् जपहोमप्रतिग्रहान् । न तद्वेषमं भवति हृष्यकप्येषु
पद्भिनः ॥ बौ. ध. सू. II. 8. 24, quoted by अपरार्क p. 461.

1600. उपानद्रजमालयादे धृतमन्यैर्न धारयेत् । उपवीतमलंकारं करकं चैव वर्जयेत् ॥
मार्कण्डेयपुराण 34. 42-43.

yajñopavīta, 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 kṣatriya 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 bed¹⁶⁰¹. Prajāpati quoted by Par. M. states that in tarpaṇa 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 vānaprastha and saṃnyāsin will be discussed below. The smṛtis 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. (āhnika 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*, *ūrdhvapundra*, *tripundra* &c.) according to one's caste or sect. In the Āhnikaprakāśa (pp. 248-252), in the Smṛtimuktāphala (āhnika pp. 292-310) elaborate rules are laid down on this subject. In the Brahmandapurāṇa¹⁶⁰² it is stated that for making

1601. अन्यदेव भवेद्भासः शयनीयेत्यदेव तु । अन्यद्रव्यासु देवानामर्चयामन्यदेव तु । अमुशासन 104. 46, quoted by अपरार्क p. 173 and गृह. र. p. 501. माधवीये भजापतिः । क्षौमं वासः प्रशंसन्ति तपणे सदृशं तथा । काशायं चातुरकं वा नोल्लभं तत्तु कर्हिचित् ॥ आचाररत्नं p. 33a.

1602. पर्वताग्रे नदीतीरे मम क्षेत्रे विशेषतः । सिन्धुतीरे च बलभीके तुलसीभूलमाजिते ॥ युद्ध एतारसु संश्रान्ना वज्रयदन्त्यश्रुतिकाः । ब्रह्माण्डपुराण quoted in स्मृतिचन्द्र I. p. 115; vide नित्याचारप्रदीप p. 42-43.

ūrdhvaṇḍra (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 *tripuṇḍra* mark (three oblique lines) is to be made with holy ashes (*bhasman*) and the tilaka with sandalwood paste.¹⁶⁰³ According to the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, the *ūrdhvaṇḍra* is made after a bath with loose earth in such a way that it resembles the outline of the foot (of Hari),¹⁶⁰⁴ the *tripuṇḍra* with holy ashes after homa, and the tilaka (a circular mark) with sandalwood paste on worshipping gods (*devapūjā*). The Sm. M. (*āhnika* p. 292) quotes *Vāsudevopaniṣad* for making the *ūrdhvaṇḍra* mark on the forehead and other places with *Gopicandana* (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, tarpaṇa of the Manes, if done without the *ūrdhvaṇḍra* mark, become fruitless (according to Viṣṇu quoted in Sm. M. *āhnika* p. 292). The *Vṛddha-Hārīta smṛti* (II. 58-72) has a long note on *ūrdhvaṇḍra*. The Sm. M. (*āhnika* p. 296) notes that some texts of the Pāsupata and other Śaiva sectarians run down *ūrdhvaṇḍra* and highly extol the *tripuṇḍra* mark, while Pāñcarātra texts enjoin the marking of the body with śaṅkha, cakra and other weapons of Viṣṇu and condemn *tripuṇḍra*. Devout worshippers of Viṣṇu who are followers of Madhvācārya brand the weapons of

1603. ऊर्ध्वपुण्ड्रं मृदा कुर्वान्नपुण्ड्रं भस्मना सदा । तिलकं वै द्विजः कुर्याच्चन्दनेन पट्टच्छया ॥ quoted in आह्निकप्रकाश p. 250 and मदनपारिजात p. 279. The *त्रिपुण्ड्र* is defined as भुवोर्मध्ये समारभ्य यावदन्तो भवेद्भ्रुवोः । मध्यमानामिकाङ्गुल्योर्मध्ये तु प्रतिलोमतः । अङ्गुष्ठेन कृता रेखा त्रिपुण्ड्राख्याभिधीयते ॥

1604. द्वारवत्पुण्ड्रं गोपीचन्दनं वेङ्कटोद्भवम् । सान्तरालं मकुर्गीतं पुण्ड्रं हरिपदा-
कृतिम् ॥ आह्निकाले विशेषेण कर्ता भोक्ता च धारयेत् । वृद्धहारीत VIII. 67-68.

Viṣṇu 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 Vṛddha-Hārta II. 44-45, the Pṛthvī-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 Chalāri quotes passages of the Vāyupurāṇa and Viṣṇupurāṇa supporting branding. In the Kālāgnirudropaniṣad the procedure¹⁶⁰⁵ of the tripundra 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 'agnirīti 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 Jamadagner' when applying the ashes to the forehead, 'kaśyapasya tryāyuṣam' when applying to the navel (or chest) and so on (the head coming last). The Sāṅkhyāyana gr. says¹⁶⁰⁶ " He makes the tripundra 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 Smṛtimuktāphala¹⁶⁰⁷ (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. पृ. II. 7. 2 'त्र्यायुषं जमदग्नेः कश्यपस्य त्र्यायुषम् । यदेवानां त्र्यायुषं तन्मे अस्तु त्र्यायुषम्' ॥ वाज. सं. III. 62 has the same mantra with slight variations. About the ashes the following are repeated 'अग्निरिति भस्म वायुरिति भस्म जलमिति भस्म स्थलमिति भस्म व्योमेति भस्म सर्वं वा इदं भस्म,' quoted in नारायण/8 दीपिका on कालाग्निरुद्र उपनिषद्.

1606. त्र्यायुषमिति पञ्चभिर्मन्त्रैर्ललाटे हृदये च दक्षिणस्कन्धे वामे च ततः पृष्ठे च पञ्चभ्यः भस्मना त्रिपुङ्गुं करोति स एषां वेदानामेकं द्वौ त्रीन् सर्वानधीते । सांख्यायनवृक्ष quoted in स्मृतिश्रु. (आह्निक p. 303). Vide S. B. E. vol. 29 p. 76 where this passage is said to be a late addition.

1607. अधातो द्विजातीनां त्रिपुङ्गुधारणविधिं व्याख्यास्यामो मृत्युं न प्रमदितव्यमिति विज्ञायते । बौधायन quoted in स्मृतिश्रु. (आह्निक p. 301).

of the tripundra mark with ashes (*bhūti*). This is a fine example of how sectarians 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 Smṛtiratnāvalī 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 Smṛtimuktāphala (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 calumny of other deities and they should wear the puṇḍra mark that is deemed to be pleasing to any deity without calumniating other sect marks'.¹⁶⁰⁸ The Nirṇayasindhu (II pariccheda) when dealing with the 11th day of Āṣāḍha sets out from the Rāmārcana-candrikā passages about the marking of the body with conch figure by means of heated metal pieces and also quotes the Pṛthvicandrodaya 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 *saṁdhyā* (Yāj. I. 98). This subject has been dealt with above (pp. 312-321) under Upanayana.

After *saṁdhyā* comes homa (Dakṣa II. 28 and Yāj. I. 98-99). If a brāhmaṇa took a bath in the early morning and engaged in a lengthy *saṁdhyā* 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

1608. तस्मादेकस्मैवेवैश्वरस्य सर्वदेवमयत्वाद्देवतान्तरनिन्द्यावर्जितैरेवैश्वर आराध्यः
स्मिन् विष्णुरन्यो वा देवः । पुण्ड्रमपि तत्तद्देवताभितिकरं पुण्ड्रान्तरनिन्द्यावर्जितैरेव धार्यम् ।
स्मृतिशु. (आह्निक प. 310).

sun rises one cubit above the horizon (Gobhila-smṛti I. 123).¹⁶⁰⁹ 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). Āśv. Śr. II. 2 and Āśv. 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 *saṅdhyā* prayer even after homa.¹⁶¹⁰ 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. 45-48¹⁶¹¹ says " a brāhmaṇa must necessarily kindle the three śrauta fires and offer (in them) the Darśa-Pūrṇamāsa (new moon and full moon sacrifices), the Āgrayaṇa iṣṭi, the Cāturmāsyaśas, 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. संव्याकर्मवसाने तु स्वयं होमो विधीयते । दक्ष II. 28; प्रादुष्करणमग्नी-
मां मातर्मासां च दर्शनात् । हस्तादूर्ध्वं रविर्वाहारे हित्वा न गच्छति । तावद्धोमविधेः
पुण्यो नास्त्येऽभ्युदितहोमिनाम् । गोमिलस्मृति I. 122-123. Manu II. 15 refers to
the several views about होमकाल. समयाभ्युषित in Manu is explained as the
time before the sun's disc appears after the stars have become invisible.
Vide स्मृतिच० I. p. 161 and चौ. य. सं. परिशिष्ट I. 72 for explanation of उदित,
समयाभ्युषित &c. The स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 35 says प्रातर्होमे संगवान्तः कालस्त्वभ्युदिते
त्येव । सायमस्तमिते होमकालस्तु नव नादिकाः ॥

1610. होमं वैतानिको कृत्वा स्मार्तं कुर्याद्विचक्षणः । स्मृतिनां वेदमूलत्वात्स्मार्तं केचि-
रपुरा विदुः ॥ भरद्वाज quoted in स्मृतिच० I. p. 163; vide नित्याचारपद्धति p. 314
and संस्कारप्रकाश p. 890.

