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1941
HISTORY OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA
(ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL
RELIGIOUS AND CIVIL LAW)

BY
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VOL. II PART I

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It is a little over ten years since the first volume of my History of Dharmasastra 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 Dharmasastra. 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 Dharmasastra. 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 Dharmasastra 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 Dharmasastra.

The present volume contains the treatment of varna and āśrama, the samskāras, āhṇika and ācāra, dāna, pratiṣṭhā and utsarga, and śrauta (vedic) sacrifices. The next volume (the last) will deal with the following topics: vyavahāra (Law and procedure), āśauca (impurity on birth and death), śrāddha, prāyaścitta, tīrtha, vrata, kāla, śānti, the influence of the Pūrva-mimāṃsa and other śāstras on Dharmasastra, customs and usages modifying Dharmasastra, the philosophical background of Dharmasastra, and future developments in Dharmasastra. Looking to my past performance I am unwilling to make any promise about the time when the next volume may be

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

15th June 1941

P. V. KANE
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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

F. n. = Footnote.
Fick = The Social organization in North-east India in Buddha’s time (translated from German by Dr. Shishirkumara Maitra, 1920).

Gaut. = Dharmasutra of Gautama.
Gr. R. = Gṛhastraṅākara of Cāndesvara.
G. S. = Gupta sāṁvut.

H. A. S. L. = History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature by Prof. Max Müller (1859).
Hir. gr. = Hiraṇyakesī-grhya-sūtra.
I. A. = Indian Antiquary.
I. H. Q. = Indian Historical Quarterly.
I. L. R. = India Law Reports series.
Ins. = Inscription or inscriptions.


Kāṭhaka S. = Kāṭhaka Samhitā.
Kaut. = 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. = Maitrayani-samhitā.
Mānava gr. = Mānava-grhyasūtra.
Mārk. or Mārkandeya = Mārkandeya-purāṇa.
Mit. = The commentary Mitākṣāra on Yājñavalkya Smṛti.
Moo. I. A. = Moore’s Indian Appeals.
n. = footnote.

Pān. = Pāṇini’s Astādhyāyī.
P and M = Pollock and Maitland’s History of English Law.

Pār. gr. = Pāraskara-grhya-sūtra.
Par. M. = Parāśara-Mādhavīya.
Pat. = Patañjali’s Mahābhāṣya.
Q. = Quoted.
Rel. and Phil. = Prof. Keith’s ‘Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads.’
Rg. = Rgveda.
Rit. Lit. = Hillebrandt’s ‘Ritual Litteratur Vedische Opfer und Zauber’.
Sam. K. = Saṃskāra-kaustubha of Anantadeva.
Sam. P. or Pr. = Saṃskāraprakāśa of Mitramiśra.
Sam. R. M. or S. R. M. = Saṃskāra-ratna-mālā of Gopīnātha.
Śāṅg. gr. = Śāṅkhyāyana-grhya-sūtra.
Sat. 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-candrika.
Sm. M. or Smr. M. = Smṛtimuktāphala of Vaidyanātha.
Śr. P. N. = Śrautapadarthaṇirvacana.
S. V. = Sāmaveda.
Tai. Ar. = Taittirīya Āraṇyaka.
Tai. S. or Sam. = Taittirīya Samhitā.
Tr. = Translation or translated (according to context).
Up. = Upaniṣad.
Vāj. S. = Vājasaneyā Samhitā.
Vaik. or Vaikhānasa = Vaikhānasa-smārtasūtra.
Vas. or Vas. Dh. S. = Vasiṣṭha-dharmaśūtra.
Viṣṇu. Dh. S. = Viṣṇu-dharma-sūtra.
V. S. = Vedānta-sūtra.
Yāj. = Yājñavalkyasmrṭi.
Yatī. Dh. S. or Yatidhrma-samgraha.

H. D. B
History of Dharwaiasira

मेधा. = मेधातिथि (मनुमृत्तिभाष्यकार)
मेत्त्र. उ. = मेत्त्रायणीसंहिता
मेत्री. उप. = मेत्रेयुगिनिष्ठ
यति. श. सं. = यत्तियमसंक्रह
या. ओर याङ. = याङवलक्यमृति
वाज. सं. = वाजसनेयसंहिता
वि. वि = विवादविलामणि
विवश्रूप = वाङवलक्यमृत्तिरिक्ता of विवश्रूप
ब्र. र. = विवादसंक्रह
ब्र. स. म. = ब्राह्यमालाकार
ब्र. ध. म. = ब्राह्यमालाकार
ब्र. ध. म. = ब्राह्यमालाकार
ब्र. = ब्राह्यमालाकार
सं. मु. = संस्कारकृतसंमूल
सं. स. म. = संस्कारलिपि
स्मृतिक. = स्मृतिकृतिनिग्रह
स्म. मु. or स्मिति = स्मितिमुक्ति

कौशलिक भाष. = कौशलिकब्राह्मणोपनिष्ठ
व. र. or वृह. र. = वृहस्पति नाकर
गृ. or गृह. श. सू. = गृहस्तमृतमृत
खृ. उ. = खृष्टोपनिष्ठ
त्र्त. = पूर्वमीमांसासूत्र
त्र्त. उ. भ्र. = त्र्त्तिमीमांसायुष्माण
त्र. आ. = त्तितिसारस्कर
त्र. उ. = त्तितियोपनिष्ठ
t्र. भ्र. = त्तितियायुष्माण
त्र. सं. = त्तितियसंहिता
परा. म. = पाराशास्त्रलिपि
प. = पाणिनीसाद्याय
पूर्वम. = पूर्वमीमांसासूत्र
ब्रह. = ब्रह्मसत्त्वि (as quoted in digests)
ब्रह. उ. = ब्रह्मदर्शनोपनिष्ठ
ब्र. गृ. = ब्राह्मणमीमांसासूत्र
ब्र. ध. or ब्र. ध. = ब्राह्मणमीमांसासूत्र
ब्र. = ब्राह्यमालाकार
मुद = मृदुसूति
मिति. = मिताक्षरा (याङवलक्यमृत्तिरिक्ता)
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tr>
<td>4000 B.C.-1000 B.C.</td>
<td>The period of the Vedic Samhitas, Brahmanaş 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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>800 B.C.-500 B.C.</td>
<td>The Nirukta.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>800 B.C.-400 B.C.</td>
<td>The principal śrauta sūtras (of Āpastamba, Āśvalāyana, Baudhāyana, Kātyāyana, Sānkhyāyana, Lātyāyana, Drāhyāyana, Satyāśādha) and some of the grhya sūtras (Āśvalāyana, Āpastamba &amp;c.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>600 B.C.-300 B.C.</td>
<td>The dharmasūtras of Āpastamba, Gautama, Baudhāyana, Vasiṣṭha and the Grhya-sūtras of Pāraskara, Baudhāyana and some others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>600 B.C.-300 B.C.</td>
<td>Pāṇini.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500 B.C.-200 B.C.</td>
<td>Jaimini’s Pūrvamīmāṁsā-sūtra.</td>
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<td>300 B.C.-100 A.D.</td>
<td>Kauṭilya’s Arthaśāstra</td>
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<td>150 B.C.</td>
<td>Mahābhāṣya of Pataṇjali.</td>
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<td>100 A.D.-400 A.D.</td>
<td>Nāradasmṛti.</td>
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<tr>
<td>300 A.D.-500 A.D.</td>
<td>Bṛhaspatismṛti (not yet found).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300 A.D.-600 A.D.</td>
<td>Some of the extant purāṇas viz. Vāyu, Visnu, Mārkāṇḍeya, Kūrma, Matsya.</td>
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<tr>
<td>400 A.D.-600 A.D.</td>
<td>Kātyāyanasmṛti (not yet found).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>650 A.D.-750 A.D.</td>
<td>Tantravārtika of Kumārika.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>788 A.D.-820 A.D.</td>
<td>Śaṅkarācārya, the great Advaita philosopher.</td>
</tr>
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600 A. D.—900 A. D.—Most of the other smṛtis and some of the purāṇas.

900 A. D. —Medhātithi, com. of Manu
1100 A. D. —Mitāksara of Vijnāneśvara.
1100 A. D.—1150 A. D.—Kalpataru of Lakṣmiṇidhara.
1100 A. D.—1150 A. D.—Jimūtavāhana.
1125 A. D. —Aparārka.
1150 A. D.—1200 A. D.—Smṛtyarthasāra.
1200 A. D.—1235 A. D.—Smrticandrika.
1150 A. D.—1300 A. D.—Haradatta.
1150 A. D.—1300 A. D.—Kuḷūka.
1260 A. D.—1270 A. D.—Hemādrī's Caturvargacintāmaṇī.
1310 A. D.—1360 A. D.—Candesvara, author of the Ġṛhaṣṭhaṛatnākara and other Ratnākaras.
1360 A. D.—1390 A. D.—Madanapārijāta.
1425 A. D.—1450 A. D.—Madanaratna.
1610 A. D.—1640 A. D.—Kamalākarabhaṭṭa, author of Nirmaya-sindhu and Śūdrakamalākara.

About 1686 A. D.—Smṛtimuktāphala of Vaidyanātha.
1700 A. D.—1750 A. D.—Nāgojībhāṭṭa.
1750 A. D.—1820 A. D.—Bāḷabhāṭṭa, author of Bāḷabhāṭṭī.
1790 A. D. —Dharmasindhu (of Kāśīnātha).
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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 brahmačārin 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 añvatttha tree. Imparting of sacred Gāyatrī to the student.
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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. Brahmacārya and householder’s stage well-known even to the Rgveda. Vaikhānasas and yati in Vedic Literature. Three āśramas expressly mentioned in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad. Idea of mokṣa (release from saṃsāra). Vān and āśrama complementary. Three different points of view about the four āśramas.

CHAP. IX. 427-541

Marriage. The most important saṃskāra 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 abhyantara (invisible or inferrible). Four or five grounds for preferring a particular girl. Selecting a girl by asking her to take one out of several lumps of clay gathered from various places. In ancient times brotherless maidens not accepted as brides. No unmarried woman was deemed in medieval times to go to heaven. Restrictions as to caste, gotra, pravara and sapinda relationship. Breach of these rules rendered a so-called marriage null and void. Age of marriage for men not fixed. Age of marriage for girls varied at different periods. In the ancient sūtras girls were married about the time of puberty. Reasons for insistence on pre-puberty marriages in Yajnavalkyasūrti and other works not clear. Examples of inter-caste marriages in Vedic Literature, in dharma and grhya 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 Dāyahāga 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 ksatriyas and vaiśyas. Names of ksatriya 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 rāksasa and pāśāca marriages. Svayamvara. Only two forms of marriage in vogue in modern times. Procedure of marriage in the Rgveda and in the grhya sūtras. List of the several elements in the marriage rite and
their description. When marriage becomes complete and irre-vocable. Marriage brought about by force or fraud.

**CHAP. X.**

542-549

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

**CHAP. XI.**

550-582

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

**CHAP. XII.**

583-592

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 digestes 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.**

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

**CHAP. XIV.**

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

**CHAP. XV.**

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

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

CHAP. XVII. 640-695

Āhnikā and ācāra. Importance of the stage of householder. Grhastrhas grouped into śālīna and yāyāvāra. 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 cirajivins. 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). Dantadhāvanā (brushing the teeth) existed from the most ancient times. What twigs to be used for it. Times when there is to be no brushing of teeth. Snāna (bath). Kuṣas necessary in most religious acts. Rules about collecting kuṣas. Snāna twice a day or thrice according to some. No bath at night (except on rare occasions). Natural water preferred to water drawn from wells or hot water. Procedure of bathing. Rules about the clay to be employed for smearing and cleaning the body. Ten good results of a bath. Six varieties of bathing with water. How one who is ill is to be purified. Tarpanā as a constituent part of snāna. Clothes to be worn by a householder. Making marks on the forehead after bathing. Urdhvapūṇḍra and Tripūṇḍra. Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava sectarians condemning each other's marks. Saṃdhya after bath. Homa. Two views about performing it before or after sunrise. Agniḥotra twice daily. Three or five or six fires. When to begin maintaining grhya fire. Materials for 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 grhya fire if householder be ill. Japa of Vedic texts. What are maṅgala (auspicious) objects. The matters described so far occupy first eighth part of the day. In 2nd part revision of Vedic texts, collecting fuel sticks, flowers, kuṣas &c. In 3rd part one was to find out means of maintenance and to earn wealth. In 4th part mid-day bath. Then tarpana of gods, sages and pīṭras. A brief tarpana 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 brahmayajña, devayajña, bhūtayajña, pitryajña and manusya-yajña. *Brahmayajña*. Earliest description in Śatapatha Br. and Tai. Ār. *Brahmayajña* for Rgvedins described.

**CHAP. XIX.** 705-740

*Devayajña*. In sūtras homa is *Devayajña*. 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. Linga 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, Śaṅkragrāma and other sacred stones. Pañcāyataṇa-pūjā. 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 Ganeśa and Dattātreya. 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


**CHAP. XXI.** 741-756

*Nryajña* or *Manusya-yajña* (honouring guests). Guests honoured from Rgveda downwards. Who is an *āsthi*. Modes
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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 pāṅktis (rows of dinners) were distinguished. Who are pāṅktipāvana brāhmaṇas. Etiquette at time of bhojana. Occasions (like eclipses) when abstaining from food was prescribed. What food should or should not be eaten. Various grounds on which food was forbidden. Flesh-eating in Vedic times. Sacredness of cow. Pañcagavya. Occasions when cow could be offered in sacrifices. Rules about the flesh of beasts, birds and fishes. Causes of the giving up of flesh-eating. Kṣatriyas have been meat-eaters from ancient times. Rules about taking milk and its products and about certain herbs and vegetables. Exhaustive list of persons whose food may not be taken. Great fluctuations about the rules as to whose food may not be taken by a brāhmaṇa. Laxity about food prepared with ghee, oil or milk. Food from five classes of śūdras could be taken by brāhmaṇas in the times of sūtras, but later on this was forbidden. Rules about persons who could cook and serve food for brāhmaṇas. Drinking liquor in ancient times. All intoxicants forbidden to brāhmaṇas from sūtra times, but some intoxicants allowed to kṣatriyas and others. Madyas of various kinds. Tāmbūla after bhojana. Acts to be done after bhojana. Rules about sleeping. Sexual intercourse between husband and wife. Rules about 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 Śrāvana and the Śrāvana constellation. Procedure of upākarma in ancient times. Analysis of the constituents of upākarma in modern times. Holiday after upākarma. Divergence about times of utsarjana. Description of modern utsarjana.
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CHAP. XXIV. 819-836


CHAP. XXV. 837-888

Dāna (gifts). Dāna is a special feature of householder's stage. Gifts highly extolled in the Rgveda. Gift of horses censured in some works. Gifts of land were not favoured in very early times. Difference between dāna, yāga and homa. Meaning of īṣṭāpūrta. 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 Tula-puruśa and other mahādānas. Gift of cows highly extolled. Gifts of ten kinds called dhenuś such as of ghee, jaggery &c. Ten kinds of gifts called parvata or meru dūnas viz. of heaps of corn, salt, sesame &c. Establishing a pavilion for distributing water. Gift of books. Gifts for propitiating planets. Founding of hospitals. Expiations for accepting gifts which should not have been accepted. When gift becomes irrevocable. Kinds of invalid gifts. Gifts to dharma held void by modern courts.

CHAP. XXVI. 889-916

Pratisthā and Utsarga (founding of temples and dedication of wells &c.). Women and śūdras also could spend on pūrta-
dharma, though not on īṣṭa (vedic sacrifices). Charitable works for the benefit of the public came to be regarded as more meritorious than sacrifices. Procedure of dedicating a tank or well to the public in the sūtras. Procedure prescribed in purāṇas gradually superseded the sūtra procedure. Meaning of dāna, pratiṣṭhā and utsarga. Trees highly valued in ancient India. Trees supposed to save a man from hell just as a son did. Worship of trees. Consecration of images in temples. Image worship in a public temple or privately. Procedure of consecration of images according to the Matsya-purāṇa. In later times other details added from Tantra works. Three kinds of Nyāsas viz, mātrkānyāsa, 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 (punah-pratiṣṭhā) becomes necessary. Jirnoddhāra (repairing or re-construing 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 Śāmkarācārya. 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

Vanaprastha (forest hermit). Vaikhānasa, ancient word for vānaprastha. An ancient work called Vaikhānasa sūtra or śastra. 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 samnyāsins. So vānaprastha stage forbidden in Kali age by the Nārādiya-purāṇa and other works.

CHAP. XXVIII. 930-975

Sāmnyāsa (order of ascetics). Life of giving up worldly ties, of begging and contemplation on the Absolute known to the earliest Upanisads, Jābālopaniṣad prescribes rules for ascetics. The most salient features of sāmnyāsa gathered from the dharmasūtras and smṛtis. Tridandi and ekadandi ascetics. Four kinds of ascetics, kuticaka, bahūdaka, haṁsa and parama-haṁsa and their characteristics. Popular notion that the paramahamsa is beyond all rules and prohibitions combated by ancient texts. Vidvat-saṁnyāsa and vīvidaṁ-saṁnyāsa. The turiyātita 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 sūdra 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 ahiṁsā in medieval times. A saṁnyāsin is severed from his family and losses 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 Dharmasindhu. Principal elements are; eight śrāddhas, sāvitrīpraveśa, virājḥoma, declaration of leaving home, all wealth and desires and taking vow of ahiṁsā, giving up of topknot and sacred thread, teaching by guru of pāncikaraṇa and mahāvākyas (like tat tvam-asi), giving of a new name by the teacher, yogapatta (p. 962), paryanka-sauca. 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 parisad for deciding a doubtful point about dharma. Siṣṭas constitute a parisad. Meaning of Siṣṭa. The council of eight ministers established by Shivaji and the duties of the Panditrao, one of these eight. Panditrao took advice of the parisads of learned brāhmaṇas on questions of re-admission of converts, expiations &c. Many features of asceticism are common to all religions. It is a partial truth that Indians have the highest regard for the ascetic.

CHAP. XXIX. 976-1008


CHAP. XXX. 1009-1090

History of Dharmāstra


CHAP. XXXI. 1091-1108

Caturmasyas (seasonal sacrifices). Four Caturmāsya each called a parvan, viz. Vaiśvadeva, Varuṇapraghāsa, Sākamedha and Śūnāṣṭriya, respectively performed on Full moon days of Phālguna, Āṣadh, 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 Caturmāsya. Caturmāsya may be performed throughout life or for one year. Three special offerings in Vaiśvadeva-parva. Nine prayājas and nine anuyājas 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 Varuṇapraghāsas. The wife has to declare or indicate if she has any paramour. Concluding avabhrtha (bath) in a river or the like. Sākamedha requires two days. Three īṣīs and a mahāhavis of eight offerings to eight deities. Then pitṛyajña (called mahāpitrīyajña) on a separate vedi. Also Traiyambaka homa offered to Rudra. Śūnāṣṭriyaparvan has three special offerings to Śunāśirau, Vāyu and Sūrya. Īṣī called Agrayana (offering of first fruits) in Sarad on Full moon day. Other īṣīs performed for some specific objects e.g. putreṣṭi for son, Kārīṛṣṭi for rain &c.
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CHAP. XXXII. 1193-1132

*Nirūdhapaśubandha or Paśubandha (animal sacrifice).* A victim is offered in Somayāga also, but as part of it. Nirūdhapāsu is an independent sacrifice to be performed by an āhitāgni every six months or once a year. Six priests required in this sacrifice. Procedure of animal sacrifice. Selecting a tree and making a yūpa (sacrificial post) and a head piece (casāla) for the post. Preparing a vedi and a raised platform on it called ullaavedi 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-purodāśa. Heart of victim is roasted with a pike on śāmitra fire and offered as havis to Manotā. Priests and sacrificer partake of uḷā 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 Śuktavāka. Maitrāvaruna throws his staff into fire. Offerings of Paṭnī-saṁyājas with portions of the tail. Kāmyūh Pasāvah (animal sacrifices from various desires). Ekādaśa, a group sacrifice of eleven victims.

CHAP. XXXIII. 1133-1203

*Agnistoma.* Sacrifices are divided into īṣṭi, paśu and soma. Seven forms of soma sacrifices, Agnistoma, Atyagnistoma, Ukhṭya &c. Soma sacrifices divided into ekāha, ahīna and sattra. Jyotiṣṭoma, often identified with Agnistoma, usually lasts for five days. Chief rites performed on those five days. Time for performing Agnistoma. Priests invited and honoured with Madhuparka. Requesting the king for sacrificial ground (devayajana). Sacrificer and his wife undergo āpsu-dikṣā and subsist on milk or light food. Purification of both with bunches of darbhas. Procedure of dikṣaṇtyā īṣṭi 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 prayāniṇī īṣṭa. 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 pågvarDSA. Recital of the Su-
brahmanyâ litany by the Subrahmanyâ 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 ähavanîya. Ätilhyestî
(isti for hospitably receiving king Soma) follows. Then comes Tanûnaptra (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 Agni-stoma. The heated milk is called gharma and the pot of heated milk Mahavlra or
Samrât. Wife was not to look at it (at least in the beginning), nor šûdras. On 2nd, 3rd and 4th days Pravargya and Upasad
performed twice. How pravargya apparatus is discharged (udvâsana). Upasad is an istî. Mantras repeated in Upasad
refer to sieges of iron, silver and gold castles. On 2nd day of upasads Mahâvedî is prepared, on which a quadrangular platform
(called uttaravedi) is raised and a square hole called nabhî is made on which fire is brought on the 4th day from the
original ähavanîya. Erection of the harvidhâna-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
harvidhâna maṇḍapa. Planting of an udumbara post in sadas. Preparing eight dhîşnyas (seats), six in sadas, one in the
ägnidhriya shed and the eighth in the märjâltysa 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 ägnidhra dhîşnya.
Bringing Vasatîvari water in a jar and keeping it in ägnidhra shed. Last day is called ‘sutyâ’. Repeating of a long prayer
called Prâtaranuvâka by hotr long before day-break to Agni, Usas and Āsvins. 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 upâmsugraha and offering its contents. Then comes Mahâbhîsava (principal pressing). Offering soma from various cups to several deities. Viprud-dhoma. Priests come
creeping towards the north corner of the great vedi, where the
Bahispavamāna laud is to be chanted by the udgāṭr, prastotṛ 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 sāma chant exhibited. Notes on the parts and svaras of sāmanas. Rites of offering the savānīya animal. The five savānīya offerings of cake &c. Offerings of soma from dvidevātya grahaḥ (cups). Camasonnayana (filling of nine camasas) for the priests called Camasādhvāryus. The offering of soma from the cups called śukra and maṅdhin. Two chips of wood offered to the asuras, Śaṅdha and Marka. Acchāvāka priest's request and filling his camasa with soma Offering of niugrahas. Ksatriyas were not authorised to drink soma. The hotṛ performs japa, āhāva (hotṛ’s call) to which there is pratigara (response of adhvāryu), hotṛ offers prayer called tuṣṭām-śamsa, twelve clauses of nivid, then hotṛ recites the ajyaṣāstra. Enumeration and distribution of the twelve stotras and ṣastras of Agniṣṭoma. Explanation of stoma, stobha and stotra. Meaning of Rathantara and other sāmanas. Chanting of stotras other than Bahispavamāna near rudumbarī post in sadas. Four ajya-stotras in morning pressing. The 2nd ṣastra called Prauga recited by hotṛ and three more repeated by maitrāvaruṇa, brāhmanacchaṁsin 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 Mādhayandina-pavamāna-stotra. The dadhīgharma rite, then the offering of paśu puroḍāśa and the five savānīya offerings (cake &c.). Distribution of dakṣinā to the several priests, sight-seers and others. The yajamāna throws antelope horn in cātvāla pit. Five offerings called Vaiśvakarmana. The Marutvatiya ṣastra. Prśṭha-stotra and Niskevalya ṣastra. Three more Prśṭha stotras and three ṣastras recited by maitrāvaruṇa and two others. Procedure of evening pressing similar to mid-day pressing. Ārbbava-pavamāna chanted. Ṛbbhus connected with third pressing. Hāris prepared from savānīya paśu offered. Vaiśvadeva ṣastra. The Pātnivata cup to Agni Pātnivat. Chanting of Yajñāyajñīya stotra also called Agniṣṭomasāman. Wife of sacrificer pours pānnejana water over her thigh and udgāṭr priest looks at her. Agnimāruta-ṣastra recited by hotṛ. Hāriyojana cup offered to
History of Dharmaśāstra

Indra. All priests wait on āhavanīya with Mindū mantras. Avabhrthā (final bath). All vessels except four sthāls are thrown into water. Yajamāna casts antelope skin in cātvāla pit. Avabhrthā sāman chanted. The nīdhanā 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 kusa thrown in avabhrfcha āsti. Purodasa offered to Varuna and then to Agni and Varuna. The unnetr brings out yajamāna, wife and priests. They offer fuel sticks. The Udayanīya āsti (concluding). Anubandhyā rite (offering of a barren cow to Mitra and Varuna) or only payasyā. Then five offerings called Devikā to Dhātṛ, Anumati, Rākṣa, Sinvālī and Kulu. Udavasānīya āsti like punarādheya. Theories about the identity of the soma plant and its relation to the moon. In the Deccan a substitute called 'rānśera' is employed for soma.

CHAP. XXXIV. 1204-1223

Other soma sacrifices. Brief descriptions of Ukthya, Śoḍaśin, Atyagnistoma, Atirātra and Aptoryāma. Vājapeya may be regarded as an independent sacrifice. Number 17 predominant in it. 17 cups of soma and 17 cups of sura for Prajāpati. A race with 17 chariots and 17 drums beaten. Vājapeya to be performed only by a brāhmaṇa or ksātriya 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 pratiprasthātr 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 saīrāṭ. Certain observances after Vājapeya. Fees distributed are 1700 cows, 17 chariots with four horses yoked to each, 17 dāsis &c. After Vājapeya a king should perform Rājasūya and a brāhmaṇa Brhaspatisava. 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 Dvādasāha. Differences between Dvādasāha as an ahina and as a sattra. Rājasūya. A
very complex ceremony extending over a long period (over two years), and comprising many separate āsīs, soma sacrifices and animal sacrifices. Rājasūya to be performed only by ksatriyas. Its relation to Vājapeya. Dīkṣā on first day of bright half of Phālguna. The Pavitra sacrifice which is like Agniṣṭoma. One year thereafter Abhiśecaniya. Five offerings one on each day after Pavitra sacrifice. On Full moon of phālguna āsī to Anumati. Cāturmāsya performed for one year, between the parvans of which darśa and pūrṇamāsa āsīs are celebrated. After Śunāsīrya several āsīs. Twelve offerings called 'ratnānām havlimi' on twelve days in the houses of the rātanas (viz. the king, his queens, state officers &c.) offered to different deities. Abhiśecaniya (consecration) āsī on first of Cālitra and follows procedure of Ukhthya. Eight offerings called Devasūhavlimi. Waters of seventeen kinds in seventeen vessels of udumbara from Sarasvati river and other sources. Pārtha homas. Holy water taken in four vessels. Sacrificer recites āvid formulae. Four principal priests sprinkle him with water from four vessels and a kṣatriya, vaisya and a friend of the king do the same. Story of Śunabhāṣepa recited by hotṛ for sacrificer's benefit. King takes three strides called Viṣṇukramās. 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 Abhiśecaniya offerings called 'Samsṛpam havlimi' are made to Savitṛ and other deities. The Daśapeya, in which each of the camasas of soma are drunk by ten brahmaṇas (i.e. in all 100). Very large daksīnās 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 keśavarāṇiya ceremony took place. Then two āsīs called Vyūṣṭi-dvīrātra at the interval of a month. One month after 2nd Vyūṣṭidvīrātra the Kṣatradhṛti āsī. One month after that the Sautrāmaṇī āsī.

CHAP. XXXV. 1224–1255

Sautrāmaṇī and other sacrifices. Sautrāmaṇī is one of the seven Haviryaṇiṇas according to Gautama. Chief characteristic was offering of surā (wine) in it, in modern times milk being offered instead. Kokill and Caraka-sautrāmaṇi. Procedure of both. Sautrāmaṇī takes four days, during first three of which wine is prepared from various ingredients and on last day, three cups of milk and three of wine were offered. Three goats
were killed in this and fourth to Brhaspati. Method of preparing wine described. Remnants of the wine offered were not drunk by the priests, but a brāhmaṇa was hired for drinking them or they were poured on an ant-hill. Persons for whom Sautrāmanī was offered. Avabhrtha and then śānikṣa to Mitra-Varuṇa and an animal to Indra. Āśvamedha. Horse-sacrifice in vogue even in Rgveda. 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 īṣṭis every day to Savitr. Chants by a brāhmaṇa after the īṣṭis every day and also by a kṣatriya lute-player. Ḥotṛ 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 āhavan- niya. At the end of the year horse was brought back and sacrificer took dīkṣā. 21 yūpas, each 21 aratnis high. Large number of animals tied to yūpas slaughtered. Horse taken to a lake, bathed in it, brought back and anointed by the queens on various parts of the body. Dialogue between Ḥotṛ 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 Ḥotṛ and crowned queen, between brahma 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. Avabhrtha 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 avabhrtha 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, rātrisatras and sāṅvatsarika. Gavāmayana is model of all sattras of one year or more. Scheme of the parts of Gavām-ayana. When dīkṣā commenced. General rules applicable to all sattras. Though all are yajamanas and
also priests in a sattra, one of them is called grhapati. 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 Mahāvrata, 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 mārjālya 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 saṁvatsara 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 anāga of Somayāga. Five victims are first offered. Heads built up into altar. Clay for the bricks how brought, mixed and prepared. First brick called Aśādha prepared by wife of sacrificer. Ukhā (pan) prepared from same clay, from which he prepares three bricks called Viśvājyotis. 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 svayamātrṛṇāḥ. 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 Satyāśādha, but others give larger numbers. Time required for piling varies. Peculiar mode of cooling altar. Numerous offerings. Procedure of Soma-yāga followed with a few variations. Observances for a year after cayana.
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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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THE TOPICS OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA

Manifold are the topics that have been included under Dharmaśāstra from very ancient times. The Dharma-sūtras of Gautama, Baudhāyaṇa, 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 sāṁskāras performed on an individual (from garbhadhāna to antyeṣṭi); the duties of the brahma-carin (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 gṛha-stha (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); stridharma (special duties of women) and stri-puṃdharma (duties of husband and wife); dharmas of kṣatriyas and of kings; vyāvahāra (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); karma-nipāka (results of evil deeds done in past lives); śānti (rites on the happening of portents or for propitiating the planets &c.); duties of vānapraṣṭha (forest hermit) and saṁnyāsa (ascetic). All these subjects are not treated in any fixed or settled order in the sūtra works. To take only one example, the subject of partition and inheritance occurs at the end of the dharma-sūtra of Gautama, while Vasiṣṭha places the same subject in the middle of his work (17th chapter) and Āpastamba deals with those topics after finishing
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three-fourths of his work (in II. 6. 14). Further, some works on dharmasūtra give very elaborate treatment of certain topics of which only faint traces are found in the ancient dharmaśtras 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 dharmasūtra 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 Samhitās and Brāhmaṇas were chiefly concerned, such as consecration of the three sacred fires, the Full moon and New moon sacrifices, the solemn soma rites &c. The smārta comprised those topics that were specially dealt with by the smṛtis and that concerned the various classes and stages of life. The present work will concern itself principally with 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 stīrṇācāra (the actions of the respected in society). This classification is based on the three sources of dharma viz., śruti, smṛti and stīrṇācāra, as observed by Baudhāyana.

Another and more comprehensive classification says that dharma is sixfold, viz. dharma of varṇas (injunctions based on varṇa alone such as 'a brahmana should never drink wine' or 'a brāhmaṇa should not be killed'), āśramadharma

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1. दुर्गादेविनिश्चितं सत्तमद्विद्या श्रीदेव देवासनम् । स्मातः वर्णश्रमाधिति यजमा नियमेऽपि ॥ सत्यपुरुषम् 144. 30–31 ; वायुपुरुषम् 59, 31–32 and 39 ; 'अन्यायानायिज्ञा

2. एवतः पररसी धम्मः स्तुतिकालशोधनः । ब्रह्मचारिणः परः प्रेक्षकर्षणं धर्मं सन् तनलाः ॥ अत्यादशसङ्करम् 141, 65 ; वन्यवर्ष 207. 83 । वेदोऽसः ।... पाण्डवालोकः शासनः । ब्रह्मचारिणः सिद्धांसारम् ।... चेत्यम् च 354. 6 also.

3. उपविष्टि परम् महतीत्तरः । स्मार्थोऽहिर्यम् ।... स्मार्थोऽहिर्यम् । वृः । ध्व. I. 1. 1–4.
(such rules as 'begging' and 'carrying a staff' enjoined on a brahmaśāri' ), 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 brahmaśāri should carry a staff of palāśa tree'), guṇadharma (such as protection of subjects in the case of a crowned king), naimātika dharma (such as expiation on doing what is forbidden), sūdhārana dharma (what is common to all humanity viz., ahimsā and other virtues). This classification appears to have been an ancient one. Medhatithi on Manu II. 25 speaks of fivefold dharma (only omitting sūdhārana dharma from the abovementioned six) and quotes the explanations of them from the expounders of śṛṅgis. Hemādri (vrata-khaṇḍa p. 5) quotes 16 verses from the Bhāvishyapurāṇa on the six-fold dharma. It will be noticed from the above that all matters (except sūdhārana or sāmānya dharma) have varṇa and āśrama as the pivots round which the whole of dharmaśāstra revolves. It is therefore that in ancient śṛṅgis like those of Manu (I. 2 and 107) and Yājñavalkya (I. 1) the sages are represented as asking the great expounders of those codes to impart to them instruction in the dharmas of varṇas and āśramas.

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

\[^4\] The former work is marked by a detached and fair attitude towards the ideas of the ancient Indians and their writings. The latter, I am sorry to say, is marred by the unsympathetic and supercilious attitude of a Christian missionary. Its key-note is perverse inasmuch as the foundation of the author's criticism is the notion that one is not really moral unless one is engaged in active social service. There is very little warrant for

(Continued on next page)
this does not at all mean that the principles of ethics were passed over by dharmashstra works or were not highly thought of by them. From very ancient times truth is exalted above everything else. Rgveda VII.104.12 says’ ‘True speech and

(Continued from last page)

this hypothesis in well-known works on Ethics. To expose the fallacies in Principal McKenzie’s work would require a volume. But a few words must be said here. What particular brand of active social service the learned author has in view is difficult to follow. I would like to make him a present of the following lines from the Encyclopaedia Britannica on Social Service ‘The term social service is a comparatively new one in Great Britain. If it had been used previous to the 20th century it would have meant philanthropy and charity in the ordinary sense’. If the learned author means that ancient India never insisted on universal philanthropy and charity, he has read the Indian Literature in vain. Every house-holder was called upon by the Hindu Sãstras to offer food according to his ability to students, ascetics and to all beings including the untouchable cãndålas and even dogs and crows. Every bråhmaṇa 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. Asoka had established hospitals not only for men but even for beasts and Yāj.1.209 equates the free nursing of sick persons with gifts of cows. The learned Professor asks with an air of triumph and condemnation of all Indian morality (p. 251) ‘Is there anything comparable to the movement which St. Francis of Assisi initiated and led?’ The learned Professor has fallen into the frequent error of comparing a movement of the 13th century with Indian ideas over 2000 years old. Again I shall quote words from the Encyclopaedia Britannica. ‘It would be an anachronism to think of Francis as a philanthropist or social worker or a revivalist preacher, though he fulfilled the functions of all these. Before every thing he was an ascetic and mystic’. The particular brands of Social Service that are now in vogue are mainly due to the ravages of Imperialism and extreme capitalistic tendencies. Besides he forgets that even the movement started by St. Francis had schisms and was guilty of all the moral evils that are associated with Western monastic institutions. Vide the recent and lucid book of Sir Sivaswamy Alyer on ‘Evolution of Hindu moral ideals’ (1935, Calcutta University).

7. तुविजातां त्यिक्तिम् जनां मधास्त्रं वत्सली पपुषातात्।
तपोरथस्तर्वेदं पतंज्लीकस्वर्णक्षेत्रे शब्दोऽस्मात्सत्।
सर. 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 \( \text{र्थ} \) in the Rgveda is a sublime one and is the germ of the later doctrine of the rule of dharma. The Satapatha-brāhmaṇa (S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 85) enjoins 'therefore let a man speak naught but truth'.