1611. अवश्यं ब्राह्मणोऽग्नीनादधीत । दर्शपूर्णमासाग्रयणेष्टिचातुर्मास्यपशुसोमैश्च
यजेत । नैयमिकं ह्येतद्व्यसंस्तुतं च । विज्ञायते हि त्रिभिर्ऋषैर्ऋणवान् ब्राह्मणो जायत इति ।
यज्ञेन देवेभ्यः ... इत्येष वाचुणो यज्वा यः पुत्री ब्रह्मचर्यवानिति । वसिष्ठ XI. 45-48;
vide विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 59. 4-9 for similar provisions. Manu IV. 26 explains
that the Āgrayaṇa iṣṭi is to be performed with the new grain that is
brought in at the end of the rainy season (in śarad) after the old grain
is consumed, that an animal sacrifice is to be performed at the beginning
of the uttarāyaṇa and of dakṣiṇāyana (i. e. twice a year) and a Soma
sacrifice once a year at its beginning. Vide also Yāj. I. 125-126.

indebted in three debts, in sacrifice to the gods &c.” Śābara 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 mind¹⁶¹². The Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana I. 6-7 refers to the two views that *ādihāna* (kindling of śrauta fires) is *nitya* (obligatory) and the other view (discussed by Baudhāyana) 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 Gṛhya and Dharma sūtras 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 explaining¹⁶¹³ 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 every-body 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 Dakṣiṇāgni. The Āhavanīya fire-place is a square, Gārhapatya is round (as the earth is round) and Dakṣiṇāgni 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 śrauta rites and the academic nature for modern times of the treatment of most of those rites, to pass them over

1612. नैवाधाने कश्चित्कालनिधोऽस्ति । यदहरेवेनं अह्नोपनमेतद्वशाद्धीत इति । शबर on अपनयो वाधानस्य सर्वकालत्वात् । जै. V. 4. 16.

1613. यः समिधा य आहुती यो वेदेन द्वादश मर्तो अग्रे । यो नमसा स्वध्वरा ॥ तस्येदर्वन्तो रंद्धन्त आश्वत्थस्य धुम्नि तमं यज्ञः । न तमंहो देवकृतं कुतश्च न मर्त्यकृतं नक्षत् ॥ ऋ. 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 śrauta sacrifices. For about two thousand years hardly any animal or soma sacrifices have been performed (except rarely by kings, nobles and rich people). In medieval times there were many brāhmanas who performed the New and Full moon sacrifices, the Āgrayana īṣṭi and the Cāturmāsyaś. But in modern times even such *agnihotrin*s have become very rare and in certain parts of India one can hardly find a single *agnihotrin* keeping śrauta fires even among thousands of brāhmanas.

Every one who has kindled ¹⁶¹⁴ the sacred fires has to offer every morning and evening the Agnihotra (oblations of clarified butter) in the śrauta 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, Āp. 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 śrauta agnihotra (Āśv. gr. I. 9. 4-6). The fire in which these daily offerings are made by one who has not kindled the three śrauta fires is called *aupāsana*, *āvasathya*, *aupasada*, *vaivāhika* or (-hana), *smārta* or *grhya* or *śālāgni*.¹⁶¹⁵ 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 Āśv. 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. अग्निहोत्रं च जुहुयादाद्यन्ते द्युनिशोः सदा । मनु IV. 25.

1615. यस्मिन्नग्नौ पाणिं शुद्धीयात्स गृह्यः । स्वादिरगृह्य I. 5 1; vide गोभिलश्रु. I. 1. 20-21; पाणिग्रहणादिरग्निस्तमोपासनमित्याचक्षते तस्मिन्नाह्याग्निं कमणि । हिरण्यकेशिश्रु. I. 26. 1-2; आवसथ्याधानं दारकाले दायाद्यकाल एकेषाम् । पार. श्रु. I. 2; उपयमनमभृत्योपासनस्य परिचरणम् । पार. श्रु. I. 9; वैवाहिकेनो जुर्वीत गृह्यं कर्म यथाविधि । पञ्चयज्ञविधानं च पत्तिं चान्वाहिकीं गृही ॥ मनु III. 67; vide वा I. 97 for the word विवाहयज्ञि; एष औपसुदेगिर्वैवाहनो वा । तस्मिन् पाकयज्ञाः । काठकश्रु. 47. 1-2. अपरार्क p. 490 explains औपसुद as गृह्याग्निः. Vide आप. ध. सू. II. 2. 3. 16 (for औपासन). अनाहिताग्नेरपि शालाग्नौ । आश्व. श्रु. II. 2. 5. हरदत्त on गौ. XI. 17 distinguishes शालाग्निं from औपासन and says it has a wider application.

another village) the nuptial fire is continually carried in a vessel (called *ukhā*) in front till he reaches his house.¹⁶¹⁶ Vide also Āp. gr. V. 14-15. The Āśv. 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.'¹⁶¹⁷ 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). According¹⁶¹⁸ 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 kṣatriyas. 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 com.) to the east of the place of the āhavanīya fire. The Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 14)¹⁶¹⁹ 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 pañcāgni, who is among the brāhmaṇas that are paṅkti-pāvanas (i. e. that sanctify the company at dinner). Vide Gaut. 15. 29, Āp. Dh. S. II. 7. 17. 22, 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. विवाहाग्निमथतोऽजस्रं नयन्ति । आश्व. गृ. I. 8. 5 ; समोप्यैतमाग्निमनुहरन्ति ।
नित्यो धार्यः । आप. गृ. V. 14-15.

1617. पाणिग्रहणाद्धि गृह्यं परिचरेत्स्वयं पत्न्यापि वा पुत्रः कुमार्यन्तेवासी वा । नित्या
उत्थीतं स्यात् । आश्व. गृ. I. 9. 1-2.

1618. सन्धो नाम यो महासाधनस्य शीतापनोदायमेव षड्भु देशेषु व्यवह्रियते । मेधा-
on मनु III. 175 ; वृद्धौतम 15th chap. p. 604 (Jivananda part 2) defines
as 'आवसथ्यं तु ये चार्द्धि पचनार्द्धि प्रचक्षते । तेषां सभागतो वाह्निः सन्ध इत्यभिधीयते ।
अग्नेणाहवनीयं सभायां सन्धः । आप. औ. IV. 4. 7.

1619. गृहस्थस्तु षडग्निः स्यात्पञ्चाग्निश्चतुरग्निः । स्याद् द्वि-यग्निरथैकाग्निर्नाग्निहीन
कार्यं च न ॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 14.

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 in¹⁶²⁰ the *gr̥hyasūtra* of a person's *śākhā* 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 be 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 *gr̥hya* fire. Gaut. V. 6, Yāj. I. 97, Pār. gr. I. 2 and others refer to an optional course viz. setting up the *gr̥hya* fire at the time when one separates from other members of the family. The *Śān. gr.* I. 1. 2-5 refers to four alternatives in all (including the two already referred to); the other two are: When¹⁶²¹ a pupil is about to return from his teacher's home, he may keep as his *gr̥hya* 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 says¹⁶²² that the *gr̥hya* fire for a person is one by which his *upanayana* is performed, that from *upanayana* to *samāvartana* the *homa* is performed only by uttering the *vyāhrtis* and with fuel sticks, from *samāvartana* to marriage with *vyāhrtis* and clarified butter, and from marriage onwards with offerings of boiled rice or barley.

1620. गार्हपत्योपासने कुर्यात्सर्वाधानी तु लौकिके । स्मार्तं च लौकिके कार्यं श्रौतं वैतानिकाग्निषु ॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 14; अनाहितावसथ्याग्निरादायाच्च धृतकृतम् । शाकलेन विधानेन ब्रह्मचार्यलौकिकेऽनले ॥ वेदव्यासस्मृति III. 31-32

1621. भार्यादिग्निर्दायादिर्वा । गौ. V. 6. अभिसमावर्त्यमानो यत्रान्त्यां समिधमन्यादध्यात्तमग्निमिन्धीत । वैवाह्यं वा । दायाद्यकाल एको । प्रेते वा गृहपतौ स्वयं ज्यायात् । ज्ञां. गृ. I. 1. 2-5; compare गोभिलगृ. I. 1. 12.

1622. यस्मिन्नाग्न्युपनयति तस्मिन् ब्रह्मचर्यं तस्मिन् प्रव्रतचर्यं तस्मिन् समावर्तनं तस्मिन् पाणिग्रहणं तस्मिन् शुद्धाग्निं कर्माणि क्रियन्ते । स एष उपनयनप्रभृति व्याहृतिभिः समिद्धिर्ह्यत आ समावर्तनात् । समावर्तनप्रभृत्याज्येन व्याहृतिभिर्ह्येत आ पाणिग्रहणात् । पाणिग्रहणप्रभृति ग्रीहिमिवो यवैर्वा हस्तैर्नैते आहुती ब्रह्मोति अग्नये स्वाहा प्रजापतये स्वाहा इति सायम् । सूर्याय स्वाहा प्रजापतये स्वाहेति मातरामि । बौ. गृ. II. 6. 17, 19-21; अग्नये स्वाहाति सायं ब्रह्मचार्यस्य स्वाहेति मातरस्तूष्णीं द्वितीये उभयत्र । आश्व. गृ. I. 9. 8.

The deities to whom agnihotra is offered in the morning and evening are Agni and Prajāpati (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. 1622 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 *havis* is to be used (Āśv. gr. I. 2. 1). It is either boiled rice or barley (Āp. gr. VII. 19).¹⁶²³ Gobhila-smṛti (I. 131 and III. 114) says¹⁶²⁴ that among *haviṣyas* the foremost are yavas (barley), then comes rice, but one should eschew māṣa, 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 Nārāyaṇa on Āśv. gr. I. 9. 6 ten materials can be offered as *havis* into fire viz. milk, curds, *yavāgū*, clarified butter, boiled rice, husked rice, *soma*, flesh, sesame oil and water.¹⁶²⁵ Manu III. 257 specifies some articles as naturally fit for being employed as *havis*. *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* Āśv. 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 Prajāpati¹⁶²⁶. There is another rule that fluid materials are to be offered into fire with the *śruva* ladle, while solid *havis* is to be offered with the right hand¹⁶²⁷.

1623. अथ सायं प्रातः सिद्धस्य हविष्यस्य जुहुयात् । आश्व. गृ. I. 2. 1 ; सायं प्रातरत ऊर्ध्वं हस्तैर्नैत आहुती तण्डुलैर्वैर्वा जुहुयात् । आप. गृ. VII. 19.

1624. हविष्येषु यवा सुव्यास्तदृशं ब्रीहयः स्थूताः । माषकोद्भवगौरादि सर्वालाभे विचर्जयेत् ॥ अभावे ब्रीहियवयोर्दध्ना वा पयसापि वा । तद्भावे यवाग्वा वा जुहुयादुदकेन वा ॥ गोभिलस्मृति I. 131 and III. 114 ; the first is quoted by अपराक p. 142 and the 2nd by स्मृतिच० I. p. 163.

1625. पयो दधि यवागृश्च सर्पिरीदनतण्डुलाः । सोमो मांसं तथा तैलमापस्तानि दशै-
व तु ॥ quoted by नारायण on आश्व. गृ. I. 9. 6 and by नित्याचारपद्धति p. 320 ;
vide स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 35 for a similar verse.

1626. आज्यं हव्यमनादशे जुहोतिषु विधीयते । तन्त्रश्च (?) देवतायाश्च प्रजापतिरिति स्थितिः ॥ गोभिल I. 113.

1627. द्रव्यं सुवेण होतव्यं पाणिना कठिनं हविः । स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 35. ओषध्यः सकवः
पुष्पं काष्ठं मूलं फलं तुषम् । एतद्वस्तेन होतव्यं नान्यात्किंचिदुचोदनात् । बौ. गृ. शेषसूत्र
I. 3. 8.

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 vaiśya or from a frying pan or he may bring it from the house of a person who performs many sacrifices, whether he be a brāhmaṇa or rājanya or vaiśya or one may produce it by attrition; this last is holy, but does not bring prosperity. One may do as one likes¹⁶²⁸'. There are similar provisions in Śān. gr. I. 1. 8, Pār. gr. I. 2, Āp. 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 (Āp. 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 up¹⁶²⁹. The Chān. Up. V. 24. 1 indicates that oblations were to be offered only on red hot coals. The Muṇḍaka Up. I. 2. 2 says the same. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 5. 15. 18-21), Manu IV. 53 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). Gobhilasmṛti 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 fires¹⁶³⁰).

1628. वैश्यकुलाद्वाभ्यग्नीषाद्वाग्निमाहृत्याभ्यादध्यात् । अपि वा बहुयाजेन एवागाराद्वाज्ञानस्य वा राजन्यस्य वा वैशस्य वा । अपि चान्यं मथित्वाभ्यादध्यात् । पुण्यस्तेवानर्धुको भवतीति । यथा कामयेत तथा क्षुर्यात् । गोभिलगृह्य I. 1. 15-19; काठकसंहिता VIII. 12 has 'यो नाह्नानो वा वैश्यो वा पुष्टोऽसुर इव स्यात्तस्य गृहादाहरोद्यैव सा पुष्टिर्वर्धनं तद्वचने'.

1629. बहुशुष्केऽधने वाग्नौ सुसमिद्धे विधूमके । साङ्गारे लेलिहाने च होतव्यं नान्यथा कञ्चित् ॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 35; vide स्मृतिचं I. p. 163 for similar quotations from several smṛtis and vide गोभिलस्मृति I. 133-134.

1630. The पुरुषसूक्त (Rg. X. 90. 13) says 'सुखादिन्द्रश्चाग्निश्च मायाद्वायुश्चापत'. The गृह्यसंग्रहपरिशिष्ट (Z. D. M. G. vol. 35 p. 541) I. 70 requires that the blowing should be with the mouth 'सुखेनोपधनेदग्निं सुखाद्देवेयोऽभ्यापयत' and not with a piece of cloth nor with the hand nor with a winnowing basket. Vide हरदत्त on आप. घ. सू. I. 5. 15. 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 Āśv. 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 gr̥hya fire. Śān. gr. II. 17. 3 is to the same effect. The Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 34) adds that the wife and the daughter should perform all the acts in homa except *paryuṣaṇa*. Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 15. 15-16¹⁶³² 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 gr̥hya fire the wife and others specified by Āśv. are held to be competent if the sacrificer is ill or has gone abroad. Haradatta (on Āśv. gr. I. 9. 1-2) says that either the husband or the wife must always be near the gr̥hya fire.¹⁶³³ Laghu-Āśvalāyana (I. 69) says that one who has kindled the gr̥hya 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 brāhmaṇa¹⁶³⁴ 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

1631. स्वयं होमे फलं यत्स्यात् तदस्येन जायते ॥ अतिवृद्धो पुत्रो युवश्रोता भागिनयोऽथ विद्वपतिः । दम्बिरेव हृत्तं यत्तु तद्धुतं स्वयमेव तु ॥ दृष्ट II. 28-29, quoted by अपरार्क p. 125.

1632. पुरुषानवर्जं पत्नी शुद्धयाऽकुमारी च । स्मृत्यर्थसाधकः प. 34. न स्त्री शुद्धया । नाद्यपेतः । आप. घ. सू. II. 6. 15. 15-16.

1633. अन्यतरोऽवश्यमग्निं समीपे तिष्ठेत् । नोभौ सह भवसेतामिच्छयः । हरदत्त on आश्व. सू. I. 9. 1-2.

1634. निमित्तव्याप्तिं स्वकारेषु परिकल्पयत्विजं तथा । प्रवसेत्कार्यवान् विभो वृथैव न चिद्विसेत् ॥ quoted in the स्मृतिच I. p. 161.

absence of both is useless.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. 559-60). '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 *upādhi* (i. e. by marrying another savarna wife or by associating with himself an asavarna wife)' says Gobhila *smṛti*¹⁶³⁶ III. 9. Gobhila then refers to the story of Rāma, who performed sacrifices with a golden image of his discarded wife Sitā 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 Satyāśādhā in his *śrauta sūtra* 'there¹⁶³⁷ is no *pratinidhi* (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 Satyāśādhā 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-Hārta*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

1635. असमक्षं तु दम्पत्योर्दोतस्य नतिवगादिना । द्वयोरप्यसमक्षं तु भवेद्धृतमनर्थकम् ॥ गोभिलस्मृति III. 1, quoted in स्मृतिच० I. p. 161.

1636. मृतायामपि भार्यायां वैदिकार्थं न हि त्यजेत् । उपाधिनापि तत्कर्म यावज्जीवं समापयेत् ॥ रामोपि कृत्वा सौवर्णीं सीतां पत्नीं यशस्विनीम् । ईजे यज्ञैर्बहुविधैः सह आतुमिरेच्छितैः ॥ गोभिलस्मृति III. 9-10. These are explained at length by अपरार्क pp. 114-15 and the स्मृतिचन्द्रिका I. p. 167.

1637. न स्वामित्वस्य भार्यायाः पुत्रस्य देशस्य कालस्याग्नेर्देवतायाः कर्मणः शब्दस्य च प्रतिनिधिविद्यते । सत्याशदश्रौत III. 1.; compare 'स्वामिनोभेदे देवतायाः शब्दात्कर्मणः प्रतिषेधाच्च प्रतिनिधिनिवृत्तः' आप. श्रौ. 24. 4. 1 ; जैमिनि VI. 3. 18-21.