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.

In the Chāndogya (III. 17) there is an allegory of a Soma sacrifice on life, where the daksīna (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.

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 Mundakopaniṣad 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, dāyā (compassion or love for all sentient life) and dāna (gifts or charity).

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 Kaṭhopaniṣad (I. 2.23) insists upon cessation from evil

8. Compare Ṣatapatha. I. 1. 1. 1. 'अनेको वे पूर्णो पद्दत्वं बन्धति' and I. 1. 1. 5. 'स वै सर्वपेश बन्धुः'.

9. चेतुमसुप्पाययात्मनुेतमादिनिमहजातिति। सर्वं बन्ध। परं च चर। इति। उ. I. 11. 1.

10. सत्साक्षरं बद्यतामहर्ष्यं पद्धार्थतिः परं वा पद्धर्ते सर्वं पद्धितेर्वेदेन्वेदकर्णं भवति। बुधु. उ. I. 4. 14। इतेनाति जपेद्वस्तौ मा सत्त्रमय हस्तस्तौ मा ब्रह्मित्वमय सुन्यस्येति। बुधु. उ. I. 3. 28।

11. सत्साक्षरं शिशृणां दमं वृणं कुपायतिः। बुधु. उ. V. 2. 3।

12. नाविष्कृतो वुह्रितिकां विनाविखिति। नान्त्यात्मानतानो वापि यथानेत्त्रायमप्रगति। कालो! I. 2. 23। vide also I. 3.7 and मैथी 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 brāhmaṇas and verses 22-25 describe at great length the characteristics of one who is dānta (self-controlled). Sānti 160 contains an eulogy of dama (self-control). Sānti 162.7 describes how satya has 13 aspects and verse 21 says that non-injury to all beings in thought, word and deed, good will and charity are the eternal dharma of the good.13 The Gautama-dharmasūtra (VIII. 24-26) holds that dayā (compassion or love for all beings), kṣānti (forebearance), anasūyā (freedom from envy), śauca (purity of body, speech and thought), anāyāsa (absence of painful efforts or ambitions), maṅgala (doing what is commended), akārpaṇya (not demeaning oneself before others), asprhā (not hankering after sensual pleasures or the possessions of others)14 are the qualities of the soul and remarks that the person who has these eight qualities realizes non-difference from Brahma and reaches the world of Brahma, though he may not have all the other forty saṁskāras, while he who has all the forty saṁskāras but is not possessed of these eight qualities does not reach the world of Brahma.15 Vasiṣṭha (X. 30) says that avoiding backbiting, jealousy, pride, egoism, unbelief, crookedness, self-praise, abuse of others, deceit, covetousness, delusion, anger and envy is the dharma of all āśramas and further (XXX. 1) he delivers a fine exhortation ‘practise dharma (righteousness) and not adharma; speak the truth and not untruth; look far ahead, not ...

13. अन्नेदिक सर्वस्वेतो अन्तःपूर्णि मन्त्स: गङ्रा अहृदय वृत्ति च सत्ता धर्मं सनातनः ॥ श्राविन्यः 162. 21.

14. अयाद्यारामुपरणः । बुध वर्षैऽर्थु शार्तिवशसुप्या शौचममाण्यायो महेन्द्रकान्तेः । गी. घ. चु. VIII. 23-24. Haradatta quotes eight verses which explain these eight qualities. Atri (verses 34-41) also defines these eight similarly but in different words. Aparārka (pp. 164-165), Śminticandrika (I. p. 13), Hemādri (Vrata p. 8) and Panḍaramādhavīya I. part 1 p. 84 quote from Brhaspati eight verses defining these eight qualities, which closely resemble Atri’s. Vide Matsya 52.8-10 for these eight qualities and Vēyu 59.40-49, Mārkandeya 61.66 for saying that dayā (love for beings) is at the top of the eight ātmagunās and 28.31-32 for a slightly different enumeration of the eight. Viṣṇupurāṇa (III. 8.35-37) says that these eight mentioned by Gautama (Who is being substituted for श्रासित) and three more namely नामिनामिति, सत्य, and मियाविद्वित्व are common to all varṇas. Vide बस्तित VI. 3 अयात्यारामुपरण न दूरान्ति वेधम्।

15. Śminticandrika (I. p. 13) quotes verses of Śākha to the same effect.
near; look at what is highest, not at what is not highest’. 
Apastamba Dh. S. (I. 8. 23. 3–6) calls upon all āśramas to era-
dicate faults that tend to destruction and to cultivate the op-posite virtues (and gives long lists of both). This shows that in
the scale of values mere performance of sacrifices and purifica-
tory 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 elabo-
rate discussion of the questions as to why a man should tell
the truth or abstain from hīṃsā (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 Adi-
parva 74. 23–29, Manu VIII. 86, Anuśāsana 2. 73–74. The
reason given for cultivating such virtues as dayā, ahiṃsā is
based upon the philosophical doctrine of the one Self being
immanent in every individual as said in the words ‘tat tvam-asī’.
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. Happi-
ness 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. पच्चिमात्मनः परस्तरस्यविनयः सुखमित्‌स्यति। सुखवेच्यामि तुलयाचि यथासंपूर्वम्

17. भूषणं निर्दं दुःखवेच्यात्मकं तत्र अतिक्रमते। आरम्भं: प्रतिक्रियाे अर्पयां न समाचरेत्।

Ch. I ]

Sāmānyā–dharma
History of Dharmaśāstra

Before our texts lay down two seats of authority in morals viz., the revealed truth (sruti) 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 (purusārtha). 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. 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 dharma.'
dharma. In this way one secures both worlds.\textsuperscript{19} In the Bhagavadgītā (VII.11) Kṛṣṇa identifies himself with \textit{kāma} that is not opposed to dharma. Kauṭilya says\textsuperscript{20} ‘one may enjoy \textit{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 \textit{artha} is the principal of the three, as \textit{dharma} and \textit{kāma} both spring from \textit{artha}.\textsuperscript{21} Manu (II. 224)\textsuperscript{22} 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 \textit{artha} or \textit{kāma} is in conflict with \textit{dharma} one should give up \textit{artha} or \textit{kāma} as the case may be. Viśṇu Dh. S. (71.84) and Bhāgavata I. 2. 9 say the same. The \textit{Kāmasūtra}\textsuperscript{23} of Vātsyāyana defines the three and says that out of dharma, artha and \textit{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 Upaniṣads\textsuperscript{24} recognise the

\textsuperscript{19} Bhāsāyaṇa 18.197 ‘धर्मार्थविरुचिम कार्य संपन्न। न चिन्हक: स्पातः। अर्थ: एव् प्रयाण हि कृति कौतिल्यः।’

\textsuperscript{20} अर्थशास्त्र I. 7 ‘धर्मार्थार्थविरुचि कार्य संपन्न। न निष्कृ: स्पातः। ......... अर्थ: एव् प्रयाण हि कृति कौतिल्यः।’

\textsuperscript{21} धर्मार्थार्थविरुचि कौतिल्यः। कार्य एव् भि। अर्थ: एव् वा अर्थार्थविरुचि हि स्पातः। स्पातः। मनु II. 224; परित्येज्यस्त्रेषां यो स्पातः धर्मार्थार्थविरुचिः। मनु IV. 176; compare विष्णुपुराण 71.84 ‘धर्मार्थार्थविरुचि हि स्पातः।’।

\textsuperscript{22} अलोकितकविकृतार्थविरुचि अद्वैतानां वज्रानीय शास्त्रात्मकतानां लोकितकविकृतार्थविरुचि द्वारात्मकताः प्रमेयस्य मात्स्यपाठसिद्धांश:। शास्त्रात्मक निर्णयां द्विः।।...विष्णुपुराणप्रमुखालोकितकविकृतार्थविरुचि संस्कारसिद्धांश:।।...ज्ञानप्रमुखः।

\textsuperscript{23} विष्णुपुराण III. 11. 7 परित्येज्यस्त्रेषां धर्मार्थविरुचिः। धर्मार्थविरुचिः।

\textsuperscript{24} अलोकितकविकृतार्थविरुचि अद्वैतानां वज्रानीय शास्त्रात्मकतानां लोकितकविकृतार्थविरुचि द्वारात्मकताः प्रमेयस्य मात्स्यपाठसिद्धांश:। शास्त्रात्मक निर्णयां द्विः।।...विष्णुपुराणप्रमुखालोकितकविकृतार्थविरुचि संस्कारसिद्धांश:।।...ज्ञानप्रमुखः।

\textsuperscript{25} अलोकितकविकृतार्थविरुचि अद्वैतानां वज्रानीय शास्त्रात्मकतानां लोकितकविकृतार्थविरुचि द्वारात्मकताः प्रमेयस्य मात्स्यपाठसिद्धांश:। शास्त्रात्मक निर्णयां द्विः।।...विष्णुपुराणप्रमुखालोकितकविकृतार्थविरुचि संस्कारसिद्धांश:।।...ज्ञानप्रमुखः।

\textsuperscript{26} अलोकितकविकृतार्थविरुचि अद्वैतानां वज्रानीय शास्त्रात्मकतानां लोकितकविकृतार्थविरुचि द्वारात्मकताः प्रमेयस्य मात्स्यपाठसिद्धांश:। शास्त्रात्मक निर्णयां द्विः।।...विष्णुपुराणप्रमुखालोकितकविकृतार्थविरुचि संस्कारसिद्धांश:।।...ज्ञानप्रमुखः।
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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 Mitākṣara on Yāj. I. 1 remarks that ahīṃsā and other qualities are the dharmas common to all including even caṇḍālas. The qualities are variously enumerated and emphasis is laid upon different lists in different works. Śaṅkhasmṛti (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 anger and in another place says that the best vrata (vow) for a man is threefold viz., he should feel no enmity (to others), should give and should speak the truth. Vasiṣṭha (IV. 4) says that truthfulness, freedom from anger, generosity, ahīṃsā (non-injury) and procreation of offspring are (the common dharma) of all (varnas). Gautama (X. 52) says that even the Śūdra has to submit himself to the dharma of truthfulness, freedom from anger and purity (of body and mind). Manu says that ahīṃsā, truthfulness, no wrongful taking of another’s possessions, purity and restraint of senses are in brief the common dharmas of all 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 caṇḍāla\(^{27}\)). The Mahābhārata says that freedom from anger, truthfulness, sharing one’s wealth

\(^{24}\) एवादि जितं एवं सर्वपुरुषेन भारतं निर्विन्नता महाराज सत्यमङ्को एव च। आत्मात्मार्थार्थिम् 23.9; चैत्यं ह पुरुषार्थाणु: पुरुषार्थोऽस्मि ब्रतसं। न कुशोहे वृधाय चतुर्वर्तु चैव परं पवेवत्। अमुरुसन 120.10.

\(^{25}\) सर्वदा सत्यमङ्को दुनिमहि स जननं च। वसिष्ठ IV. 4; vide वसिष्ठ X. 30 for 13 qualities prescribed for all āśramas.

\(^{26}\) अहिंसा सत्यमङ्को यो चचमिलादिविभिः॥ एवं सामासिके ध्वने ब्रह्मश्वरं-जविनमः॥ महि X. 63; vide महि VI. 62 for ten guṇas prescribed for all āśramas.

\(^{27}\) अहिंसा......श्वप्रसंस्थः। ब्रमः कामायं द्वारे सर्वं धर्मसाधनं॥ 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 varnas. The Vamanapurāṇa says that tenfold dharma is common to all and names these ten as ahimsā, satya, asteya, dāna, forbearance, restraint, quiescence, not demeaning oneself, purity, tapas. Hemādri (vratakhanda pp. 7-8) quotes several passages from the Brahma, Brahmavaivarta and Viṣṇudharmottara for several sīdharāṇa dharmas (virtues common to all varnas and āśramas). The Viṣṇudharmasūtra enumerates fourteen qualities as sāmānya-dharma.

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 varṇaśrama dharma and not with sādhāraṇa dharma (i.e., duties common to all alike).

Aryāvarta—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 Ṛgveda shows that the centre of Aryan culture in the times of the Ṛgveda was the land of the seven

28. अक्रोधः सर्वनामः संविभमः क्षमः तथा। प्रजनः स्वेदु दुरेषु स्नेहस्वरूपं एव च।
आर्जं वृत्तार्थं नवीन सर्वर्ज्ञिकः। क्षमिति. 60. 7-8.

29. अहिः सर्वमस्थितः द्वारे धारतिक्रमः क्षमः। अधार्जं च श्रीचं च तद्भव
रजनीतिः। बुधापूर्वी श्रीचं भवेन्द्रः धर्मार्थं सर्वर्ज्ञिकः। 77-8; ब्रम्हदृष्टं
114. 16-18 expresses the following as common to all varnas and āśramas.

30. क्षमा सच्च वुमः श्रीचं तुण्डिक्षितमवर्तमानः। अहिः सुदुष्कुः तीर्थायुः परमेव वुमः।
आर्जं लोकस्थवर्तमेव देवादेवस्य भवेन्द्रम्। अर्यवर्तमान च तथा धमः। सामान्यं उपस्थं ॥ विकुल- वन्दयुः ॥ 11. 16-17; compare अप. अ. 1. 8. 23.5 for a long list of qualities
prescribed for all āśramas and सामान्यर्थः 297. 24-25 for 13 साधारणर्थोः
"आधुनिकमहिष्टा च प्रमाणः (प्रत्येकः?) संविभाषिता। आधुनिकमहिष्टा च सर्वमहिष्टं एव च।। स्वेदु दुरेषु सत्योऽः श्रीचं निर्मित्येव देवादेवस्य। सामान्यं विक्षितं च धमः। सामान्यर्थः दुम्"
rivers, viz. North-west India and Punjab. We find that the rivers from Kubbā (the Kabul river, in Ṛg. V. 53. 9; x. 76. 6), Krumu (the modern Kurram, Ṛg. V. 53. 9, X. 75. 6), Suvāstu (modern Swat, in Ṛg. VIII. 19. 37), the seven Sindhus (Ṛg. II. 12. 12, IV. 28. 1, VIII. 24. 27, X. 43. 3) up to the Yamunā (Ṛg. V. 52. 17, X. 75. 5), the Ganges (Ṛg. VI. 45. 31, X. 75. 5) and Sarayu (probably in modern Oudh, in Ṛg. IV. 30. 18 and V. 53. 9) figure in the Ṛgveda. Among the rivers of the Punjab the following are individually mentioned:—Sindhu (Ṛg. II. 15. 6 'he made the Sindhu flow northwards', Ṛg. V. 53. 9, Ṛg. IV. 30. 12, Ṛg. VIII. 20. 25 where reference is made to the medicine in the Sindhu, in the Asiknl, in the sea and on mountains), Asiknl (Ṛg. VIII. 20. 25, X. 75. 5), Parusnl (Ṛg. IV. 22. 2, V. 52. 9), Vipās and Sutudri (Ṛg. III. 33. 1 where their confluence is spoken of), Vipās alone in Ṛg. IV. 30. 12, Sutudri alone in Ṛg. X. 75. 5; Drṣadvatī, Āpayā and Sarasvatī (as very holy in Ṛg. III. 23. 4), Sarasvatī alone (Ṛg. VII. 95, the whole hymn is addressed to it of which verse 2 says it springs from the mountains; Ṛg. VI. 61 is another hymn addressed to it, v. 10 of which says it has seven sisters), Gomatī (Ṛg. VIII. 24. 30, X. 75. 6), Vitastā (Ṛg. X. 75. 5). Gradually the Aryans spread southwards and eastwards. The Kāṭhaka S. X. 6 speaks of Kuru-Paṇcālas. In the Brāhmaṇas the centre of Āryan activities and culture shifted to the countries of the Kurus and Paṇcālas and Kosala-Videhas. For example, the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa remarks that in the lands of Kurupaṇcālas speech is at its best.31 In Sat. Br. XI. 4. 1. 1 Uddālaka Aruni is called a Kuru-Paṇcāla brāhmaṇa and contrasted with brāhmaṇas of the north (S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 51). Similarly the Kauśitaki-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 Satapatha we have the story of Videgha Māṭhava who went beyond the country of Kosala-Videha, crossed the river Sadānirā that came down from the Himalaya, 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. तस्मापुवृत्तवाच्यतेभ्राम्भुविशिष्टमुण्यातामसि। शतपथ भाषा, III. 2. 3. 15. Vide S. B. E. vol. 12 p. XLII n. 1 and vol. 26 p. 50 for various interpretations.

32. तस्मापुवृत्तवाच्यतेभ्राम्भुविशिष्टमुण्यातामसि। शतपथ भाषा, VII. 6.
Jātakas we see that being an ‘udīca brāhmaṇa’ 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-ksetra.22 Even in the Rgveda itself the country through which the rivers Dṛśadvatī, Āpayā and Sarasvatī flowed is spoken of as the best spot (vide III. 23. 4). The Tai. Br. says that the Kurupaṇcālas go east in the winter and westwards in the last month of summer. In the times of the Upaniṣads also the Kurupaṇcāla country appears to have occupied a pre-eminent place. The Br. Up. (III. 1. 1.) says that when Janaka, king of Videha, performed a sacrifice the brāhmaṇas of Kurupaṇcāla flocked there in large numbers. Vide also Br. Up. III. 9. 19. The Br. Up. VI. 2. 1 and Chāndogya V. 3. 1 say that Śvetaketu went to the assembly of the Paṇcālas. Kaśītakī Br. Up. (IV. 1.) names the countries of Uśīnara, Matsya, Kurupaṇcāla and Kāśīvīdeha 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 Vindhyā). 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. I, p. 9). In the times of the Dharmasūtras great divergence of opinion prevailed on the question of the location of Āryavarta. The Vāsishṭha-dharma34-sūtra says: ‘Āryavarta is to the east of the disappearance (of Sarasvatī in the desert), to the west of Kāla-kavāna, to the north of the mountains Pāriyātra and Vindhyā and to the south of the Himālaya’. It then refers to two more views held by other authors viz., ‘Āryavarta is in the region between the Ganges and the Jumna and where the black antelope roams about there is spiritual pre-eminence’. The Baud. D. S. (I. 1.27) gives the same limits of Āryavarta as Vāsiṣṭha,

33. ईंता वै सत्यमातो तेतवं कुष्ठेष्वे वेदिरससित् || ते. मा. V. 1. 1; नि त्वा बुधे वर आ प्रशिक्षका इत्यादियथे हुविनले अहाद्रि। कुष्ठित्वव दामश्च आपयाय रस्सयः रेस्सये विद्विषिद् || मा. III. 23. 4; for Kurukṣetra as a very ancient place vide Satapatha IV. 1. 5. 13 and Ait. Br. (chap. 35. kh. 4); आप्रेमक्षकलां निपकाति। तत्स्मातिस्विरि कुष्ठेष्वे: माज्जो यति || ...... तस्मात्जयये भेदायेषे मस्य: कुष्ठेष्वे यति || ते. मा. I. 8. 5.