1638. कृत्वा कुशमयीं पत्नीं यावज्जीवमतन्द्रितः । अहुयादग्निहोत्रं तु पञ्चयज्ञादिकं तथा ॥ वृद्धहारीत XI. 214.

becomes *patita* his agnihotra may be continued by his son ¹⁶³⁹ (Atri, verse 108). 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 *vrūṭya* and *patita*. The Muṇḍaka 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 ṛta (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 saṁdhyā 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 Rgveda, by reciting which (inaudibly) several times a man becomes pure. These verses occur in Śaṅkhasmṛti chap. XI (with some variations) and in Viṣṇu Dh. S. 56 (in prose). Some

1639. भार्यामरणपक्षे वा देशान्तरगतेषु वा । अधिकारी भवेत्पुत्रस्तथा पातकसंयुते ॥ अत्रि 108.

1640. तस्मादपत्नीकोपि अग्निहोत्रमाहरेत् । तदेषाभियज्ञगाथा गीयते । यजेत्सौत्रमै-
ष्यामपत्नीकोप्यसोमयः । मातापितृभ्यामनुष्ठानार्थोयजेति वचनाच्छ्रुतिः ॥ ऐ. ब्रा. 32. 8.

1641. अग्नीत्रिया अननुवार्जया अनश्रयो वा शुद्धसधर्माणो भवन्ति । वसिष्ठ III. 1;
कृतदारो न वै तिष्ठेक्षणमप्यग्निना विना । तिष्ठेत चेद् द्विजो मात्यस्तथा च पतितो भवेत् ॥
गार्ग्य quoted by स्मृतिचं I. p. 156 ; वीरहा वा एष देवानां योग्यशुद्धासयते । न वा
एतस्य माह्व्या ऋतायवः पुराजमक्षत । तै. सं. I. 5. 2.; काठकसंहिता IX. 2 (reads the
words as वीरहा शुद्धादयते).

of these Vedic texts are well known, such as Aghamarṣaṇa (Rg. X. 190. 1-3), Pāvamāni verses (Rg. IX), Śatarudriya (Tai. S. IV. 5. 1-11), Trisuparṇa (Tai. Ār. X. 48-50) &c. Manu II. 87, Vas. 26. 11, Śaṅkhasmṛti 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 *tarpaṇa* or after the morning homa or at the end of vaiśvadeva and that it constitutes brahmayajña (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.¹⁶⁴² *Japa* is of three kinds, *vācika* (audibly uttered), *upāṁśu* (inaudibly uttered) and *mānasa* (mentally revolved), each succeeding one being ten times superior to each preceding one (Laghu-Hārīta¹⁶⁴³ chap. IV, p. 186, Jivānanda I). *Vide* Manu II. 85 (= Vas. 26. 9, Śaṅkha 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.¹⁶⁴⁴ One is not to speak while engaged in *japa*. A brahmacārī or a householder who has consecrated sacred fires should mutter 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

1642. स्नातश्च पावित्राणि यथाशक्ति जपेत् । विशेषतस्तु सावित्रीमन्त्रं जपेत्पुरुषसूक्तं च । नैतान्यामधिकमस्ति । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 64. 36-39.

1643. The verses of Laghu-Hārīta about three kinds of *japa* are quoted in the Smṛticandrikā I. p. 149 from Nṛsiṃhapurāṇa (chap. 58. 78-81).

1644. *Vide* स्मृतिच० I. p. 150 गृह. र. p. 241 quoting the verses गृहे स्वेकग्रामं जपेत् &c.

Gāyatrī should repeat the texts of the purāṇas.¹⁶⁴⁵ Vṛddha-Hārīta (VI. 33, 45, 163, 213) prescribes that the mantra of 6 letters (om namo Viṣṇave), eight letters (om namo Vāsudevāya) or of twelve letters (om namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya) 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 fruitless¹⁶⁴⁶. Śāṅkha-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 *putrajīvaka* or a man may count by knots of kuśa grass or by bending the fingers of the left hand.¹⁶⁴⁷ Br̥hat-Parāśara V. p. 85 and Laghu-Vyāsa (Jivānanda 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).¹⁶⁴⁸ Kālidāsa (in his Raghuvamśa XI. 66) mentions that the hero Paraśurāma had on his right ear a rosary of akṣa seeds. Bāṇa (Kādambari 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, Madanapārijāta p. 80, Āhnikapraśāsa 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. अत्र च समस्तवेदाध्ययनवता आदावारम्य वेदपाठेन स्वाध्यायः करणीयः । एकदेशाध्यायिना युक्थयुक्तादिपाठेन सावित्रीमात्राध्यायिना युराणपाठेनेति व्यवस्थेति पारिजातः । गृह. र. p. 249.

1646. अतंरुपातं तु यज्जतं सर्वं तज्जिष्कलं भवेत् । अङ्गिरसु quoted in कृत्यरत्नाकर p. 64 ; बृहत्पराशर p. 85 'अतंरुयमासुं यस्मात्तस्मात्तदृणयेद्भुञ्जन् ।

1647. कुशशल्यामालीनः कुशोत्तरीयवान् कुशपवित्रपाणिः श्राद्धस्थः सूर्याभिमुखो वाऽक्षमालासुपादाय देवताध्यायी जपं कुर्यात् । सुवर्णमणिमुक्ता-रुक्तादि-पद्माक्ष-पुत्रजीवकानामन्यतमेनादाय मालां कुर्यात् । कुशग्रन्थिं कृत्वा वामहस्तोपयामैर्वा गणयेत् । शङ्खधृति XII. 4-6 quoted by अपरार्क p. 47, स्मृतिच० I. 148, परा. मा. I. part I, p. 303, आह्निकप्रकाश p. 312.

1648. अष्टोत्तरशतां कुर्याच्चतुःषष्ट्याशिकां तथा । सप्तविंशतिका कार्या ततो नैवाधमा हि सा ॥ ब्रह्मा quoted in स्मृतिच० I. p. 153, परा. मा. I. part I p. 309 (ascribed to मजापति).

dūrvā¹⁶⁴⁹ &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.¹⁶⁵⁰ The Vāmana-purāṇa (14. 35-37) mentions numerous objects that are auspicious and that one should touch or see before going out.¹⁶⁵¹ The Matsyapurāṇa 243 enumerates in 26 verses numerous auspicious and inauspicious objects (these are quoted in Gr. R. pp. 553-554). Viṣṇu Dh. S. 23. 58 enumerates six objects derived from the cow as auspicious. *Vide* Ādiparva 29. 34, Droṇaparva 127. 14 (for touching eight maṅgalas), Śānti 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, chowries &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 śauca, dantadhāvana, snāna, saṁdhyā, homa, japa would occupy the first of the eight parts of the day. In the second¹⁶⁵² 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

1649. देवकार्यं ततः कृत्वा शुभमङ्गलवर्षिणम् । दक्ष II. 30; आचान्तश्च पुमान्कुर्वीततः केशमसाधनम् । आदर्शाञ्जनमङ्गल्यदूर्वाद्यालम्बनानि च ॥ विष्णुपुराण quoted in गृह. र. p. 183.

1650. लोकेऽस्मिन्मङ्गलान्यष्टौ ब्राह्मणो गौर्हृताशनः । हिरण्यं सर्पिरादित्य आपो राजा तथाष्टमः ॥ नारद (प्रकीर्णक 54) quoted in स्मृतिचं I. p. 168.

1651. होमं च कृत्वा लभनं शुभानां ततो बहिर्निर्गमनं प्रशस्तम् । पूर्वां च सर्पिर्दधि सोदकुर्मं धेनुं सवत्साभृषमं सुवर्णम् । मृद्धोमयं स्वस्तिकमक्षताश्च लाजा मधु ब्राह्मणकन्यकाश्च । श्वेतानि पुष्पाणि तथा शर्मा च हुताशनं चन्दनमर्कपिम्बम् । अश्वत्थवृक्षं च समालमेत ततश्च कुर्याच्चिजजातिधमनि । वामनपुराण 14. 35-36 quoted in स्मृतिचं I. p. 168, गृह. र. p. 187.

1652. द्वितीये च तथा मागे वेदान्यासो विधीयते । ... समित्युष्पकुशादीनां स कालः परिकीर्तितः । दक्ष II. 33 and 35; वेदार्थानधिगच्छेच्च शास्त्राणि विविधानि च । या. I. 99.

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, Viṣṇu 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 shelter¹⁶⁵³. 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 part¹⁶⁵⁴ of the day (i. e. before noon) one was to have the mid-day bath (with tarpaṇa) and then the mid-day saṁdhyā prayer and devapūjā &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 pitṛs; devapūjā and the five daily yajñas. 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 pitṛs. The water to be offered to gods is poured by that part of the right hand which is called *devatīrtha* and that for the pitṛs by the pitṛ-tīrtha. A person was to perform tarpaṇa according to the gr̥hyasūtra of the Vedic śākhā which he or his ancestors studied. There is a good deal of divergence among the several gr̥hyasūtras. Here the procedure of tarpaṇa prescribed

1653. जातिर्वन्धुजनः क्षीयस्तथानाथः सभाभितः । अन्योपि धनयुक्तस्य पौष्यवर्ग उदाहृतः ॥ दक्ष II. 36-37.

1654. चतुर्थेऽह्नेस्तथा भागे स्नानार्थं भूदमाहरेत् । तिलपुष्पकुशादींश्च स्नायाच्चाङ्गानिमे जले । दक्ष II. 43 (quoted by अपरार्क p. 128); स्नात्वा देवाग्निपृथ्वींश्च तर्पयेद्दक्षये-
त्तथा ॥ या. I. 100, on which the Mit. remarks ततो मन्वाङ्गे शास्त्रोक्तविधिना नद्यादियु
स्नात्वा देवाय इत्युक्तोक्तं पितृंश्च चकारादूर्ध्वं देवादितीर्थेन तर्पयेत् । तदनन्तरं
मन्वेत्युपाक्षिर्तेर्हिरहिरण्यवर्मभृतीनामन्यतमं यथावासनभृत्पशुःसाममन्त्रैस्तत्पकाशकैः स्न-
नामभिर्वा चतुर्थ्यन्तेर्नमस्कारयुक्तैरावाधयेद्यथोक्तविधिना.

by the Āśv. gr. (III. 4. 1-5) will be first set out. In the Devatātarpaṇa 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. 'Prajāpatis-trpyatu, Brahmā trpyatu, Dyāvāprthivi trpyetām' &c.). The deities are 31 viz. Prajāpati, Brahmā, Vedas, devas, ṛsis, all metres, omkāra, vaṣaṭkāra, vyāhrtis, the Gāyatri, sacrifices (yajñas), heaven and earth, the air (antarikṣa), days and nights, the Sāṅkhyas, siddhas, oceans, the rivers, the mountains, the fields, herbs, trees, Gandharvas and Apsarases, snakes, birds, cows, sādhyas, vipras, yakṣas, the rakṣasas, the bhūtas (beings) that have these (rakṣas) at the end. In modern times the fields, herbs, trees, Gandharvas and Apsarases are put in one compound word and form only one devatā, while after bhūtas there is a separate deity 'evam-antāni trpyantu'. Haradatta on Āśv. gr. III. 3. 2 refers to the view of some that take 'evam-antāni' as a separate mantra but his opinion was that the phrase 'evam-antāni' only described the preceding devatās and that the devatās stopped at 'rakṣāṃsi'. He further adds that the tarpaṇa 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 offering water to these the sacred thread is worn in the nivṛta form. The twelve sages are those of the hundred ṛks, the middle ṛsis (i. e. of maṇḍalas 2 to 9 of the Rgveda), Grtsamada, Viśvāmitra, Vāmadeva, Atri, Bharadvāja, Vasiṣṭha, Pragāthas, the Pāvamāni hymns, sages of the short hymns and those of the long hymns (the tarpaṇa formula will be 'satarcinas-trpyantu, mādhyamās-trpyantu, Grtsamadas-trpyantu &c.). It will be noticed that the sages from Grtsamada 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 Anukramāṇi to Pragātha of the Kaṇva gotra and the rest of the eighth maṇḍala is ascribed to various scions of the Kaṇva gotra. The verses of the ninth maṇḍala are called Pāvamānyah; but as it is a tarpaṇa of sages, we rather expect the form pāvamānāḥ as in the Sāṅkhyāyana gṛhya IV. 10. 'Satarcinah' refers to the sages of the first maṇḍala, and 'ksudrasūktāḥ' 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 *prācināvita* 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 'tṛpyantu' or 'tṛpyatu' are used with the nominative of the words for the sage; i. e. 'Sumantu-Jaimini-Vaiśampāyana-Paila-sūtra-bhāṣya-Bhārata-Mahābhārata-Dharmācāryās tṛpyantu';¹⁶⁵⁵ 'Jānanti-Bāhavi-Gārgya-Gautama-Śākalya-Bābhavya-Māṇḍavya-Māṇḍukeyās tṛpyantu'; 'Gārgi-Vācaknavi tṛpyatu, Vadaṇvā-Prāthitheyi tṛpyatu, Sulabhā-Maitreyi tṛpyatu'. These together are five sentences. It is remarkable that in this list three women are mentioned as sages (Gārgi, Vadaṇvā and Sulabhā). Among the other sages the first four are frequently mentioned in the Mahābhārata as the pupils of Vyāsa who taught them the Vedas (vide Sabhāparva 4. 11 and Śānti 328. 26-27 where all four are named). For chronological purposes it is important to note that the Āśv. 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. Kaḥolaṃ tarpayāmi, Kauṣītakaṃ tarpayāmi.....Āśvalāyanam tarpayāmi). These 17 sages are: Kaḥola, Kauṣītaka, Mahākauṣītaka, Paṅgya, Mahāpaṅgya, Suyajña, Sāṅkhyāyana, Aitareya, Mahaitareya, Śākala, Bāṣkala, Sujātavaktra, Audavāhi, Mahaudavāhi, Saujāmi, Śaunaka, Āśvalāyana. The 18th is 'may all the other ācāryas be satiated' (ye cānye ācāryās-te sarve tṛpyantu). All these sages are connected with the Rgveda, its Brāhmanas, its Āraṇyakas and other related works like the Prātiśākhya sūtra (of which Śaunaka is said to be the author). It is interesting to note that Āśvalāyana himself is named as the last teacher in tarpaṇa. Śaunaka is said to be the teacher of Āśvalāyana.¹⁶⁵⁶ In modern times in the Deccan water is offered twice to each sage or group of sages.

Āśv. gr. III. 4. 5 is very brief as to pitṛtarpaṇa '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 Śuka, the son of Vyāsa, the pupils of Vyāsa.

1656. Vide Introduction to Āśvalāyana gṛhya in S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 153 ff.

Brahmayajña of which tarpaṇa 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 pitṛ-tīrtha 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 amukaśarmāṇam amuka-gotram vasurūpam svadhānamas tarpayāmi). The ancestors and relatives to whom water is offered, if they are dead, are in order:—father, paternal grandfather and great-grandfather; mother, paternal grand-mother and great-grandmother; step-mother; maternal grand-father (with maternal grand-mother, sapatnikam being used with 'mātāmaham'), 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 Gāyatri 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 ādityarūpa¹⁶⁵⁷. 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 Āśv. gr. III. 3. 6 notes that some do not include the mother and maternal relations in the daily tarpaṇa, and that according to the established practice in his day the tarpaṇa formulæ 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. हरदत्त on आश्व. सू. III. 3. 6 says 'मातृणां मातामहादीनां मातामह्यादीनां च तर्पणमिच्छन्ति। तत्र विप्रतिपत्तिः। केचित्पित्रादीनां नाम्ना तर्पणमिच्छन्ति। देवदत्त यज्ञदत्ते विष्णुमित्रमिति। एवं मातादीनामपि। प्रसिद्धस्त्वाचारः पितरं तर्पयामीति।'

do not say that the names and gotras of the relatives are to be repeated in daily tarpaṇa. 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 devatās of tarpaṇa differ in each sūtra. The Śān. gr. (IV. 9) which belongs to the Rgveda just as Āśvalāyana's does, enumerates the deities differently in the beginning (it has Agni, Vāyu, Sūrya, Viṣṇu, Prajāpati, Virūpākṣa, Sahasrākṣa &c.). Its order of sages is somewhat different and it adds some names such as Śākapūṇi, Gautami &c. The Baud. Dh. S. II. 5 contains the most elaborate tarpaṇa of all sūtras. It puts 'om' before each devatā, ṛṣi and pitṛ. It includes not only many more deities than elsewhere, but includes several names of the same deity (e. g. Vināyaka, Vakratuṇḍa, Hastimukha, Ekadanta; Yama, Yamarāja, Dharma, Dharmarāja, Kāla, Nīla, Vaivasvata &c.). Among ṛṣis it includes many sūtrakāras like Kaṇva, Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, Satyāśādhā, and also Yājñavalkya, Vyāsa. The Hīr. 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 tarpaṇa the Dharma-sindhu and other digests prescribe an extremely brief one, viz. he repeats two verses and offers water thrice. The verses are 'may the gods, sages, pitṛs, human beings, from Brahmā up to a blade of grass, be satiated and also all the pitṛs, 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 kaṇḍikā) of Kātyāyana attached to the Pār. gr. contains a description of tarpaṇa. Like the Baud. Dh. S. it lays down that 'om' is to be uttered before the name of every deity (devatā) and 'trīpyatām' (or trīpyantām 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 Āśv. The group of sages is made up of only Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanātana, Kapila, Āsuri, Vodhu, and Pañcaśikha (Kapila, Āsuri and Pañcaśikha 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 ṛṣitarpaṇa), 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 Kavyavād Anala