34. आयामी राजाधिपतीहां कालक्षरकुष्ठेष्वे कालक्षरकुष्ठेष्वा विशेषणो विशमत: || उत्सर्जन यं विलक्षणं || ... गुलाक्षपवरीत्येके यायदा व्यायामो विषयति सात्वकवाससमीत्ये || वत्ताधिकार I. 8-9 and 12-13.
substituting the word 'vinaśana' for 'ādarsa'.

Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* defines Āryāvarta several times in the same terms as *Vāsiṣṭha* does. The Dharmasūtra of Śāṅkha-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 Sauvīra, to the west of the city of Kāmpīḷī, to the south of Himalaya and to the north of Pārīyātā'. The extant *Manuḥṣrīti* (II. 22) makes Āryāvarta coterminous with the whole of India north of the Vindhya by saying that the territory between the Himalaya 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. 1.23). In the Tai. Ār. II.20 special honour is shown to those who dwell between the Gaṅgā and the Yamuna. The third view (viz. Āryāvarta is the country where the black antelope roams about naturally) is the one given in most smṛtis. Both *Vāsiṣṭha* (I. 14–15) and Baud. Dh. S. (I. 1.29–30) quote an ancient gāthā from the *Nidāṇa* work of the Bhāratvins 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. भारतविनयन अस्खलकालकालवादवत्तीषन जिस्नादाधारापरसत्वनामावर्त मयूर्याणां स मन्त्रम्। श्री. ध. च. 1.127. Even so early as the *rTpaṅga* we have the words सरस्वती विनासने धार्मिक दुरोद्वृत्त (24.17.1). This shows that the Sarasvati had disappeared by the time of the *rTpaṅga*. According to the *Vanaparva* 82. 111 Vinasana is the tīrtha where the Sarasvati disappeared and *Vanaparva* (130. 3–5) says that the Sarasvati disappeared at the entrance of Niśādārṣṭīya through fear of pollution from Niśādas and Śalyaparva (37. 1-2) tells us that Vinasana is the sacred place where the Sarasvati disappeared through hatred for Śūdras and Ṛṣibras.

36. कित युनारायर्षनं! प्राकृतसूक्त्रतत्त्वकालकालवादवत्तीषन जिस्नादाधारापरसत्वनामावर्त मयूर्याणां स मान्यम्। महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 475 (on *Pāṇi*. II. 4.10), vol. III. p. 174 (on *Pāṇi*. VI. 3.109)

37. भारतविनयन अस्खलकालकालवादवत्तीषन जिस्नादाधारापरसत्वनामावर्त मयूर्याणां स मान्यम्। महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 475 (on *Pāṇi*. II. 4.10), vol. III. p. 174 (on *Pāṇi*. VI. 3.109)

38. अधिशास्त्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूत्रसूर्यि उपाधि विनासनेन गायत्र्यावहरसिः। भारतविनयन अस्खलकालकालवादवत्तीषन जिस्नादाधारापरसत्वनामावर्त मयूर्याणां स मान्यम्। विनासनेन निविद्यनेन गायत्र्यावहरसिः। भारतविनयन्यासणां सूर्यावहरसिः शुद्धिः। विनासनेन निविद्यनेन गायत्र्यावहरसिः। भारतविनयन अस्खलकालकालवादवत्तीषन जिस्नादाधारापरसत्वनामावर्त मयूर्याणां स मान्यम्। विनासनेन निविद्यनेन गायत्र्यावहरसिः। भारतविनयन अस्खलकालकालवादवत्तीषन जिस्नादाधारापरसत्वनामावर्त मयूर्याणां स मान्यम्। विनासनेन निविद्यनेन गायत्र्यावहरसिः। भारतविनयन अस्खलकालकालवादवत्तीषन जिस्नादाधारापरसत्वनामावर्त मयूर्याणां स मान्यम्। विनासनेन निविद्यनेन गायत्र्यावहरसिः। भारतविनयन अस्खलकालकालवादवत्तीषन जिस्नादाधारापरसत्वनामावर्त मयूर्याणां स मान्यम्। विनासनेन निविद्यनेन गायत्र्यावहरसिः। भारतविनयन अस्खलकालकालवादवत्तीषन जिस्नादाधारापरसत्वनामावर्त मयूर्याणां स मान्यम्।
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), Visphudharma-sūtra 84.4, Manu II. 23, Yāj. I. 2, Saṁvarta 4, Laghu-Hārīta (I. p. 178), Veda-Vyāsa (I. 3), Brhat-Parāśara (p. 56) and several other smṛtis. The Manusmṛti (II.17-24) defines Brahmāvarta as the country between the holy rivers Sarasvatī and Drāvadvatī, says that the traditional mode of conduct observed in that country is called saucāra, that the countries of Kurukṣetra, Matsya, Pañcāla and Śūrasena are styled Brahmarsidesa and are slightly less (in holiness) than Brahmāvarta, that Madhyadesa 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 mlecchadesa, that men of the three higher varnas should endeavour to live in these countries (viz. Brahmāvarta, Brahmarsidesa, Madhyadesa, Āryāvarta &c.) while a śūdra, when distressed for his livelihood, may stay in any country whatever. The Visphudharmasūtra (84. 4) says that the country where the system of the four varnas 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 varnas 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. 8. (I. 1. 31) says that the countries of Avanti, Ānga, Magadha, Surāstra, Daksīnāpatha, Upāvṛt, Sindhu

39. Vide Tāṇḍya Br. 25. 10. 13-14 for Dravatī falling into the Sarasvatī and 25. 10. 16 for the disappearance of the latter and Ait. Br. (chap. 38 kh. 3) for Kuru-Pañcāla, Vaśa and Uśīnara as included in the centre of India.
and Sauvira are of mixed origin (i.e., not of pure Aryan ancestry), that a person who goes to Aratta, Karaskara, Pundra, Sauvira, Anga, Vanga, Kalinga and Pranana (?) has to offer a solemn sacrifice like the Sarvaprashta and that for going to Kalinga the prayascitta is an offering to Vaisvanara Agni. The Mit. on Yaj. III. 292 quotes a verse of Devala to the effect that if a man goes to Sindhu, Sauvira, Saurashtra, the border lands (or Mleccha countries), Anga, Vanga, Kalinga and Andhra he has to perform the Upanayana sanskara over again. The Mit. adds a remark that this is so only if the man goes to these countries for some purpose other than pilgrimage. Gradually however as Aryan culture spread over the whole of what is now called India the view of the sages about the countries pre-eminently Aryan had to be given up. Medhatithi on Manu II. 22 explains that Aryavarta is so called 'because Aryas again and again spring up there and because the Mlechhas 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 kshatriya king of excellent conduct were to conquer the Mlechhas, establish the system of four varnas (in the Mlecha country) and assign to Mlechhas a position similar to that of candalas in Aryavarta, even that (Mlecha) 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).'

As a result of the spread of Aryan culture eastwards and southwards and the frequent invasions of non-Aryan tribes on the north-west, the countries on the rivers of the Punjab came to be looked upon in the whirligig of time as unworthy of the Aryas to live in. Karnaparva 43. 5-8 abuses those who live on the Sindhu and the five rivers of the Punjab as impure and dharmabahya.
Another word which is very often used, particularly in the Purāṇas, to denote the territory where the ancient Vedic religion prevails is Bharatavarsa or Bhāratavarsa. It occurs in the Hathigumpha Inscription of Kharavela (2nd century B.C.) as Bharadhavasa. The Markandeyapurāṇa says that Bharatavarsa has the ocean on the east, south and west and the Himalaya on the north. The Viṣṇupurāṇa (II. 3.1) says the same and Matsya (114-10) and Vāyu define Bhāratavarsa as stretching from Cape Comorin to the source of the Ganges. Śabara (not later than 5th century A.D.) in his bhasya on Jaimini (X. 1-35 and 42) shows that to him there was unity of language and culture from the Himalaya to Cape Comorin. Paitīnasi as quoted in the Paribhāṣa-prakāśa (p.58) says that dharma is fully developed (lit. four-legged) in the country from the Himalaya to Cape Comorin.

According to Markandeya (53-41), Vāyu (vol. I chap. 33-52) and other Purāṇas Bharatavarsa is so called after Bharata, son of Rṣabhā, descendant of Svayambhuva Manu; while Vāyu (vol. II. chap. 37-130) appears to strike a different note by saying that Bharatavarsa 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 Bharatavarsa and this land is called Karmabhūmi (the land of religious actions) for those who want to secure heaven and final liberation. The Vāyuṇpurāṇa says almost the same and adds that in no land other than Bharatavarsa is karma prescribed for mortals. It is somewhat amusing to find that

43. Vide E. I. vol. 20 p. 79.

44. वृक्षिणपरस्तो छांग कृष्ण च महोदयित:। बिमार्दज्ञरेणास्य कार्यकर्षय यथा युक्त:॥ तदवेज्ञार्तं वचः । मार्क्खण्डः 57.59.

45. उत्तरो यस्मिनुत्त मिहार्यश्च वृक्षिणम्। वचः नस्त्राशतान नाम भारती यथा संगतिः॥ विष्णुपराण ल. 3. 1; वादु vol. I, 45. 75-76 उत्तरो यस्मिनुत्त मिहार्यश्च संगतिः॥ वचः नस्त्राशतान नाम यथे भारती मनं।। मस्त्य 114. 10 आयतनां कुमारितां ग्यायणं। महावरिः (भन्त्वश्च); compare with the last वादुपराण vol. I, 45. 81 'आयतसं त्र कुमारियाद्राकामक्षान्तम्।'

46. 'पतिश्रव्य वस्थलमछवाच्च आ हिमवत आ च कुमारीम्;' on अतिथि X. 1.55 and 'उद्वन्दे तदं च शाश्वतः। पतिश्रव्य आ हिमवत आ च कुमारीम्;' on अतिथि X. 1.42.

47. 'पाटलिपीः। आ हिमवत आ च कुमारः। सन्यासिः नरी सन्यासिः नुष्ट यस्मात् कुमारिः। विविधतत्व तद्धित्तं च भल्लासनांवरिः। परिशिलकारा p. 58.

48. कर्मवृत्तितियो वर्गसमावेशं च गच्छनन्। विष्णुपराण ल. 3. 2; vide Wilson's Viṣṇupurāṇa vol. II. pp. 106-106; ततः सन्यास योग्यस्च मनन्ध्र-चक्षु नयते। न विचारवृत्तं तत्रं वृत्तं कर्म विचारे॥ वादु 45. 77; विष्णुपराण ल. 3. 5.

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many of the countries of India that in modern times pride themselves on being most orthodox are declared by the Āditya-purāṇa (as quoted in the Smṛticandrika) to be countries unfit for 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 dvija or not, born in Āryāvarta should cross the three rivers, Sindhu, Karmāda (i.e. Karmanāśa) or Karatoya 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 varnas and āsrāmas as practised in Āryāvarta or Bharatavarsa, though in very rare cases (as in Yaj. II. 192) they provide for the observance of the usages of even heretics.

49. काणीकार्यविश्वसैराधुराज्यतत्त्वस्य:। कायेरी कोक्षण हुणस्वस्वेश्वरयित्र:। चुड़यः। पद्मनाथः। कसः। समवेत्ता। सोहोनिन्तप्रोदीपरात्मकचरणशिष्य शुद्धिधम्म। पाठवतात्। कामो:। बैराजः। कोक्षणो:। पराख्यात:।। स्यूदिपिशः। उपेशः। स्यूरितिशः। उपेशः। आदिपुराण:। आदिपुराण:। आर्यार्थसंस्कृतेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविषयेऽविष�
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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
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 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,¹¹ though their number is small, that believe

61. 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 with regard to 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 exaggrate 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 interneceine 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 Dharmasūtrakāras, 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 authors like Senart add another characteristic, viz. the caste council with its chief having in meeting assembled among other matters the power to regulate the conduct of its members, to impose the penalties of fine or excommunication for lapses. It may be said at once that this last is a feature

52. Vide Senart's 'caste in India', tr. by Ross pp. 66-73 (1930). Fick pp. 36-37 holds that there were no caste councils and no caste chiefs.
that is not found among most of the brāhmaṇa and kaśtriya castes even in modern times and is not dealt with by dharma-
āstra works. (Endogamy is now the most prominent character-
istic of caste and so is the theory that it is by birth.) The
other three are more or less fluctuating from province to pro-
vince 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 dharma-
āstra 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 dharmaāstra 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 avoca-
tions 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 commen-
sality (and not a religious one). Western scholars, in spite of
their most commendable patience and industry, often present,
through ignorance or lack of first-hand knowledge, the number
of castes as larger than what it actually is. For example,
Sherring (vol. II. Introduction pp. XXII-XLVI) gives an
alphabetical list of brahmanical tribes and remarks (XLVII)
'Hundreds of these tribes, if not at enmity with one another,
cherish mutual distrust and antipathy to such a degree that
they are socially separated from one another as far as it is
possible for them to be—as much as brāhmaṇas are from the
lowest outcastes—neither eating nor drinking together nor
intermarrying'. The list he gives is most misleading. To take
only a few examples, he enumerates Athavle, Achwal, Abhyan-
kara, Apte, Agashe, Bhanu, Bivalkar, Badye, Bhide, Bhagvat,
Bhuskute, Bhat, Bodas as separate tribes; but it is well-known
to people in Western India that these are the surnames (not
subcastes) of the Kukānastha or Citpāvana brāhmaṇas, who
not only interdine, but also inter-marry among themselves,
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 *Rgveda* 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, Ṭipru 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 Mahāvrata in which there was a mock fight between a brāhmaṇa and a śūdra) says 'that the brāhmaṇa is the divine varṇa, and śūdra is the asura varṇa.' If we can interpret the Rgveda verse by the help of the Tai. Br. then in Rg. IX. 71.2, the words 'asuryam varṇam' mean 'śūdra tribe'. There is no doubt that the word *asura* when applied to gods like Varūṇa has another meaning also in the Rg. In numerous places in the *Rgveda* the antagonism

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53. यो द्वारसं ब्रजस्वर्गः सुखः कःः || क्र. 11.12.4; उभोऽनुभूतिनायः दुःपः || क्र. 1.179.6. Here Sāyaṇa interprets 'varṇam' 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. ब्रजप्रभु शूद्ध च यथाकथ यथाशते || तैःपरः सप्तारहः यज्ञः अपिः सुः || सै. क्र. 1.2.6. H. D. 4
between the aryas and dāsas or dasyus is emphasized and prayers are offered to Indra and other gods for having subdued or for subduing the dāsa in favour of the Ārya. Rg. I. 51.8; I. 103.3; II. 117.21; II. 11.2, 4, 18, 19; III. 29.9; V. 70.3; VII. 5.6; IX. 88.4; VI. 18.3; VI. 25.2. In Rg. I. 51.8 Indra is requested to mark who are aryas 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 'barhīsmat' and the dasyu who is styled 'avrata' clearly shows that the emphasis was rather on the difference of their cults. That dasyu and dāsa are identical in meaning follows from the same epithets being applied to both and from the fact that dasyu and dāsa occur in the same verses as applying to the same enemy. In Rg. X. 22.8 dasyu and dāsa are used in the same verse as applicable to the same enemy. In Rg. X. 99.6 and 8 Indra is represented as killing both dāsa and dasyu respectively. The dasyus are described as 'avrata' (not obeying the ordinances of the gods) in Rg. I. 51.8, I. 175.3, VI. 14.3, 'akratu' (who perform no sacrifice) in VII. 6.3, 'mṛdhra vācāh' (whose speech is indistinct or soft) in VII. 6.3 and V. 29.10, 'anāsah' (snub-nosed or dumb) in Rg. V. 29.10. It appears that dāsa and dasyu are synonyms and were sometimes styled asuras. For example, Śāmbara 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. (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

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55. अकर्मा वस्तुरुचि नो अमत्सुरुचव्यादिभो अमात्यः। व तव वित्यातिस्ववर्त्त वधन्सप्रभुमपि ॥ त्र. X. 22.3.

56. स्ववस्व प्रत्ये सर्ववस्तुः प्रत्यीर्भवः अहं भवः अवज्ञः। मय तत्स्वस्वविस्वविश्ववर्ष नास्कारादि परिश्रमश्च प्रभुमपि ॥ त्र. VII. 6.3. This verse applies seven epithets to dasyus. They are called paṇis (greedy traders), abhir (without faith). In Nirukta VI. 31 Yajtha paraphrases सुधवाच्य: सुधवाच्यः। In Rg. V. 34. 6-7 the dāsa is सुधवाच्यः.