(fire), Soma, Yama, Aryaman, Agniṣvātas, Somapas, Barhiṣads¹⁶⁵⁸. Offerings of water mixed with sesame are to be made thrice to each of the above with joined hands (jalāñjali) and this is to be done by all householders even if the father be living. The remaining part of *tarpaṇa* (viz. pitṛtarpaṇa) is to be done only by him whose father is dead. Gobhila-smṛti 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.¹⁶⁵⁹ 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. Kārṣṇājini prescribes that in śrāddha and marriage only the right hand is employed in making an offering or gift, but in *tarpaṇa* both hands (made into an añjali) are employed. One¹⁶⁶⁰ añjali of water is offered to each of the gods, two to Sanaka and other sages and three to each of the pitṛs. When *tarpaṇa* 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 *tarpaṇa*, 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 kuśas (Sm. C. I. p. 192). There were several views on this point (*vide* Gr. R. pp. 263-264). In modern times daily *tarpaṇa* 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-Yājñavalkya quoted by Aparārka pp. 138-139 gives the same names of devatās and of the divine pitṛs as the Snānasūtra. Vide Manu III. 195-199 for अग्निवृत्ताः, सोमपाः and बरिषद्; that are all pitṛs of various kinds. बृहत्संहिता 3rd chap. p. 74 (Jivānanda, part 2) says that all from Kavyavāḍi Anala to Barhiṣads are divine pitṛs (divyāṣṭ pitaraḥ). Vide Sabhāparva 11. 45 for seven groups (gaṇas) of pitṛs, four of whom are said to be corporeal and three disembodied. Kārṣṇājini quoted by Aparārka p. 138 says that the seven sages from Sanaka to Pāṇcāsikha are the sons of Brahmā.

1659. आग्ने विशाकाले तु पाणिनैकेन दीयते । तर्पणे दुर्भवेनैव विधिरेव पुरातनः ॥ काष्ठाजिनि quoted by अपरार्क p. 132, स्मृतिच. I. p. 191; यम v. 99 is आग्ने हवनकाले च दद्यादेकेन पाणिना । उभाभ्यां तर्पणे दद्यादिति धर्मो व्यवस्थितः ॥ हरद्वय on आश्व गृ. सू. III. 4. 1 says 'देवतास्तर्पयति । तच्चाञ्जलिना कर्तव्यम् । जलाञ्जलिरिति हि तर्पणं प्रसिद्धम् । अन्ये त्वनादेशाद्वक्षिणेन पाणिना कुर्वन्ति । अपरे तु सव्योपग्रहादेन दक्षिणेन ॥'

1660. एकैकं चाथ द्वौ द्वौ वै दीक्षितकैकमञ्जलिम् । अर्हन्त्येते क्वाञ्चैव देवर्षि-पितरक्षयः ॥ लघ्वान्व. I. 95; vide also व्यास in स्मृतिच. I. p. 191.

&c.) do it daily, but generally most brāhmaṇas perform tarpana as part of brahmayajña on one day in the year in the month of Śrāvaṇa.

A special tarpana 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 1, p. 361. Dakṣa (II. 52-55) prescribes that Yama-tarpana is specially performed in the Jumna on the days specified above and gives the several names under which Yama is invoked. *Vide* also Matsyapurāṇa 213. 2-8. The Tai. Ār. VI. 5 speaks of a yajña or bali (offering) in honour of Yama every month. There is also tarpana 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-smṛti¹⁶⁶¹ (II. 22-23) emphasizes the importance of tarpana by remarking that, as all beings, animate or inanimate, desire water from the brāhmaṇa who brings prosperity to all, tarpana 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 tarpana seems to be indicated even by the Tai. S. V. 4. 4. 1.¹⁶⁶²

It has already been seen (at pp. 668-669) that tarpana 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 Āśv. gr. places tarpana immediately after svādhyāya (or brahmayajña) it follows that he treated it as a constituent though subordinate part of it. The Gobhila-smṛti (II. 29) says that brahmayajña which consists in inaudibly muttering Vedic texts (japa) should be performed before tarpana or after the morning homa or at the end of Vaiśvadeva and at no other time unless there is some special reason.¹⁶⁶³

The Āhnikaprakāśa (pp. 336-377) gives summaries of tarpana according to Kātyāyana, Śaṅkha, Baudhāyana, Viṣṇu-purāṇa, Yogiyājñavalkya, Āśvalāyana, Gobhilagrhya.

1661. तथा श्रुतानि सर्वाणि स्थावरगणि चराणि च । त्रिमासु दुष्कामिच्छन्ति सर्वास्तु दुष्कृद्धिं सः ॥ तस्मात्तदेतत्कर्तव्यमनुर्वन्महतैनसा । युज्यते ब्राह्मणः कुर्वन्निश्चयेतद्दिनार्ति हि ॥ गोभिलस्मृति II. 22-23, quoted in स्मृतिचं I. p. 196.

1662. अन्मन्त्रमिति परिषिञ्चति मार्जयत्येवैनमथो तर्पयत्येव स एनं पुनोऽशुश्रुष्यन् शोचन्ननुभिर्होतुः उपतिष्ठते । तै. सं. V. 4. 4. 1.

1663. यश्च श्रुतिजपः भोक्तो ब्रह्मयज्ञः स चोच्यते । स चार्वाकतर्पणात् कार्यः पश्चाद्वा धातराहुतेः । वैश्वदेवावसाने वा नार्यवर्ते निमित्तकालः ॥ गोभिलस्मृति II. 28-29, quoted in ग्रह. र. p. 273, आह्निकप्रकाश p. 335.

CHAPTER XVIII

PAÑCA MAHĀYAJÑAS

Pañca Mahāyajñas:—(the five daily great observances or sacrifices).

From early Vedic times five daily observances called *mahāyajñas* were prescribed. The Śat. Br. (XI. 5. 6. I.)¹⁶⁶⁴ says 'there are only five mahāyajñas, 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 mahāyajñas indeed are spread out continuously, viz. devayajña, pitryajña, bhūtajajña, manuṣyayajña, brahmayajña. That is fulfilled as devayajña when one makes an offering in fire, even if it be a mere fuel-stick; when one offers svadhā (śrāddha repast) to the fathers, even if it be mere water, that becomes pitryajña; when a man offers a *bali* (a ball of food) to the beings it becomes bhūtajajña, when he gives food to brāhmaṇas that becomes manuṣyayajña. When one studies svādhyāya even if it be a single ṛk or yajus formula or a *sāman*, it becomes brahmayajña'.¹⁶⁶⁵

The Āśv. gr. (III 1. 1-4) speaks of the five mahāyajñas and defines them in practically the same words as the Tai. Ār. II. 10 and enjoins that those yajñas must be performed every-day. Nārāyaṇa on Āśv. gr. III 1. 2 expressly asserts that the

1664. पञ्चैव महायज्ञाः । तान्येव महासत्राणि भूतयज्ञो मनुष्ययज्ञः पितृयज्ञो देवयज्ञो ब्रह्मयज्ञ इति । शतपथ ब्रा. XI. 5. 6. 1. These words are quoted by विश्वरूप on या. I. 101. The शतपथ proceeds to define these 'अहरहर्भूतेभ्यो बलिं हरत् । तथैतं भूतयज्ञं समामोत्यहरहर्दद्यादोदधानात्तथैतं मनुष्ययज्ञं समामोत्यहरहः स्वधा कुर्वादोदधानात्तथैतं पितृयज्ञं समामोत्यहरहः स्वाहाकुर्वद्वा काष्ठात्तथैतं देवयज्ञं समामोति ॥ अथ ब्रह्मयज्ञः । स्वाध्यायो वै ब्रह्मयज्ञः ।'

1665. पञ्च वा एते महायज्ञाः सतति प्रतायन्ते सतति संतिष्ठन्ते देवयज्ञः पितृयज्ञो भूतयज्ञो मनुष्ययज्ञो ब्रह्मयज्ञ इति । यदग्नौ जुहोत्यपि समिधं तद्देवयज्ञः संतिष्ठते । यद् पितृभ्यः स्वधा करोत्यप्यपस्ततिपितृयज्ञः संतिष्ठते । यच्चूतेभ्यो बलिं हरति तद् भूतयज्ञः संतिष्ठते । यद् ब्राह्मणेभ्योन्नं दद्याति तन्मनुष्ययज्ञः संतिष्ठते । यत्स्वाध्यायमधीधीतैकामप्युचं यजुः साम वा तद् ब्रह्मयज्ञः संतिष्ठते ॥ तै. आ. II. 10.

basis of the five yajñas is the Tai. Ār. ¹⁰⁶⁶ The Āp. 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. Ār. 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 ¹⁶⁶⁷ them. Gaut. V. 8 and VIII. 17, Baud. Dh. S. II. 6. 1-8, Gobhīlasmṛti 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. अथातः पञ्च यज्ञाः । देवयज्ञो भूतयज्ञः पितृयज्ञो ब्रह्मयज्ञो मनुष्ययज्ञ इति । आश्व. गृ. III. 1. 1-2; पञ्चयज्ञानां हि तैत्तिरीयारण्यकं मूलं पञ्च वा एते महायज्ञा इत्यादि । नारायण on आश्व. गृ. III. 1. 3. The परा. मा. I. part 1 p. 11 also notes that the five yajñas are prescribed in the Tai. Ār. and draws therefrom the sweeping generalization that all smṛti rules were known to śruti.

1667. अथ ब्राह्मणोक्ता विधयः । तेषां महायज्ञा महासत्राणीति च संस्तुतिः । अहरह-
र्भूतबलिर्मनुष्येभ्यो यथाशक्ति दानम् । देवेभ्यः स्वादाकार आकाशात्पितृभ्यः स्वधाकार
ओदंपात्रादृविभ्यः स्वाध्याय इति । आप. घ. सू. I. 4. 12. 13—I. 4. 13. 1. Vide
Baud. Dh. S. II. 6. 1-8 for very similar words.

great Gods¹⁶⁶⁸ of Heaven and thus show his reverence and devotion to them. Similarly everyone could show his reverence for 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, kindness and tolerance seem to have been the springs that prompted the Aryans of old to emphasize the importance of the five daily yajñas and to have led sūtra 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 yajñas. According to Manu III. 68-71, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 59. 19-20. Śaṅkha 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 yajñas were devised by the great sages as atonements for the sins arising from these five sources of injury to life. These five are: brahmayajña which consists in the study and teaching of the Veda, pitṛyajña which consists of *tarpaṇa*, daivayajña which consists in offerings made into fire, bhūtayajña which is offering oblations to beings and manuṣyayajña 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) further¹⁶⁷⁰ says that former sages had a different nomenclature for the five

1668. त्वामग्ने आदित्यास आर्यं त्वां जिह्वां क्षुचयश्चक्रिरे कवे । क्र. II. 1. 13; त्वे अग्ने विश्वे अभुवासां अद्भुह आता देवा हविरदन्त्याहुतम् । क्र. II. 1. 14.

1669. स्वाध्यायेन व्रतैर्होमैश्चैविद्येनेज्यया सुतैः । भद्रायज्ञैश्च यज्ञैश्च जाह्नवीयं क्रियते ततः ॥ मनु II. 28.

1670. आश्व. सु. I. 1. 2-3 supports मनु 'त्रयः पाकयज्ञाः । हुता अग्नौ हवमाना अग्नाग्ने भृता जाह्नवाभोजने जाह्नवि हुताः ।'

yajñas i. e. *ahuta*, *huta*, *prahuta*, *brāhmya-huta* and *prāśita*, which were the same respectively as *japa* (or *brahmayajña*), *homa* (*devayajña*), *bhūtayajña*, *manuṣyayajña* 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 *pitṛs* 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 Pār. gr. I. 4 say that there are four *pākayajñas* viz. *huta*, *ahuta*, *prahuta* and *prāśita* and Śān. gr. I. 10. 7¹⁶⁷² explains that they are respectively the same as *agnihotra* (or *daivayajña*), *bali* (*bhūtayajña*), *pitṛyajña* and *brāhmya-huta* (or *mānuṣyayajña*). The Hārta-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'.¹⁶⁷³ Although in the Āp. Dh. S. and others the five *yajñas* are enumerated in the order of *bhūta-yajña*, *manuṣya-yajña*,

1671. यन्मा हृतमहुतमाजगाम तत्तं पितृभिरनुमतं मनुष्यैः । परमान्मे मन उदिव
राजोत्यग्निदह्योता सुहुतं कृणोत ॥ अथर्ववेद VI. 71. 2.

1672. हृतोऽग्निदोत्रदोमेण अहुतो बलिकर्मणः । प्रहुतः पितृकर्मणा प्रशितो ब्राह्मणे
हुतः ॥ शां. गृ. I. 10. 7. Vide बौ. गृ. I. 1. 1-11 for a somewhat different terminology.

1673. Vide Appendix under note 1673.

devayajña, pitṛyajña and svādhyāya, still the proper order from the point of view of the times of performance is first brahmajajña (japa &c.), then devayajña, then bhūtajajña, then pitṛyajña, and lastly manuṣyajajña.¹⁶⁷⁴ 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 brahmajajña¹⁶⁷⁵ and pitṛyajña. According to Gobhila-smṛti II. 28-29 quoted above (n. 1663), japa prescribed in saṁdhyā adoration may be looked upon as brahmajajña, that the latter may be performed before tarpaṇa and after the morning homa or after vaiśvadeva. Nārāyaṇa on Āśv. gr. III. 2. 1 says that brahmajajña may be performed before or after vaiśvadeva. According to the Snānasūtra of Kātyāyana, brahmajajña precedes tarpaṇa and Āśv. gr. as stated above (p. 695) appears to regard tarpaṇa 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 tarpaṇa (done after bath) constitutes pitṛyajña. Therefore Gobhila says that śrāddha, tarpaṇa and the bali offered to pitṛs constitute pitṛyajña and even when one of them is gone through, the performance of pitṛyajña is effected and it is not necessary to perform all three.¹⁶⁷⁶ In the bali-haraṇa (described below) the remnants of bali are offered to pitṛs (Āśv. 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 Brāhmaṇa, after stating that brahmajajña is one's own daily study of the Veda, compares several elements required in the ordinary sacrifice to certain elements of brahmajajña, viz. the juhū spoon, upabhr̥t, dhruvā, sruva, avabhr̥tha (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 चायस्य देशकर्मोऽनुष्ठान उपयुज्यते । अनुष्ठानं तु ब्रह्मयज्ञो देवयज्ञो भूतयज्ञः
पितृयज्ञो मनुष्ययज्ञ इति । हरदत्त on आप. घ. सू. I. 4. 13. 1.

1675. कालादर्शे । प्रातर्मध्यह्नौ च वापि ब्रह्मयज्ञो विधीयते । आतर्थादि तदा प्राहुराहुः
परतो भवेत् ॥ मध्याह्ने चैत् तर्पणात् प्राग्वैश्वदेवात्परत्र वा । quoted in स्मृतिसु. (आह्निक) p. 368.

1676. आह्नं वा पितृयज्ञः स्यात् पित्रोर्बलिर्वापि वा । गोमिलस्मृति II. 28 ;
आह्नं नित्यआह्नम् । एतेन त्रयाणां पितृयज्ञत्वादसंभवे एकेनापि कृतेन पितृयज्ञनिष्पत्तेः पितृ-
यज्ञाकारणमसकः मत्तवायः परिहृतो भवति । आह्निकमकारा p. 391.

are present in brahmayajña).¹⁶⁷⁷ 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 *pitṛs*. 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 boons stated above, the works being *Anuśāsanas* (*Vedāṅgas*), *vidyās* (such as *sarpa* and *devajana vidyā* mentioned in *Chāndogya* VII. 1. 1), *vākovākya* (theological discourses called *brahmodya*, as in *Vāj. S.* 23. 9-12 and 45-62), *Itihāsapurāṇa* (traditional history and legends), *Gāthās*, *Nārāsaṃs* (i. e. stanzas in praise of heroes).¹⁶⁷⁸ The *Tai. Ār.* (II. 10-13) has a more lengthy passage on brahmayajña; *Tai. Ār.* II. 10 is almost ¹⁶⁷⁹ the same as *Śat. Br.* except in two respects, viz. in the *Tai. Ār.* *Atharvāṅgirasas* are said to be honey offerings and *brāhmaṇa* texts, *itihāsas*, *purāṇas*, *kalpas* (works on *śrauta* ritual) and *Gāthā Nārāsaṃs* 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 *upavīta* 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. *Juhū*, *upabhr̥t*, *dhruvā* and *sruva* are sacrificial ladles and will be described later under *śrauta* sacrifices.

1678. According to the *Tai. Br.* II. 7. 5 'मनुष्या वै नरांसः', vide *शतपथब्राह्मण* 16. 11 where many lists of *नरांस* hymns occur, *Rg.* I. 125 being one hymn of that kind. *अथर्व* XX. 127. 1 has the word *नरांस* and *आ* V. 18. 5. is *नरांसि*.