57. वेन वस्तुम प्रत्ये भेते हस्ताक्षराणामविषयारमिन्ति। नै. 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 Arya foes. For example, 'Protectors of the good! you (two) killed Arya foes and dāsa foes' Rg. VI. 60-6; 'Oh Indra and Varuna! you killed dāsa foes and also Arya 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 Rigveda 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 varna associated only with dāsa and with ārya. Though the words brāhmaṇa and kṣatriya occur frequently in the Rigveda, the word varna is not used in connection with them. Even in the Puruṣasūkta (Rgveda X. 90) where the words brāhmaṇa, rājanya, vaiśya and südra occur the word varna is not used. Hence, one may reasonably say that the only water-tight groups that are positively or expressly vouchsafed by the Rigveda are ārya and dāsa or dasyu. It is often argued that as the word brāhmaṇa denotes a caste in later literature, in the Rigveda 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 Rigveda must be determined on the materials furnished by the Rigveda itself. Some rely on the word 'brāhmaputra' in Rg. II. 43.2 as showing that a brāhmaṇa became so only by birth in the Rigveda. But the verse begins by saying that 'you sing a Sāma like the Udgātr priest' and so 'brāhmaputra' must mean a rīvij whose duty it was to recite śastras (the Brāhmaṇacchāṃṣin as Śāyana explains). It is generally conceded that the Puruṣasūkta is a much later hymn than most of the hymns of the Rigveda. In the whole of the Rigveda the words vaiśya and südra 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 südra and ārya) and very frequently in the Tait. S. Besides we cannot forget that the final redaction of the Rigveda 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 varnas 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 Rigveda: 58 'Oh brāhmaṇas, Oh pitṛs fond of soma! May the sinless Daśāvaraṇi (Heaven and Earth) tend to our welfare'; 'Like brāhmaṇas in the Aitārātra 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' (Rg. VII. 103. 7); 59 'The brāhmaṇas, who drink soma, reciting prayers of the yearly sacrifice, have sent forth their speech' (Rg. 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' (Rg. X. 16. 6). 'When the brāhmaṇas worship together as friends in hymns (lit. speed of the mind) that are fabricated from their hearts' (Rg. X. 71. 8). In Rg. 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 Rg. VIII. 35. 16–18 we read 'You (Aśvins) urge on (or inspire) brahma, you urge on our thoughts (or actions), you kill the evil spirits and subdue diseases; (17) you urge kṣatra (valour) and also men, you kill evil spirits (same as 16); (18) you urge on the cows and also the Viṣ (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, kṣatriyas and viśāḥ) but there is nothing in them to show that these three had crystallised into somewhat like the castes of later times. In Rg. VII. 33. 11 Vasīṣṭha is addressed as brahman, but that does not mean that he was a brāhmaṇa (by birth), as he is said to have been born of Urvāṣī from Mitra and Varuṇa. Similarly, in

58. ब्राह्मणसः: वितरः सोम्पासः: जिः वो धार्मिक्ष्यिह अनेदसा। ॥ अ. VI. 75.10.

59. ब्राह्मणसः अतिरिक्ते न सोमेन स्तरे न पुराणमिस्य स्वर्गः। संवस्तसः सत्रेवः परिः ह यम्भद्रातः। मानवीयं वेद्युत्॥ ॥ अ. 7. 103. 7; ब्राह्मणसः: सोमिनो गायकमहं ब्राह्मणसः परिवर्तेऽपि परिष्वर्तेऽपि। ॥ अ. 7. 103. 8: अदितिक्ष्यायत्वयां कुलोदु सौलभम् यो ब्राह्मणाय अधिकरिः। ॥ अ. 10. 16. ॥ हृदय तदुद्य मन्नेय जनपुष्ट देव्वाङ्गाः: संपरिस्य सक्षापः। ॥ अ. X. 71. 8; चच्कारं बाक्यरिरितम पद्वानि नामी बिद्वाङ्गाय येन मन्नेय।॥ ॥ अ. I. 164. 45.
Rg. IX. 96. 6 (Brahmā devānām) the word brahmā 60 does not certainly mean 'brāhmaṇa by birth'; nor does 'viprāgām' 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 kaśapalakas (legs?) be not seen, for though a brahmā, thou wert born a woman; it is impossible to hold that the last words mean 'thou wert a brāhmaṇa woman'. If it is only intended to refer to the fact that she is a brāhmaṇa woman, there is no reason why the Perfect tense (babhūvitha) is used and not the present. Here 'brahmā' most probably means 'a priest of that name', as that is the meaning in Rg. II. I. 2 (brahmā cāṣi gṛhapatiś-cā no dame). The word 'brahmajāyā' in Rg. X. 109. 2, 3, 6 and 7 does not mean the wife of a brāhmaṇa by birth but rather 'wife of Brhaspati'. The whole hymn is obscure and more or less enigmatic or allegorical. In the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa 61 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. ब्रह्म संसारां पुत्री: कालीनाशुचिविपर्यायाः महिषों सुगमाणाः। इवेनो शुद्राणां स्वच्छितिवैवानां सोम: विक्रमस्यथैव रूपं। क्र. IX. 96.6: अर्थ: पद्यस: सोपरी श्रवला पादुमली हर। गा ते धराको हार त्वर हि ब्रह्मा वन्यविश। क्र. VIII. 33. 19.

61. यूज्मेवादिकं कृतं सोपरीपीपलं।...स पादिं सोमं ब्राह्मणां भक्तिः। अथास्यपूजे यो महायमंत्रारोपयोङ्ग फातिनं चोकुतुम्बराणि चाकथायुः ब्राह्मणाभिषेकुद्राणां तत्त्वी महानेत्रस्य संसे भक्तिः।एवं। क्र. 35. 2-4: विदेपुज्न्यसारसुत्रं III. 5. 22, III. 5. 47-51, III. 6. 36 and Sabara's bhasya 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 brâhmaṇa. 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 brâhmaṇas 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 brâhmaṇa is so by birth alone. The word ‘brahma’ generally means in the Rgveda ‘prayer’ or ‘hymn’. Vide 62 Rg IV. 6.11, VI. 52.2, X. 105.8, X. 141.5 (‘Oār Aṅgir, 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 ksātra 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 ksātra occur 63 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 ksātra stand collectively for brāhmaṇas 64 and ksatriyas (e.g. Tai. Br. II. 7.18, Br. Up. I. 4.11, Kathopanisad I. 2. 24). The word ksatriya is very frequently applied as an epithet to several gods; e.g. Rg. VII. 64. 2 and VIII. 25. 8 (in both to Mitra and Varuṇa), Rg. VIII. 67. 1 (to Ādityas), Rg. X. 66.8 (to gods in general). In some verses ksatriya 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 ksatriya 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. ते नो यह अभिविबद्ध यज्ञ च यज्ञप। स. X. 141.5; विश्वामित्रो महात्म । स. III. 53. 12.

63. यज्ञायम् यवणमविनय यज्ञ धूले न मधुना श्रद्धाशुचयं। अस्मायां ब्रह्म पूर्वानां जिन्वयै वर्य धनं यज्ञसत्ता भक्तिमिह । स. I. 157.2.

64. ब्रह्म है ब्रह्मान् श्रद्धा राजनं। तै. ब्र. III. 9. 14.

65. नम हिंदा राज्यं श्रद्धाय कब्रिह्माय विश्वासिनिमि अनुमति पद्या न। ब्र. IV. 42.1. Acc. to the Anukramaṇi this is a hymn of king Trasadasyu son of Purukutsa.
(=Atharva V. 17.3) 'the domain of the ksatriya 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 ksatriya in the Atharvaveda V. 17.9. The same remark applies to the word ksatriya as to brāhmaṇa. It is difficult to say whether ksatriyas were so by birth in the times of the hymns of the Rg. or were only a class more or less fluid. We find that the Rg. speaks of Dēvāpi as the purohita of Santanu who became a king. The story is that both were sons of Rśtiṣena and that Santanu, though a younger brother, became king as Dēvāpi was not willing to be a king. The result was a famine due to Santanu's transgression and so Dēvāpi performed a sacrifice to induce rainfall. This shows that out of two brothers one became a king and the other a purohita. So kings and purohitas did not depend on birth. In Rg. IX. 112. 3 a poet exclaims 'I am a reciter of hymns, my father is a physician and my mother grinds (corn) with stones. We desire to obtain wealth in various actions.'

In Rg. III. 44-5 the poet wistfully asks Indra 'O, Indra, fond of soma, would you make me the protector of people, or would you make me a king, would you make me a sage, that has drunk of soma, would you impart to me endless wealth?' This shows that the same man could be a rṣi or a noble or a king. Dr. Ghurye (in 'Caste and race in India' p. 44) thinks that the ksatriyas had become a compact body and he particularly relies on Rg. VII. 104. 13 (= Atharvaveda VIII. 4. 13) which is cited in the Vedic Index (vol. 1, p. 207) for the same purpose. That verse literally means 'Soma does not urge on the crooked one, nor the ksatriya who bears false. He strikes the rākṣas, and strikes him who speaks falsely; both lie in the bonds of Indra.' The words 'ksatriyam mithuyā dhārayantam' are explained by Sāyana as 'Ksatriya who bears false words'. The 2nd half is only an expansion of the first half and so 'vṛjina' corresponds to 'rākṣas' and 'asad vadantam' is only a paraphrase of 'mithuyā dhārayantam'. They may mean this that one who is a ksatriya, but has no strength as a ksatriya should have, is at

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

67. काशी ततो भिन्नप्रयोगायिनी नन्दा। नानाबिषयों बुद्धयों अहुः गा इति तत्तथिम।
श्र. IX. 112.3. Kāru means here 'composer of hymns'; Vīṣṇumitra is addressed as kāru by the rivers in Rg. III. 33. 10 'आ ने कारो बृहस्पति
व्याप्ति। Vide निविक VI. 6 for काशी.
the mercy of Indra. Unless we project our notions of the later state of society and the caste system when considering this verse, it is hardly possible to hold that this verse indicates that it refers to persons making a false claim for entrance into a compact body of ksatriyas by birth. Dr. Ghurye also says (p. 44) 'The 2nd order in society, the ksatriya, is known in the earlier portions of the Rgveda as rājanya.' I have not been able to find the word rājanya in the Rgveda anywhere except in the Purusasukta. In the Aitareya brāhmaṇa (chap. 34. 2) the word 'rājanya' stands for a member of the 2nd class in society, while ksatriya means a king of whom land (for sacrifice to gods) is asked for by brāhmaṇa, rājanya or vaiśya.

Though the word vaiśya occurs in the Rgveda only in the Purusasukta, the word 'vis' is very frequently employed in it. It generally means 'people or group of people'. In a large number of cases we have the words mānuśir-viśaḥ or mānuśīṣu viśaḥ or mānuśāṃ viṣām, e.g. Rg. III. 5. 3, III. 6. 3, III. 11. 5 (invincible Agni goes in front of human groups), IV. 6. 7 and 8, IV. 9. 2, V. 1. 9, V. 8. 3, VI. 48. 8, VI. 47. 16 (viṣo mānuṣyān), X. 1. 4, X. 69. 9. In some places we have 'dāśir viśaḥ' (the dāsa hordes) e.g. IV. 28-4, VI. 25. 2. In68 Rg. III. 34-2 we have 'Oh Indra, you are the leader of human hordes as well as of divine hordes' (where we have daivīnāṃ viṣām). Rg.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 Rg. V. 32. 11 Indra is styled 'pāṇcajanya' ('favourable to the five people') and in IX. 66. 20 Agni has the appellation 'pāṇcajanyah purohitah' (the purohita of the five peoples). Sometimes jana and viś seem to be contradistinguished as in Rg. II. 36. 3 (sa iih-jahe sa viśa sa janmanā sa putra-vājām bharate dhanā nṛbhiḥ). But the very fact that viś is qualified also as pāṇcajanya shows that

68. इन्द्र किंचिनामि सार्वीण बिषां केवलानानन यथावताः। क्र. III. 34. 2.
69. यत्वा ममयययं किंचिं चोपया अवस्था। क्र. VIII. 63. 7. Śāmkara in his bhāṣya on Vedāntasūtra I. 4, 12 says that the word pāṇcajana in Rg. VIII. 63. 7 means 'prajā' (people) and also notes that according to some pāṇca janāḥ are devas, pītās, asuras, gandharvas and rakṣasas; while according to others they are the four varṇas and nīṣadas as the fifth. The Ait. Br. (13. 7) gives an explanation of pāṇca janāḥ similar to the first 'पाण्डज्यं य एतत्रवः प्रभुवेक्षेत ज्योमेव वातः अविभक्तानि विभक्तानि गत्यविःस्तां सपोषां च लिनुष्कां च । The Nirukta (III. 8) in explaining Rg. X. 53. 4 remarks about pāṇca janāḥ, 'गत्यविःस्तां च शिरोमेव अविभक्तानि विभक्तां। च मम क्षतर्वेदमस्य वां'।
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 krṣṭi (II. 2. 10, IV. 38. 10), ksitī (V. 35. 2, VI. 48. 7, VII. 75. 4), carsaṇī (V. 86. 2, VII. 15. 2) are employed along with pañca. We have also pañcājanyasu krṣṭisu in "frg. III. 53-16. So it is clear that viś cannot in almost all hymns of the Rg. mean 'vaisya' but means the 'people' or 'āryan people' when no epithet like 'dāṣīḥ' or 'dāivīḥ' is prefixed. The Ait. Br. (I. 26) says that 'viṣāḥ' means 'rāstrāṇī' (countries) when explaining Rg. IV. 50-8 (tasmai viṣāḥ svayam-vānamante).

The word 'dāṣa' in later literature means 'a serf or a slave.' It follows that the dāṣa tribes that we see opposed to the Āryas in the Rgveda were gradually vanquished and were then made to serve the Āryas. In the Manusmrīti (VIII. 413) the śūdra is said to have been created by God for service (dāṣya) of the brāhmaṇa. We find in the Tai. S., the Tai. Br. and other Brāhmaṇa works that the śūdra occupies the same position that he does in the smṛtis. Therefore it is reasonable to infer that the dāṣas 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 dāṣas and the priests. For example in Rg. VIII. 46. 32 we read 'the singer took a hundred (cows or other gifts) from the dāṣa Balbūtha and from Taruksa.' In the Puruṣasūkta (X. 90. 12) the brāhmaṇa, ksatriya, vaśya 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 dharmaśūtras we find the śūdras spoken of as 'dark varna.'

Vide Rg. I. 25. 1, I. 114 3, VI. 15. 1, X. 173 4 for 'viś' by itself. In the Brāhmaṇa texts the word dāṣya is not that of a tribe but of any member of the tribe. Thus in the Puruṣasūkta (X. 90. 12) we see it applied to the brāhmaṇa, ksatriya, vaśya and śūdra, and in the dharmaśūtras to the śūdra. The word dāṣa means any member of the tribe, and it is therefore not easy to see how it became obsolete, since the word dāṣya was then applied only to the tribe. It is possible that the word dāṣya came to be used only for the tribe, and that the word dāṣa came to be used only for the individual member of the tribe. This would explain the use of the word dāṣa in the later literature, and the use of the word dāṣya in the earlier literature.

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Vide Ap. 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 Trīṣṭubh and the vaiśya with Jagati; but he did not create the śūdra with any metre. 76 The Tāndyamahābrāhmaṇa says '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 padbhyaṁ 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 dvījas. The

72. यजेवकारणे करोति पायण कुण्यं वणि ब्राह्मणं तस्मात् चतुर्याकाळ उद्दान्त्वणवमी विभिन्नेकृत्यदुपार्थिः पायण ॥ आप. ध. सू. I. 9. 27. 11=यो. ध. सू. II. 1. 59=सालिनपर्व 165. 29.

73. शुद्धो शुद्धयमानमः पपुरातः करुशां तस्माति भूतसंकालितावर्गादेश शुद्धं करुशाभो चिह्नोन्नकृतवः मै. सू. VII. 1. 1. 6.

74. कचं नै वेदेन ब्राह्मणं च राजचं तस्मात् वसितुं गच्छेदुः गच्छेदं गच्छेदं गच्छं रचयत् मै. सू. VII. 6. 3-4.

75. पद्ध भव एवच्छुद्धाणम म्यायवः: तस्मात्यच्छुद्धाणम नामित्यन्तः: यस्मात् च एवच्छुद्धाणम च ब्राह्मणम च तस्मात्यच्छुद्धाणम नामित्यन्तः: पपुरातः च चम्पुः: इत्यमः सालिनपर्व त्रिस्तुब्धम पुरुषसुक्तं तथा। This is quoted by Sabara on Jaimini VI. 1. 38 as a śrutī. वित्त ध. सू. 18. 11-12 echoes these words 'पद्ध भव एवच्छुद्धाणम म्यायवः: तस्मात्यच्छुद्धाणम नामित्यन्तः: यस्मात् च एवच्छुद्धाणम च ब्राह्मणम च तस्मात्यच्छुद्धाणम नामित्यन्तः: पपुरातः च चम्पुः: is cited as Satapatha Śrutī by the Śūrdrakāmālakara (p. 3).

76. This is quoted by Vās. Dh. S. IV. 3. Vide Ait. Br. 5. 12 'गायत्रीं भव ब्राह्मणं: ...... त्रिस्तुब्धम भव राजयम: ...... जागतो वै द्वेरम: ।

77. तस्मात्यच्छुद्धाणम उद्दान्त्वणवमी विभिन्नेकृत्यदुपार्थिः तस्माति भूतसंकालितावर्गादेश गच्छेदुः गच्छेदुः गच्छेदुः गच्छेदुः: तार्क्यं VI. 1. 11.
Satapatha Br. says that 'the sudra is untruth' (S. B. E. vol. 44, p. 446), that 'the sudra 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 sudra (S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 4). The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa remarks that 'the sudra 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 Sunahṣepa (who had sold Sunahṣepa for 100 coins and had shown himself ready to kill him as a pasu for another hundred coins) urged his son to come back to him after the boy had been taken into favour by Varuna 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 sudra’s line of conduct; you did what leaves no door for reconciliation.' These passages show that the sudra, though he had ceased to be an enemy of the aryas 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 sudra in the times of the Brāhmaṇa works and even in the dharmaśūtras. The Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa speaks of a mock fight 'the sudra and aryas fight on a hide, out of the two they so arrange that the aryas colour becomes the victor'. The Āp. Dh. S. (I. 1.3.40-41 says that a brāhmaṇar, 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 sudra who is a dāsa (of his teacher)'. The same Dharmaśūtras (II. 2.3. 1 and 4) says 'Āryas who are pure (by bath) should prepare the food for Vaiśvadeva;……or sudras supervised by āryas should prepare it'. Similarly Gautama X. 69 uses the word 'anārya' for sudra and Gautama 12.3 prescribes heavy punishment for a
śūdra having sexual intercourse with an ārya woman. Jaimini in his Purvamāñśā 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 saṃskāras 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 varna 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 or Kavaśa Ailūsā, 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 brahmaṇas, kṣatriyas and vaiśyas had become differentiated and their privileges, duties and liabilities had become more or less fixed in those times.

83. शुद्र युविकारक न कोवाय भनायकलिते सं. VII. 4.19.3 and Vajasaneyā Samhitā 23. 30. ‘Ārya’ may mean an Ārya, or simply ‘master’ or ‘vaiśya’ (as in later literature). The words न...बलि 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 Śākhāyana Brāhmaṇa XII. 3. The words ‘dāsyaḥ 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 brahmāṇa from a dāsī.
In Rg. IV. 50.8 we read 'that king alone who places brahma 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'. ‘Brâhmanas^85 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 brâhmanas who have studied and teach the sacred lore are the human gods’ Sat. Br. (S. B. E. vol. 12 p. 309, vol. 26 p. 341). In the Atharvaveda V. 17. 19 there is an assertion of the pre-eminence of brâhmanas and the consequences of harming them or their cows. ‘Therefore the brâhmana is the foremost’ (Tai. S. II. 6. 2. 5, V. 2. 7. 1). ‘Therefore the brâhmana shows his might by his mouth, since he was created from the mouth’ (Tâṇḍya Br. XI. 1. 2).^86 In the Ait. Br. (33. 4) Varuna, when he was told that a brâhmana boy would be offered in place of the son of the king Harîscandra, is made to say ‘a brâhmana is indeed preferable to a kṣatriya’. The mere fact of birth as brâhmana’s son is represented here as giving to the boy pre-eminence over a king’s son. On the other hand the Sat. Br. says (V. 1. 1. 12) ‘a brâhmana^87 is not adequate to (competent to manage) a kingdom’. In the Tai. Br. it is said that playing on the vina (in the Aṣvamedha) is to be done by a brâhmana and a râjanya (and not by two brâhmanas), since wealth does not find delight in the brâhmana. (The Satapatha Brâhmana^88 (XI. 5. 7. 1) lays emphasis on the four peculiar attributes of brâhmanas viz. brâhmanya (purity of parentage as a brâhmana), pratirūpacāryā (befitting deportment or conduct), yasas (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), ajīveyatā (freedom

^85. एवं यदे देवः पशुन्य यदृ ब्राह्मणः। ते संसु 1. 7. 3. 1; यानेव यदृक नावा: सम्वात्मक मान्ये न ब्राह्मणो न नेतृविद्वारि: द्विविद्वारि निरूपणात। नालीस्त्य साधित विद्वेश्चेता एव देववाम्या आणातसः। ते आ. II. 15 एव ब्राह्मणो ब्राह्मणो मान्ये। ते श्रेष्ठ देववाम्या।
^86. क्रिति पूर्व: अधूरः प्रातुः ब्राह्मणः। ते तृतीयम् ब्राह्मणः। ते: संसु 1. 7. 3. 1; यानेव यदृक नावा: सम्वात्मक मान्ये न ब्राह्मणो न नेतृविद्वारि: द्विविद्वारि निरूपणात। नालीस्त्य साधित विद्वेश्चेता एव देववाम्या आणातसः। ते आ. II. 15 एव ब्राह्मणो ब्राह्मणो मान्ये। ते श्रेष्ठ देववाम्या।
^87. क्रिति पूर्व: अधूरः प्रातुः ब्राह्मणः। ते तृतीयम् ब्राह्मणः। ते: संसु 1. 7. 3. 1; यानेव यदृक नावा: सम्वात्मक मान्ये न ब्राह्मणो न नेतृविद्वारि: द्विविद्वारि निरूपणात। नालीस्त्य साधित विद्वेश्चेता एव देववाम्या आणातसः। ते आ. II. 15 एव ब्राह्मणो ब्राह्मणो मान्ये। ते श्रेष्ठ देववाम्या।
from being harassed) and avadhya (freedom from being beaten). The Satapatha (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 Ajaṭaśatru 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 होवाचाजातसशुः प्रतिदोषम चैतसहु ब्राह्मणः अतिवत्त्वपि जन्म में वस्तव-ति (Harvard I. 2). उ. II. 1.15; स होवाचाजातसशुः प्रतिदोषम चैतसहु ब्राह्मणः अतिवत्त्वपि जन्म में वस्तव-ति (Harvard I. 2). उ. II. 1.15; स होवाचाजातसशुः प्रतिदोषम चैतसहु ब्राह्मणः अतिवत्त्वपि जन्म में वस्तव-ति (Harvard I. 2). उ. II. 1.15; स होवाचाजातसशुः प्रतिदोषम चैतसहु ब्राह्मणः अतिवत्त्वपि जन्म में वस्तव-ति (Harvard I. 2). उ. II. 1.15; स होवाचाजातसशुः प्रतिदोषम चैतसहु ब्राह्मणः अतिवत्त्वपि जन्म में वस्तव-ति (Harvard I. 2). उ. II. 1.15; स होवाचाजातसशुः प्रतिदोषम चैतसहु ब्राह्मणः अतिवत्त्वपि जन्म में वस्तव-ति (Harvard I. 2). उ. II. 1.15; स होवाचाजातसशुः प्रतिदोषम चैतसहु ब्राह्मणः अतिवत्त्वपि जन्म में वस्तव-ति (Harvard I. 2). उ. II. 1.15; स होवाचाजातसशुः प्रतिदोषम चैतसहु ब्राह्मणः अतिवत्त्वपि जन्म में वस्तव-ति (Harvard I. 2). उ. II. 1.15; स होवाचाजातसशुः प्रतिदोषम चैतसहु ब्राह्मणः अतिवत्त्वपि जन्म में वस्तव-ति (Harvard I. 2). उ. II. 1.15; स होवाचाजातसशुः प्रतिदोषम चैतसहु ब्राह्मणः अतिवत्त्वपि जन्म में वस्तव-ति (Harvard I. 2). उ. II. 1.15; स होवाचाजातसशुः प्रतिदोषम चैतसहु ब्राह्मणः अतिवत्त्वपि जन्म में वस्तव-ति (Harvard I. 2). उ. II. 1.15; स होवाचाजातसशुः प्रतिदोषम चैतसहु ब्राह्मणः अतिवत्त्वपि जन्म में वस्तव-ति (Harvard I. 2). उ. II. 1.15; स होवाचाजातसशुः प्रतिदोषम चैतसहु ब्राह्मणः अतिवत्त्वपि जन्म में वस्तव-ति (Harvard I. 2). उ. II. 1.15; स होवाचाजातसशुः प्रतिदोषम चैतसहु ब्राह्मणः अतिवत्त्वपि जन्म में वस्तव-ति (Harvard I. 2). उ. II. 1.15; स होवाचाजातसशुः प्रतिदोषम चैतसहु ब्राह्मणः अतिवत्त्वपि जन्म में वस्तव-ति (Harvard I. 2). उ. II. 1.15; स होवाचाजातसशुः प्रतिदोषम चैतसहु ब्राह्मणः अतिवत्त्वपि जन्म में वस्तव-ति (Harvard I. 2). उ. II. 1.15; स होवाचाजातसशुः प्रतिदोषम चैतसहु ब्राह्मणः अति
The position of ksatriyas and their relation to the brāhmaṇas falls to be considered now. First of all with reference to the king several important passages may be cited. In some cases 'rājan' means only 'a noble' or 'chief', as in Rg. X. 42. 10, X. 97. 6. In many passages 'rājan' means 'king'. The government often seems to have been tribal, such tribes as Yadus, Turvaśas, Druhyus, Anus and Purus (Rg. I. 108. 8) being frequently mentioned (vide Rg. VII. 18. 6 for Bhrigu and Druhyus and VII. 18. 7 for Trīsus, VIII. 6. 46 for Yādvas).

Whether kingship was by election it is not necessary here to discuss. The king was regarded as keeping the people within bounds. When a king was crowned, it was thought that 'a ksatriya was produced, a lord of all beings the defender of brāhmaṇas (or of holy texts) and of dharma.'

The Sat. Br. says 'for these two (śrotriya and king) are the upholders of the sacred law among men' (S. B. E. vol. 41 p. 106). That the co-operation between brahmaṇa and ksatriya results in glory and success is frequently emphasized e. g. *therefore a brahmaṇa must certainly be approached by a ksatriya who is about to perform some act, for indeed that act of a ksatriya which is sped on by brahmaṇa succeeds* (Satapatha, S. B. E. vol. 26 pp. 270-271).

The purohita of a

(Continued from last page)

claimed. But they never claimed to be treated in a court of law as above truth and justice. If they had taken the Tai. S. passage in the sense in which Dr. 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' (विना हिन्दू अविचार न अस्ति). 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. तस्मानाद्वित्तिः भूतव् विशुद्धता।तैं सं. II. 6. 2.2.

91. कवियोऽद्वित्तिः विभवस्य दूसरा प्रधानतिं विषांनतां तिरं ब्राह्मणो गोतानति... भूतव्व धेरीतां एव। भार. 38 and 39. 3.

92. वारुः is frequently called भूतक (e. g. ऋ. I. 25. 8 and 10 and once even the yajamāṇa is so called (ऋ. I. 25. 6); the śatapatha V. 4. 4. 5 explains ऋ. I. 25. 10 as 'विवासव भूतक इति' 'भूतकस्य वे राजा ... एव व अश्वतिब्रह्म तस्माद् दूसरा राजा इति'). In Gāyatrī VIII. 1 practically the same words occur 'हृते तव किष्यते राजा भावाध्वस भवेतु'. Manu IX. 322 and Nārada (prakṛtika 42) express the same idea.

93 तस्मान दुनियामें कर्म करितम्यानोपसत्तथं इति ब्राह्मणः। स हैदरास्तैः तुष भूतव्व न कर्मचयते। शतपथ ब्र. IV. 1.4.6; the words भूत... दृष्टे occur in Gāyatrī XI. 14.
ksatriya came to occupy a very high position. The Satapatha (S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 270) lays emphasis on the importance of the purohita and cautions a brāhmaṇa against being the purohita of any king he meets with and adds that a brāhmaṇa may remain without a king, but a king should not be without a brāhmaṇa. Even the gods required a purohita, as the Tai. S. II. 5. 1. 1. says 'Viṣvarūpa son of Tvaṣṭṛ was the purohita of gods.'

Śāṇḍa and Amarka were the purohitas of the Asuras (Kāṭhaka S. IV. 4). Agni is often called purohita (Rg. I. 1. 1., I. 44. 10, III. 2. 8). 'May we, purohitas, be awake in the kingdom (for its welfare)' says the Tai. S. (I. 7. 10. 1). The Ait. Br. (chap. 34. 8) says the purohita is half the soul of the ksatriya and contains an eulogy of purohita in the following words (40. 1) "for indeed the gods do not eat the food of a king who has no purohita; therefore a king when about to offer a sacrifice should have a brāhmaṇa as his purohita with the idea 'may the gods eat my food.'" The combination of the brāhmaṇa and the rājanya is said to be most desirable and that it is conducive to the eminence of both is declared in the Tai. S. (V. 1. 10. 3).

Therefore a brāhmaṇa who is supported by a rājanya is superior to another brāhmaṇa (not so supported), hence a rājanya who has a brāhmaṇa (to help him) is superior to another rājanya. The Satapatha (V. 4. 4. 15) declares 'that king indeed who is not powerful to the brāhmaṇas (i.e. who is humble before the brāhmaṇas) becomes more powerful than his foes.' It is not to be supposed that this attainment of the supreme position by brāhmaṇas was an affair of plain sailing. Sometimes ksatriyas claimed higher position and also paid scant respect to brāhmaṇas. In the Satapatha we read 'whence the brāhmaṇa is an object of respect after the king' (S. B. E. vol. 41, p. 96); 'hence the people here serve, from a lower position, the ksatriya seated above them' Satapatha (S. B. E. vol. 12 p. 94); 'hence when a nobleman approaches, all these people, the subjects crouch down by him on the ground' Satapatha (S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 228); 'therefore there is nothing higher than the ksatria;
therefore the brāhmaṇa sits down below the ksatriya in the Rājasuya (Satapatha 14. 4. 1. 23 = Br. Up. I. 4. 11.). In the Atharvaveda several verses occur which declare the harm that results from disrespecting or injuring a brāhmaṇa or from robbing him of his cow. ‘He who regards brāhmaṇa as food drinks of the poison of Tāimāta; he who injures a brāhmaṇa, the relative of the gods, does not attain to the world of pitṛs’ (Atharvaveda V. 18. 4 and 13). ‘Those who spit on a brāhmaṇa or those who sent to him mucus remain biting the hair in the midst of a stream by their mouth; that kingdom sinks as water sinks a shattered vessel, where’ they injure a brāhmaṇa; that wicked act strikes that kingdom.

The stories of king Kārtavīrya and Viśvāmitra who respectively carried off the cows of Jamadagni and Vāsiṣṭha narrated in the Mahābhārata (Śānti 49 for Kārtavīrya; Ādi. 175 for Viśvāmitra) and the Purāṇas show how several kings were high-handed and treated brāhmaṇas with no respect whatever. It appears that even the wives of brāhmaṇas are not quite safe at the hands of kings. ‘The chamberlain (ksatr) of that king in whose kingdom the wife of a brāhmaṇa is thoughtlessly put under restraint does not march in front of cooking vessels with a golden ornament on his neck’ (Atharvaveda V. 19. 3 and 8).

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

The Tai. Br. says ‘the vāsiṣya class is

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98. ये माहात्म्य प्रयाधिकान् ये बासिष्ठ। खुंडकरिष्ठे। अचछोऽत्वा सधे सूत्यायः केशानां\n99. नारेक क्षत्र निविदारीयं। खलनामेवेत्यतेति। राष्ट्रोऽद्वे निविदारीयो भ्रजाजापस-\n100. पशुकामं बालदेवदेवो बजेत। तै सं. II. 5. 10.2: ते केवला। पराजयं अस्माः\n101. बैलयो मद्वरणां गायः। पशुखं तत्स्मात आयं अख्तानायाक्ष्युद्यः। तस्मात् जापस-\n
said to have been born from rk verses, they declare the Yajurveda as the origin of the ksatriya, the Sāmaveda is indeed the source of brāhmaṇas'.

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

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

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 ksatriyas 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 Brhaspati being the brāhmaṇas among gods; Indra, Varuṇa, Soma, Yama being the ksatriyas; Vasus, Rudras, the Viśve Devas and Maruts being the viṣ, and Puṣan being the śudra. Similarly it is said 'the brāhmaṇa is really spring, the ksatriya summer, and the viṣ are the rainy season.'
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; tvastā (a carpenter) in VIII. 102.8; bhīṣak (medicine man) in IX. 112.1 and 3, kārmāra or kārmāra (iron-smith) in X. 72.2 and IX. 112.2, cārmamna (tanner) in Rg. VIII. 5.38.

The Atharvaveda mentions rathakāra (III. 5.6), kārmāra (III. 5.6) and sūta (III. 5.7). In the Tai. S. (IV. 5.4.2)108 mention is made of ksatr (royal chamberlain or doorkeeper), saṁgrahīṭṛ (treasurer), takṣan (carpenter) and rathakāra (maker of chariots), kulāla (potter), kārmāra, puṇjiṣṭa (fowler), niṣāda, isukṛ (maker of arrows), dhanvākṛt (maker of bows), mṛgayu (hunter) and śvāni (those who lead packs of hounds). These also occur in the Vaiṣṇava-samhitās 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 Purusamedha) we have āyogu, māgadhā (bard), sūta, saṁilūṣa (actor), rebha, bhūimala, rathakāra, takṣan, kaulāla, kārmāra, manikāra, vapa (sower or barber), isukṛa, dhanvākṛa, jyākāra (maker of bow-string), rajjasarga, mṛgayu, śvāni surākāra (vintner), ayāstāpa (heater of iron or copper), kitava (gambler), bidalakāra (worker in wicker-work), kaṇṭakakāra. The Śatapatha Br. XI. 8.1. speaks of kaulāla-cakra (the potter's wheel). The Tai. Br. III. 8.5. mentions also rṣajputra-ugra. The Śatapatha (S. B. E. Vol. 44 p. 397) speaks of Marutta Āvīksīta as an āyogava king. This latter is a pratiloma caste according to the dharmaśūtras (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, grāmanī, ksatr, saṁgrahīṭṛ, bhāgadūgha (collector of taxes), aksāvāpa (superintendent of gambling). Vide also Tai. Br. I. 7.3. In the Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa (19.1.4) it is said that 'eight brave persons hold up the kingdom viz. the king's brother, the king's son, the purohita, the crowned queen, the sūta, the grāmanī, ksatr and saṁgrahīṭṛ'. Therefore it looks likely that ksatr and saṁgrahīṭṛ were high officers of state and not castes. In the Śat. Br. XIII. 4. 1. 5 among the

108. नम: क्षत्र: सांग्रहीत्र: को नमो नमस्तक्षम्यं रथकारंक्षम्यं को नमो नमः: बुलते: क्षत्रियं को नमो नमः: पुस्तिको निफर्तत्रित्वं को नमो नमः: व्रह्व-कुर्वल्कं को नमो नमो वुस्तुप्यं: वालिन्यं को नमः: ते. सं. IV. 5. 4. 2.
guards of the horse let loose in the Āsvamedha there were 'a hundred sons of ksātra-saṁgrahītṛs carrying clubs'. As the word 'ksātra' is prefixed to 'saṁgrahītṛ' it follows that 'saṁgrahītṛs' 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 sūtagrāmaṇīs. In another passage of the same brāhmaṇa (XIII. 2. 2. 18) the sūtas and grāmaṇīs are said to be no kings and yet are rājakaṭ (i.e. king-makers). This means probably that they are the principal persons on whose support the king depends. The Śat. Br. V. 4. 4. 15-19 arranges brāhmaṇa, king, king's brother, sūta or sthapati, grāmaṇī, sajātā 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 (kīlba), 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 Kirātās (who were and are non-Aryan and were aboriginal tribes). The Vāj. S. (30. 17) speaks of Paulkasa in connection with bibbatesā (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) 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 राजसेवकाः राजकुल: सूतानिर्माणः। सति एव सः

108. Vide ताण्डय ब्रा. 13. 12. 5, वाजा. सं. 30. 16, अध्वर्युपः एव ततः प्राकृताः ।

109. अथाय इ वचे सतसौं योगिनासौं अष्टर्योवनं यथार्योवनं यथार्योवनं यस्मिन् हि ।

110. श्लोकोः । वचे कसौं योगिनासौं अष्टर्योवनं यथार्योवनं यथार्योवनं यथार्योवनं यस्मिन् हि।

111. वाजा. 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 sūdrā (who is not a dependant) while Manu X. 125 allows it to be given to a sūdrā who is a dependant.
Self as Fire—Chandogya V. 24. 4. This shows that the càndàla was the lowest in the social scale. 'Just as a pâśya 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 càndàla and paulkasa and in IV. 3.37 it is said that 'just as when a king pays a visit, the ugras, pratyenasas (thief catchers), the sütas 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 südra woman (Yaj. I. 91). In the Rg. X. 97. 12 the word ugra occurs 'You destroy disease just as an ugra who is a mediator or arbitrator (removes dispute).' What ugra means here cannot be said with certainty. It may only mean a 'formidable chief or king.'