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 *pavitrās* (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 (Rg. I. 164. 39 is quoted). He recites the syllables *bhūh*, *bhuvah*, *svah*; he thereby (by repeating the *vyāhrtis*) 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 *Savitṛ*, 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 *brahmayajña* 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 *brahmayajña* 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 *brahmayajña* 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 *Āśv. gr.* III. 4. 6 where the Tai. Ār. allowing recitation of the Veda even while standing or lying down is quoted.

the great Viṣṇu'.¹⁶⁸¹ 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.¹⁶⁸² 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 bhu-vaḥ svaḥ; the Gāyatrī verse repeated thrice; then at least one ṛk verse and then the verse 'namo brahmaṇe' (quoted above) repeated thrice. The Āhnikaprakāśa p. 329 says that one who knows only a portion of the Veda should recite as brahmayajña the Puruṣasūkta (Rg. X. 90) and other hymns and one who knows only the Gāyatrī should repeat 'om' as brahmayajña every day.¹⁶⁸³ Āśv. gr. (III. 3. 1) mentions the following works for svādhyāya, Rgveda, Yajurveda, Sāmeveda, Atharvāṅgirasah, Brāhmaṇas, Kalpas, Gāthās Nārāsaṁs, 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 Sāh. gr. I. 4 prescribes several hymns and verses of the Rgveda for reciting in brahmayajña. Others following different Vedas and Sākhās differ as to the content of the brahmayajña. Vide Āhnikaprakāśa pp. 328-336 for brahmayajña according to Kātyāyana and according to the followers of Sāmaveda. Yāj. 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 *śūstris*) in modern times and a fixed formula of brahmayajña has been decided upon, which is recited once a year in Śrāvaṇa by most brāhmaṇas in the Deccan. The formula for students of the Rgveda is as follows:

1681. नमो ब्रह्मणे नमोऽस्त्वग्नये नमः पृथिव्यै नम ओषधीभ्यः । नमो वाचे नमो वाचस्पतये नमो विष्णवे बृहते करोमि ॥ तै. आ. II. 13. This occurs in आश्व. गृ. III. 3. 4 where महते is read for बृहते.

1682. स यावन्नम्येत तावदधीत्येतया परिब्रूयाति । नमो ब्रह्मणे...करोमीति । आश्व. गृ. III. 3. 4 on which Nārāyaṇa observes 'स यावत्कालमेकाग्रमनसा आत्मानं मन्येत तावत्कालमेवाधीयीत न ब्रूयात्पश्येतस्या इति नियमः । सर्वथा समाहितमनसैवाध्येतस्य नेव तानियम इत्यर्थः । १.

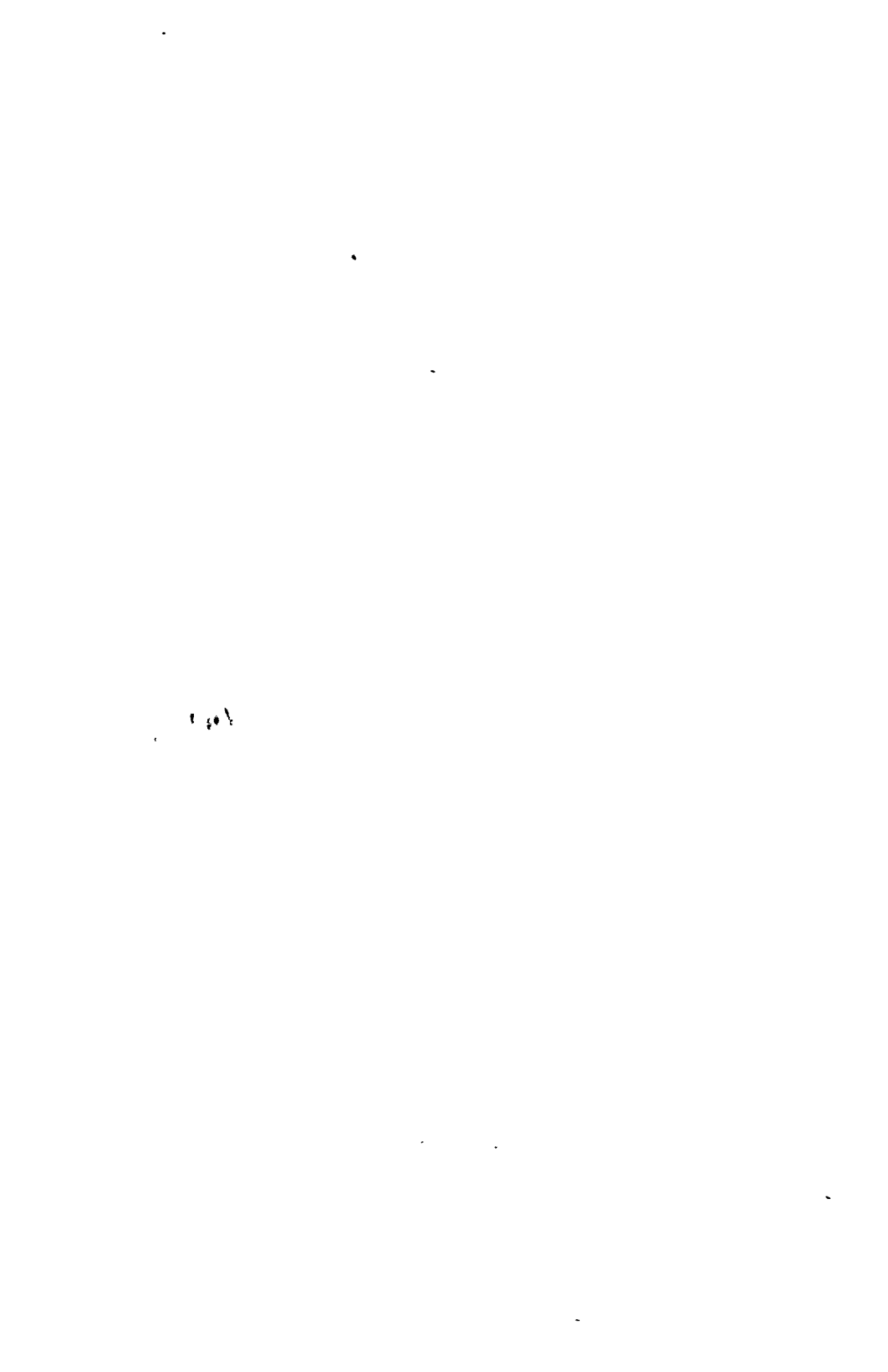
1683. एकब्रूयाध्यायिना पुष्पसूक्तदिपाठेन सावित्रीमन्त्राध्यायिना प्रणवपाठेन नित्यं ब्रह्मयज्ञः कर्तव्यः । आह्निकप्रकाश p. 329.

After reciting 'om bhūr bhuvaḥ svaḥ' and the sacred Gāyatrī, he recites Rg. 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 Nighaṇṭu and the six Vedāṅgas viz. Āśv. śrauta, Nirukta, Chandas, Nighaṇṭu, Jyotiṣa, Śikṣā, Pāṇini's grammar in order; the first 'pāda' of Yāj. I. 1 and of the Mahābhārata (I.1.1), the first sūtra of the Nyāya, Pūrvamīmāṃsā and Uttaramīmāṃsā; then a benedictory formula ('tacchaṃyor... catuṣpade') and lastly the verse 'namo brahmaṇe' is repeated thrice.¹⁶⁸⁴ After this brahmayajña, tarpaṇa of devas, sages and pitṛs follows.

The Dharmasindhu (III. pūrvārdha p. 299) says that brahmayajña is to be performed once either after morning homa or after midday saṃdhyā or after Vaiśvadeva, but those who study the Āśvalāyanasūtra should perform it only after midday saṃdhyā. After ācamana and prāṇāyāma one should make the saṃkalpa (śrīparamēśvaraprītyartham brahmayajñam kariṣye tadāṅgatayā devaṛṣyācārya-tarpaṇam kariṣye) and if one's father is dead one should add in the saṃkalpa (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 Taittirīya śākhā repeat the words 'vidyud-asī vidya me pāpmānam-ṛtāt satyam-upaimi' at the commencement and the words 'viṣṭirasi vṛṣca me pāpmānam-ṛtāt satyam-upāgām' at the end. If a man is unable to repeat brahmayajña sitting he may do it even when lying down.

The Dharmasindhu notes that according to the followers of the Taittirīya śākhā and of the Vājasaneyā Saṃhitā tarpaṇa is not a part of brahmayajña and so tarpaṇa may be performed by them either before brahmayajña or even some time after brahmayajña.

1684. After Rg. I. 1. 1-9 the following are repeated अग्निर्वै देवता-
ममो विष्णुः परमः । अथ महाब्रतम् । एष पन्था एतत्कर्म । अथातः संहिताया उपनिषद् । विदा
मयवन्विदा । महाब्रतस्य पंचविंशति सामिधेन्यः । इषे त्वोर्जे त्वा । अग्न आवाहि वीतये । ईं नो
देवीरभिष्टये । अथैतस्य समान्नायरय । समान्नायः समान्नातः । मयस्तजमनलमसंमितम् ।
गोः ग्मा । पञ्चसंवत्सरमयम् । अथ जिज्ञां प्रदयामि । इन्द्रियादैश्च । योगीश्वरं चक्रवर्त्यम् ।
नारायणं नमस्कृत्य । अथातो धर्मं स्वरूपास्यामः । अथातो धर्मजिज्ञासा । अथातो ब्रह्म-
जिज्ञासा । तच्छ्रुत्वा बुधीर्महे । गातुं यज्ञाय गातुं यज्ञपतये । देवी स्वस्तिरस्तु नः । स्वस्तिर्मा-
नुष्येभ्यः । ऊर्ध्वं जिगातु मेघजम् । ईं नो अस्तु द्विपदे ईं चतुष्पदे । नमो ब्रह्मणे (विः).
Vide Appendix under note 1684.



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