The rathakâra and niśāda deserve a passing notice. The Tai. Br. I. 1. 4 after stating that the brâhmaṇa should consecrate sacred fires in the spring, the ksatriya in summer, the vaisya in autumn, ordinates that the rathakâra should consecrate sacred fires in the rainy season. The question arises whether the rathakâra 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 varnas. Jaimini in his Pûrvamîmâśa-sûtra (VI. 1. 44–50) discusses this question and establishes that the rathakâra is a member of a caste other than the three higher varnas, 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 rathakâras is 'râhünâm tvā' (Tai. Br. I. 1. 4) and that the rathakâras are the caste called Saudhanvana which is neither südra nor one of the three higher ones, but is slightly inferior to the three higher varnas. Viśvarûpa (on

110. Pûrûṇa VI. 2. 60 teaches the accent of the word pûrûṇa when compounded with rājus. According to Baud. Dh. S. (II. 2. 29) ugra is an anuloma caste sprung from a brâhmaṇa father and südra wife.

111. रघुनाथस्कारस्याध्यायर्य संसेवकारात्। चौरवनालो हीनवामान्य-र्वाणिज्ञपियेन ॥ पुरुषी. VI. 1. 44 and 50.

112. यजुर्वेदयामन्त्रस्याध्यायर्य संसेवकारात्। चौरवनालो हीनवामान्य-र्वाणिज्ञपियेन ॥ पुरुषी. VI. 1. 44 and 50.

Vide Baud. Dh. S. I. 1 for the same rule.
Yāj. I. 10) notices that in some smṛtī the rathakāra though not belonging to the three higher varṇas, was allowed the privilege of upanayana, but adds that this dictum of the smṛtī is due to mistake, it being misled by the fact that he is allowed the privilege of ādhāna (consecration of sacred fires). In modern times the members of the carpenter caste in certain parts of the Deccan at least are in the habit of performing the upanayana and wearing the sacred thread.

With reference to an āṣṭi offered to Rudra a Vedic text says 'one should make a niṣādasthapati perform this āṣṭi.' The Pūrvasūkṣma-stītra (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 āṣṭi is to be performed by a niṣāda who is a chieftain though he be beyond the pale of the three varṇas, as the Karmadāraya compound is the proper way of dissolving the compound and not the genitive Tatpurusa. The Ait. Br. (37. 7) says 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 Sāṅkhāyana 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 Kātyāyanasūtra-sūtra (I. 1. 12-14) says that the chieftain who is a niṣāda can offer a caru of Gavedhukā c essays to Rudra, but this offering is to be made in ordinary fire (and not in the fires consecrated with Vedic mantras) i.e. the permission to offer Rudra āṣṭi does not entitle him to perform Vedic consecration of fire (ādhāna). But according to Satyāgadha-kalpa III. 1 both the niṣāda and the rathakāra are entitled to perform Agnihotra and Darśa-pūrṇamāsā.
The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa\textsuperscript{118} narrates that Viśvāmitra cursed his senior fifty sons, when they did not agree to his proposal to treat Sunāḥṣeṣa (Devarāta) as his son, that they would associate with the lowest castes and that they became the Andhras, Pundras, Šabarās, Pulindas and Mūtibhas who are among the lowest of society and are mostly composed of dasyus. It is probably owing to this legend that the Manusmṛti \textsuperscript{119} (X. 43-45) is prepared to regard the Pauṇḍrakas, the Odras, Dravidas, Kāmbojas, Yavanas, Šakas, Pāradas, Pahlavas, Cīnas, Kirātas, Daradas and Khašas as being originally kṣatriya castes, but later on reduced to the position of śūdras by the non-performance of Vedic sāṁskāras (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 Satapatha Brāhmaṇa expressly says that they are four varṇas, it appears to me that they speak of facts existing in their times and not merely of a theory which was to be striven for as an ideal. Smṛti writers try to place all their dicta in the frame-work of the varṇas because the four varṇas and their duties and privileges had been more or less clearly defined in the times of the Vedas and Brāhmaṇas, which according to the authors of the smṛtis were śrutis, 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

\textsuperscript{118.} तान्त्रिकोऽधारणान्तर्भ: प्रवा भविष्य:। त पतेना:। श्रव्य:। श्रव्य:। श्रव्यवाण्यां सूर्यवाण्यां सूर्यविः:। \textsuperscript{119.} श्रव्यवाण्यां सूर्यवाण्यां सूर्यविः:।

\textsuperscript{118.} तान्त्रिकोऽधारणान्तर्भ: प्रवा भविष्य:। त पतेना:। श्रव्य:। श्रव्य:। श्रव्यवाण्यां सूर्यवाण्यां सूर्यविः:। \textsuperscript{119.} श्रव्यवाण्यां सूर्यवाण्यां सूर्यविः:।
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 varnas, 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 śūdras 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), kṣatriyas (kings, noblemen and some warriors) and vaisyaśas (the artisans and common people) had become separated into groups more or less dependent on birth and that the brāhmaṇa had come to be regarded as superior to the kṣatriya by the fact of birth;

(6) that even such low castes as cāndālas and paulkasas 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 kṣatriyas 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 kṣatriya is put first and the brāhmaṇa after him).
The close of the Vedic period is here taken as being not later than about 1000 B.C. How much earlier it may be placed it is not possible to say.

The following is a list of persons engaged in professions and crafts, which had probably become castes or were in the process of becoming castes, before the close of the Vedic period, as seen from the Vāj. S., Tai. S. and Tai. Br., Kāthaka Sam. (17. 13), the Atharva-veda, the Tāṇḍya Br. (III. 4.), the Ait. Br., the Chandogya 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 Dhanuskāra
Ayastāpa Dhanvakāra
Ayogū or Āyogū or Dhanvakṛt
Avipāla (keeper of ewes) Dhaivara
Ānda (?) Niṣāda
Iṣukāra
Ugra
Kaṇṭakakāra or Kaṇṭakī- Naigāda
kāri (in Vāj. S.)
Karmāra Punīścalu
Kāri (dancer?) Puṇjiṣṭha
Kitava or
Kirāta
Kirāsa (cultivator?) Pundra
Kulāla or Kaulāla Pulinda
Kevarta Paulkasa
Kośakāra (blower of bellows) Bainḍa (catching fish in nets)
Kṣatṛ Bhīṣak
Gopāla Bhīmala (timid?)
Carmamna Manikāra
Cāndāla Māgadha
Jambhaka (?) Mārgāra
Jyākāra Mūṭiba
Takṣan Mṛgayu

i. D. 7
Maināla (catcher of fish?) Vidalakārī or Bidala-

Rajayitrī (dyer) Vrātya

Rajusarga or-sarja Śabara

Rathakāra Śābālya (?)

Rājaputra Śailūsa

Rebha (?) Śvānin (or Śvanita)

Vaisanartin Samgrahāla

Vapa (barber) Surākāra

Vānija Sūta

Vāśah-palpūlit (a washerwoman) Selaga

Hiranyakāra

Several centuries before the Christian era there were several castes. This follows not only from the dharmasūtras but also from the ancient Buddhist works and from the meagre existing fragments of the work of Megasthenes on India. Though Megasthenes was confused in his statements about the caste system as prevalent in his day, some propositions are clearly 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 brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas, 2-3 to vaiśyas, 4 to śudras; 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
many) among the several smṛtikāras relate only to details. The smṛti writers had before them the hoary theory of four varnas vouched for by infallible Vedic authority, but they were at the same time quite cognisant of the realities in society viz. the separate existence of numerous castes and sub-castes that had varying claims as regards social status and that were based in popular estimation on birth alone. Therefore, when one criticizes the smṛti view of the derivation of numerous castes from the mixture or confusion (saṁkara) of the four varnas 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 varnas 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 varnas, brāhmaṇa, ksatriya, 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 'चतुर्विषय वर्णनिमानम्: पुच्छवर्षः \nअतोऽन्ये व्यासितिकते ये ते यै संकर्ता: स्मृतः। \n:\nअतीयात्तिकितियः उद्य वैक्षेधकार्त्थः। \nअव्यात्ता: पुरसः स्वामित्वः निष्पातः। \nअस्मातः अयोः करणा व्यात्तिकितियः। \n\nतत्र ततः वर्णनम् जापने ये परस्परातु॥'
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 Kaushitaki Br. Up. IV. 18 (quoted in note 89 above) the word ‘pratiloma’ is applied to the procedure adopted by a brāhmaṇa going to a ksatriya 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 down 123 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

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122. सद्ध. X. 5, विष्णुस्यामस्क 16. 1; या. I. 90. The mārgasaka position is stated by the संस्कारिक (on जै. I. 2. 1) 'न तत्परार्थित्वम् वर्णविभागेय मन्यते निर्देशितम् ... न तत्परार्थितनुस्यायां वर्णविभागेय मन्यते संस्कारेऽपि न तत्परार्थितनुस्यायां वर्णविभागेय मन्यते संस्कारेऽपि नतः गृहसम्पत्तिकारणस्यामस्क 12. 51-52) says सर्वेण्य जनमय जातिनामार्थम् कर्मदशायिनीः पवयतैर्यथा जातिः जातिजोत्रिस्तेव न च चान्यथा। सार्वभूद वेदेऽण्य भौतिकस्य न च चान्यथाः॥ जन्मस्य महाभागानां ब्राह्मणाः नाम जायते। जातितपत्रिकृति quoted in ज्ञानधित व. p. 452.

123. सर्वप्रकृतिर्वन्धितार्यां यथैर्यथात्मक ज्ञातिणां कर्मदशायस्य सम्बन्धवश्। पर्वतश्रावण्यः कल्याणकर्णस्यस्य प्रदशणं यथैर्यथात्मकः कणांस्य भौतिकस्य न च चान्यथाः। तत्रादि वेदेऽण्य भौतिकस्य न च चान्यथाः। आप. ध. छ. 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 vāraṇa but also allow the marriage of a person with a girl of another vāraṇa lower than his own. Yāj. (I. 92) expressly says that the six anuloma castes, mūrdhāvasikta, ambasta, nīśāda, māhiṣya, úgra, and karāṇa are so called only when they are the offspring of women married by men of higher vāraṇas. Manu (X. 41) says that the six anuloma castes are entitled to the rites (sāṃskāras like upanayana) performed for dvījas, but that the pratiloma castes are like śūdras (i.e. even when a pratiloma caste springs from a brāhmaṇa woman and a ksatriya or vaiśya male they cannot have upanayana and other rites of dvījas performed for them, though both parents are dvījas). Kauṭilya124 (III. 7) also says that all pratilomas except cāndālas are like śūdras; Viṣṇu says that they are condemned by all Āryas. Devala125 (quoted by Parāśaramādhāvīya I. 2. p. 122) says that pratilomas are outside the pale of the system of vāraṇas and are patīta. The Smṛtyarthasastra p. 13 says that anuloma sons and those born of the mūrdhāvasikta and other anuloma castes are dvījatis and are entitled to sāṃskāras as dvījatis. Commentators like Kullūka (on Manu X. 11) say that, as no marriage is legally possible between a woman of a higher vāraṇa and a male of a lower vāraṇa, all the pratilomas are born outside lawful wedlock. Gautama (IV. 20) says that all pratilomas are dharmahina, which is interpreted by the Mit. on Yāj. III. 262 as meaning that they cannot have upanayana and similar sāṃskāras of dvījas performed for them, though they are amenable to the rules of morality and entitled to perform vratas and prāyaścitatas. Vasiṣṭha, Baudhāyana and several others do not make it clear whether, when they speak of pratilomas, they contemplate offspring of legal

124. श्रुतसारमाण्डो वा अन्यत्र चण्डालेऽपि:। कौशिक III. 7; मातिलोकस्वर्थम्। विगुणिताः। विषयु 16. 3.

125. सेवम श्रव्यमाण्डो: अद्वाले: भोज्यस्मादवधोममाण्डो:। अन्यत्राद्वायं पालिता:। मातिलोकस्वर्थम्।। वेदेऽकृतो विता। द्वीया संस्कारे
शुद्धिजाता:।।तथा गृहसङ्गसिकाधिविलोलितावृत्ति जिज्ञाताः।। गुरुपरियासार प. 13.
marriages or only of illegitimate and adulterous unions. But it will be seen from the list appended below that Usanas and Vaikhânasâ almost always make a distinction between the caste assigned to the offspring of the union of parents of different varnas, according as there is a marriage between the two or it is only a clandestine, illegitimate or adulterous union. For example, Usanas, says that when there is a marriage between a kshatriya male and a brâhmana female, the offspring is called sūta, while the offspring of a clandestine union between a brâhmana woman and a kshatriya male was called rathakâra. So these two authors held that there could be a legal marriage when a woman of a higher varna married a male of a lower varna. There were several other works like the Sūtasamhitā (Śivamāhātmyakhaṇḍa 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 kunda and golaka (Manu III. 174), kānîna, sahodhaja (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 kṣetraja 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 kānîna and sahodha may be held to be brâhmanas (if the begetter can be proved to have been a brâhmana); while Viśvarûpa on Yāj. II. 133 says that kānîna and gudhaja must be deemed to belong to the mother’s caste as the begetter may not be known and that sahodhaja (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 varna 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 varna 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. "पुराणं आदिप्राणययां विविधोऽस्मात् समन्वयतां। जातं: संसारं निविद्येः: पवित्रोऽपिनिधिनः॥ २-३।। आदिप्राणयं संसारसमस्तेनिधिनां: पवित्रितिः। २-५।।

127. Vide Yāj. I. 95 which says that pratilomajās are asat (condemned) and anulomajās are sat (good) i.e. entitled to the sāmskāras.
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 Nīrukta (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 kṛṣṇa-jāti occurs with reference to a woman of the śudra caste. Almost these very words occur in Vāsiṣṭha (18. 17-18) where for kṛṣṇa-jāti the word kṛṣṇavarna is substituted. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 56 (yad-ucyate etc.) quotes these words as a brāhmaṇa text, but there the word is kṛṣṇavarṇīyā. Therefore, the use of the word jāti in the sense of caste can be traced back at least to the times of the Nīrukta. Paṇini (V. 4. 9) 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, Vāsiṣṭha I. 17 and XIX. 7, Manu I. 118 and VIII. 41 and the word jāti (caste) occurs also in Āp. Dīh. 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 (ṛṇādana 288) and in the vārtika on Paṇini IV. 1. 137. Vāraṇa 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 vāraṇa is used in the sense of mixed castes (jātis). Conversely the word jāti often appears to be used to indicate ‘vāraṇa’. Vide Manu III. 15, VIII. 177, IX. 86 and 335, X. 41 and Yāj. I. 89 (in which latter sajāti appears to mean ‘savāra’).

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 vāraṇa married a female of the vāraṇa immediately after it, the progeny belonged to the vāraṇa

128. अधिः दिव्याः न रामायुपेयाः। रामाः रणणायोपेयो न धर्माः कृष्णजातीयः। भिषक्क XII. 13; the words ‘अधिः दिव्याः ... पेयाः’ occur in काठकस्वर्तिता 21. 7.
129. नाधिः दिव्याः रामायुपेयाः। कृष्णार्गाः या रामाः रणणायो न धर्माः। वर्तत 18. 17-18.
130. कृष्णजातीया रामाः रणणायोपेयो इति ब्राह्मणपुरुषः। विन्यस्य on पा. I. 56.
131. ज्ञातकष्ट्यः सप्त्युस्ति। पाणिनी 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 varna next to his own are savarna i. e. the son of a brāhmaṇa from a wife of the kṣatriya varna is a brāhmaṇa. The Anuśāsana-parva 48. 4, Nārada (striprāṇa 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 vāiśya wife or of a vāiśya male from a sūdra wife. Fick (pp. 54-57) shows that even according to the Bhaddasāla Jātaka 'the family of the mother does not matter; the family of the father alone is important'. The second view is that the progeny of anuloma unions is in status lower than the father, but higher than the mother; e. g. Manu X. 6 'sages declare the sons begotten by dvijas on wives of varṇas immediately next to theirs as similar (to the fathers, but not of the same varṇa with the fathers) but tainted by the inferiority of their mothers.' The third view (and this is the common view) is that the progeny of anuloma marriages is of the same varṇa as regards its privileges and obligations as the mother's; e. g. vide Viṣṇu Dh. S. 16. 2 132 and Śaṅkha (prose) quoted by the Mit. on Yāj I. 91 and Aparāraka (p. 118). A classical echo of this view is found in the Śākuntala of Kālidāsa 134 where king Dusyanta exclaims aside to himself 'would that this girl were born of a wife who was not savarna'. Medhātithi on Manu X. 6 says that Pāṇḍu, Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Vidura being kṣetraja sons took the caste of their mothers. The Mit. explains the words of Śaṅkha by saying that the off-spring of anuloma marriages such as mūrdhavasikta are not really different from kṣatriyas, that they have the same sāṁskāras 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. ताकु दुहा: सपूर्णान्तरात्स सवर्णाः। भाज्यानास्त्रियाय भाज्याः……… वी. ध. I. 8. 6 and I. 9. 3; भाष्यांत्यतः सत्वरेष्वय द्वयोर्तरास्य जयते। अभयासन 48. 4; सवर्णा भाज्यान्त्र्युधिस्त्रियायसवर्णाः। नारदा (स्रीपुंस 106); भाज्यानास्त्रियायसवर्णाः। दुहा: सवर्णाः एकानात्स असवर्णाः। कौटिल्य III. 7.

133. अनूलोमान्त्र भाज्यान्त्रयया। विश्ल 16. 2; ‘भाज्यानेन भाज्यानस्त्रियायसवर्णितः। कृष्ण एव भवति। कृष्णेन वैष्णावसार्वसिद्धः। शुद्ध एव भवति।’ दुहा: विश्लाय ना कौटिल्य I. 91.

134. अर्द्धान्त्र कुलटराब्यवस्थितः सन्त्व स्वातः। हादुकुन्त राष्ट्र I.
The ancient dharmasūtras mention only a few mixed castes. Ap. Dh. S. mentions only cāndāla, 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. rathakāraṇa, svapāka, vaiṇa and kukkutā. 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 varnas). Usanas names about 40 and gives their peculiar avocations. All the smṛtis taken together hardly mention more than about one hundred castes.

The number of primary anulomas is only six (vide Manu X. 10, Yāj I. 91–92), but Manu names only three of them, viz. ambastha, niśāda and ugra. The primary pratilomas also are six (vide Manu X. 11–12 and 16–17 and Yāj. I. 93–94) viz. sūta, vaidehaka, cāndāla, māgadha, kṣatṛ, and āyogava. Further sub-castes are said to arise from the unions of the anulomas and pratilomas with the four varnas 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 rathakāraṇa as the offspring of a māhīṣya male and a karaṇa female, i.e. it is a further mixture between two anuloma castes. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 95 says that upanayana and other saṁskāras 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 svapāka is the offspring of a kṣatṛ 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).

135. एवं वाण्डसिद्धार्थसूत्रस्य सूतर्गमविद्याः पञ्चभूसमे जात्वस्तवता उप- वनसिद्धार्थसूत्रस्य कर्तव्यवत्मक तर्कादिज्ञातिवर्गम् निर्देशतः। मिश्र. on p. I. 95; एवं हेमसम: पुनः संस्कार्य स्वप्निदानकादिज्ञातिवर्गम् हि जातवः। "स्वर्णसिद्धार्थसूत्रम् p. 13. H. D. 8
smṛti verse quoted\textsuperscript{136} by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 95 says that there are six anulomas, 24 doubly mixed castes (due to the union of the six anulomas with the four varṇas), 6 pratilomas and 24 doubly mixed castes (due to the unions of 6 pratilomas with four varṇas) i.e. in all 60 and further mixtures of these among themselves give rise to innumerable sub-castes. Similarly Viṣṇu Dh. S. 16.7 \textsuperscript{137} says that the further mixed castes arising from the unions of mixed castes are numberless. This shows that before the time of the Viṣṇudharmaśūtra (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 meditatively, from the primary varṇas. The same state of things was continued and was rather aggravated by the time of the nibandhakāras. Medhatithi 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 Mitākṣara\textsuperscript{138} on Yāj. I. 95 observes that since the castes springing from the double intermingling of varṇas are innumerable, it is impossible to describe or enumerate them. Similarly the Kṛtyakalpataru in its prakīrtanaka topic of vyavahāra section, when dealing with castes, merely quotes several passages from the smṛtis and does not add a word of its own about the castes, their names or avocations in its own day (first half of 12th century). The Mit. on Yāj. I. 94\textsuperscript{139} expressly says that the avocations of the pratilomas (about which Yāj. is silent) should be understood from the smṛtis of Uśanas and Manu. Medieval writers on dharmaśāstra usually ignore the treatment in detail of the numerous sub-castes and content themselves with dilating upon the duties of the four varṇas.

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

\textsuperscript{136} नातिहोन्यक्षेत्रायायायेन सर्वस्त्रिस्त्रीबंब स्त्रीतः । शाख्येषायेन मन्त्राणां सत्यतंत्रस्त्र-नवताः सम्बन्धित स्त्रीताः सौत। आदि यो यात्रायाः ॥

\textsuperscript{137} संकरसंकरास्त्रास्त्रायेन सदागर्भाय सदागर्भाय । संकरसंकरास्त्रास्त्रायेन सदागर्भाय सदागर्भाय ॥

\textsuperscript{138} संकरसंकरास्त्रास्त्रायेन सदागर्भाय सदागर्भाय । संकरसंकरास्त्रास्त्रायेन सदागर्भाय सदागर्भाय ॥

\textsuperscript{139} संकरसंकरास्त्रास्त्रायेन सदागर्भाय सदागर्भाय । संकरसंकरास्त्रास्त्रायेन सदागर्भाय सदागर्भाय ॥
Manu X. 22 gives seven names for the same caste and Manu X. 23 gives five for another. Viṣṇarūpa on Yāj. I. 92 explains that these different names are due to difference of locality. There is another difficulty. The same name given to a caste is differently derived by different writers (vide under niśada and pārasava 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), Vasiṣṭha (18.7) and Anuśasana-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 varṇaśāṅkara (or only śāṅkara). In Manu X. 12 and 24 the word varṇaśāṅkara is used in the plural in the sense of mixed castes, while in Manu X. 40 (and in V. 89) the word śāṅkara seems to be used in the sense of 'mixture or intermingling of varṇas'. Gautama (VIII. 3) employs the word śāṅkara and says 'on the two (the brāhmaṇa and the king) depends the prosperity (of men), protection, the prevention of mixture (of varṇas) and the (accumulation of) merit (or the observance of dharma). Nārada (stripurīsa 102) says 'to be born from a union in the inverse order of varṇas amounts to varṇaśāṅkara;' while Brhaspati quoted in the Kṛtyakalpataru appears to apply the word varṇaśāṅkara to both anuloma and pratiloma castes. Baud. Dh. S. (I. 9. 16) says that those who are born of

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140. अथ एव स्वरुपादेश्येक्षेत्रवार्षिकसंज्ञानात् न इति विश्वकर्मणां विविधाय वर्णसमक्षे विद्यते। विविधनृप अथ विविधेत्या विविधपरावर्तीय पदार्थाः कालपन्नात्।

141. छोलोवचाय सर्वेऽक्षं सत्सन्तास्वस्ते वेदोपनिषदोऽस्मात्। विविधनृप अथ विविधेत्या विविधपरावर्तीय पदार्थाः। विविधनृप अथ विविधेत्या विविधपरावर्तीय पदार्थाः। विविधनृप अथ विविधेत्या विविधपरावर्तीय पदार्थाः।

142. विविधनृप अथ विविधेत्या विविधपरावर्तीय पदार्थाः। विविधनृप अथ विविधेत्या विविधपरावर्तीय पदार्थाः। विविधनृप अथ विविधेत्या विविधपरावर्तीय पदार्थाः। विविधनृप अथ विविधेत्या विविधपरावर्तीय पदार्थाः।

143. विविधनृप अथ विविधेत्या विविधपरावर्तीय पदार्थाः। विविधनृप अथ विविधेत्या विविधपरावर्तीय पदार्थाः। विविधनृप अथ विविधेत्या विविधपरावर्तीय पदार्थाः। विविधनृप अथ विविधेत्या विविधपरावर्तीय पदार्थाः।

144. विविधनृप अथ विविधेत्या विविधपरावर्तीय पदार्थाः। विविधनृप अथ विविधेत्या विविधपरावर्तीय पदार्थाः। विविधनृप अथ विविधेत्या विविधपरावर्तीय पदार्थाः। विविधनृप अथ विविधेत्या विविधपरावर्तीय पदार्थाः।
varnasamkara are called vrātyas. The Mit. on Yaj I. 96 applies the word varnasamkara to both anuloma and pratiloma progeny. Medhātithi145 on Manu V. 83 says that the word 'sāmkarajāta' indicates pratilomas like āyogava and that even though as regards anulomas there is intermingling (of varnas), yet as they have the privileges of the caste of their mothers, even Manu himself does not apply the word saṁkīrṇayoni to them as seen above (Manu X. 25). Yama146 quoted in the Kṛtyakalpataru says 'Varnasamkara arises by the violation of the restrictions (about marriage); if the proper order of varnas (i.e., male of higher varna marrying a woman of a lower varna) is followed, (the offspring) is entitled to be regarded as belonging to the system of varnas, but if the reverse order is followed it is sin.' Manu (X. 24) says 'mixed castes arise by members of one varna having sexual intercourse with women of another varna, by marrying women who ought not to have been married (such as a sāgoṭra girl) and by neglect of the duties peculiar to one's varna'. The Anuśāsanaparva 48. 147 remarks that 'varnasamkara 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 moralised), intermingling of varnas arises; saṁkara 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 varnasamkara, the ancient caste observances and family observances are subverted.'

On account of the great emphasis laid on the prevention of varnasamkara 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 varnasamkara. Gautama (XI. 9-10) says 'the king should protect the varṇas and āśāramas according to the śāstras and he should make them conform to their duties when they swerve

145. सकराजाता द्वेषतर्जातसतिशतिकरण प्रतिलोमसहस्त्र: अञ्जलोमसर सतपि संकीर्णयोगिते मानुजातीयवादिकारित्वादेः नेह गृहस्ते । न व च चाँडोभुदो संकीर्णवैधानित्वादा; संकीर्णपैशाचयवेता प्रतिलोमभुदोभुदािति । संहा ॰ on मथ. V. 88.

146. मयादत्रया विलोपन जातो वर्णसंकरः । अञ्जलोमसर वर्णसर्व प्रतिलोमसर्व व वातकम् ॥

7 quoted in MS. of Bhṛtyakālatr (प्रवहर, प्रकीर्णवः).

147. अञ्जलोमससकाया वर्णानां वात्यसाधारी । अञ्जानाधारिः वर्णानां जातो वर्णसंकरः ॥ अञ्जलोमश्र 48. 1.
from them;’ Vasîṣṭha (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’; Viśṇu Dh. S. III. 3 and Yāj. I. 361, Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 27, Matsyapurāṇa 215. 63 say the same. Nārada (śripurṣa 113)148 says ‘when a brāhmaṇa woman goes astray a cāndāla is born from a śūdra male (and the brāhmaṇa woman); therefore the king should specially protect women from saṁkāra’. It is on account of this that so early as in the first centuries of the Christian era we see that king Vāsiṣṭhiputa Siri Pujumāyi is extolled as having prevented the mixture of the four varṇas (E. I. vol. VIII pp. 60-61, ‘vinivatitacatuvana-sakaraśa’). That varṇasamkāra had gone too far in the opinion of the author of the Mahābhārata (Vana-pārva 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.” Saṁkarācārya in his bhaṣya on Vedānta-sūtra 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 ṛṣis 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 Jātyukarsa and Jātyapakarsa. These passages have given rise to some divergence of interpreta-

148. बाणालो जापते सुदाराम बाणप्री वयं सुभाषति । तस्माहजाजा विशेषेषे विशये पवयालय संस्काराय । नारद ब्रह्मेण 113 । vide also नारदः (प्रकीर्षक 2-6.).

149. जातिरथ महाययो महातप्ते महामोक्ते संस्कारातप्राकालो कुपश्रेष्ठरेष्ति मे सति ॥ सन सरससत्पवानि जतसति सत्वदा नरः । खालीयुनममो जन्म सर्गं च समं द्वाराद ॥ ब्रह्मायर मण्डलं च व वज्ञानं हुसयति । तस्माभिजीविभागेभीवित्वं तस्माद्वस्तादीति ॥ रथयय 180. 31-33.

150. ब्रह्माभिविव च काताज्ञाति अथवंत्रवायस्तद्वव्यतिवर्ण जातिकालाति । तस्मान धृत्यपक्षायापि शाक्रणनर्योंस्य प्रचार । शाह्वेय साँत्रयू । वेदमूलदुयं च भवरभ नृ. 3. 33.
tion, but their general sense is clear. Gautama (IV. 18)\textsuperscript{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 jātyutkārśa (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 jātyapākarśa (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

\textsuperscript{151} चण्डालव्रतसंतानमत्वकर्षेपपपकार्यां सतमे परमे वाचायां: \ सुविधानिं जात्साहायः \ बीत १७-1९। यिः वृत्तमहंस्वरूपाः \ दौस्वरूपमहात्मवत। च।

IV. 18-19. In S. B. E. vol. II. pp. 196-197 the sutras are arranged differently i. e. the first ends at 'saptame' and pañcame...vyāḥ 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 born of an ambastha wife becomes an ambastha (i.e., there is jatyapakarsa as to anulomas).

According to Manu\textsuperscript{158} X. 64 when a brāhmaṇa marries a śudra 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 jatyutkarsa). Conversely, if a brāhmaṇa marries a śudra woman and a son is born, he is a pāraśava and that son marries a śudra woman and their son again marries a śudra woman and this goes on for 7 generations, the 7th generation becomes a mere śudra (there is jatyapakarsa). It will be seen that this differs from Gautama in several respects. In the first place for both jatyutkarsa and jatyapakarsa 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 jatyutkarsa, while according to Manu, the 7th secures it. Further Manu is silent about jatyutkarsa 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 ksatriya with a vaisya woman and of a vaisya with a śudra woman. Medhātithi and Kullūka extend these express words of Manu further by explaining that if a brāhmaṇa marries a vaisya female and a daughter is born and she again marries a brāhmaṇa then in the fifth generation there will be jatyutkarsa; conversely if a son is born from a brāhmaṇa and a vaisya wife, and he marries

\textsuperscript{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 (yugna) is attached to ‘yuga’ by Aparārka on Yāj. I. 96 (p. 119). In the S. B. E. vol. II p. 196 Dr. Buhler compares Ap. Dh. S. II. 5,10. 10-11 with Gautama IV. 22. But the great scholar is not accurate here. Ap. 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 śudra rising higher and higher in successive births. In the Anuśasana-parva (chap. 27. 5-6, 28. 6-13) it is said that after numberless births śudras and others become vaisyas and so on. Vanaparva (212. 11-12) gives expression to the same idea. \textsuperscript{153}
a vaisya female and this goes on, then in the fifth generation
the son will be a vaisya (i.e. there will be jatyapakarsa). Similarly if a brāhmaṇa marries a kṣatriya woman then there
is jātyutkarsa or jātyapakarsa in three generations.

Yājñavalkya (I. 96)152 speaks of two kinds of jātyutkarsa
or jātyapakarsa 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 corresonding similarity (of varṇa in the 7th or even 5th
generation).’ This is elaborated by the Mitākṣara as follows:—
If a brāhmaṇa marries a śūdra woman and a daughter is born she
is a niśādi; if this latter marries a brāhmaṇa and a daughter is
born and she in turn marries a brāhmaṇa and this goes on for six
generations, then the child of the 6th girl (in descent) becomes
a brāhmaṇa (he being 7th in descent); similarly if a brāhmaṇa
marries a vaisya woman and a girl is born, she is an 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 jātyutkarsa
by marrying a higher male took place in the 6th generation.
If a kṣatriya married a vaisya woman, the daughter born was
a māhīṣyā and jātyutkarsa took place in the 5th generation.
If a vaisya married a śūdra woman, the daughter of the marriage
is a karaṇī and if she marries a vaisya, then in the fifth
generation there would be jātyutkarsa. 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. जात्युतकारां दृष्टे श्रेष्ठ: सत्तेन प्रभुमेव वा। त्वरन्ते कर्मनां साम्यं दूर्पर्यं जात्युतकारां
सर्वं ॥ प्र. I. 96.

154. अतिरिक्त: वर्गश्रेणाकारां वर्षिकां द्रुतिमातिकिष्ठेद ॥ तु हृदयं विनयं प्रविश्नाद ॥
ब्रतिः II. 22-23.
over (vide Vasistha II. 13-23, Visnu Dh. S. II. 15, Yaj. I. 118-120, Gautama X. 1-7 &c.). If a brähmana begins to follow the avocations peculiar to a südra and has a son, who does the same and this goes on continuously for seven generations, the 7th becomes a südra (by caste). If a brähmana begins to follow the avocations peculiar to a vaisya 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 vaisya or kṣatriya). Similarly if a kṣatriya follows the avocation of a vaisya or südra and this goes on continuously, then the 5th or 6th (respectively) becomes a südra or vaisya. Similarly if a vaisya takes to the work peculiar to südras, then the fifth generation becomes südra.

Baud. 155 Dh. S. (I. 8. 13-14) gives another illustration of jatyutkarsa. He says 'if a niṣāda (the son of a brähmana from a südra wife) marries a niṣādī (and this goes on continuously), then the fifth generation becomes free of the taint of a südra 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 jatyutkarsa or jatyapakarsa (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 śrītikāras 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 jatyutkarsa in the way set out by Manu or Yaj. occur in the literature on dharma-sastra or in inscriptions. In the inscriptions we have authentic cases of inter-caste marriages only, but hardly anything further 156. From the Talgunda pillar inscription of king Kākusthavaran of the Kadamba family we learn that the Kadambas were originally of brähmana lineage, that the founder of the family was a brähmana

155. निषादीं निषादानाणि जातीयोष्णस्ति जूतसाय तथा पणेश्वरसार जानेन।
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.

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Mayūraśarman, who became exasperated with the Pallavas of Kanclpura and took up the sword to conquer the earth, that his descendants applied the affix ‘varman’ to their names (as if they were ksatriyas, according to Manu II. 32) and Kākusthavarman (4th in descent from Mayūraśarman) married his daughters to Gupta and other kings. This shows that an originally brāhmaṇa family came to look upon itself as ksatriya 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 Viṭahavya, a king, as having become a brāhmaṇa; similarly Śalya (39. 36–37) speaks of Ārṣṭiśēṇa, Sindhudvīpa, Devāpi and Viśvāmitra as having become brāhmaṇas at a sacred spot on the Sarasvatī. In the Purāṇas also there are stories of kings like Viśvāmitra, Māṇḍhāta, Sāṁkṛti, Kapi, Vadhryāśva, Purukutsa, Ārṣtiśēṇa, Ajamīṭha 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 jātyutkārśa. 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 dharmāśāstra works and epigraphic records. In this connection the words śreni, pūga, gaṇa, vrāta and saṅgha deserve to be carefully studied. All these were called samuḥa (group) or varga according to Kātyāyana.

159. Compare the following lucid note of the purāṇa-saṁvaśīya I. part 2 p. 122. कुटस्थइंद्रसुवधुनारस्य परिभाषां तिनां पक्षं च तत्स्मावात वाङ्गीयेन दुर्गे जातिक- रक्षितमे। दुर्गा भिष्म: षुद्धा त्यक्षथम वनमित्यं। तस्मादुक्ता निवार्तही सार्विविधया ततोद्भ विदितयम। एवं वदुक्तपाराणां यथाविदेशवर्गाः तत्स्मादरात्मनम पररा भवति। तत्र सत्तमे षुद्धे जातिपरं भारयपेते भवति। एवं वाङ्गिण्वगुणां कुटस्वथुम। तस्मादुक्ता अभल्या तत्राभम विवाहय च षुद्धे निहितयम। एवं...... षुद्धम् तस्मादुक्तस्य भारयपेते भवति। तथा श्रव्याविविधयां षुद्धम् षुद्धे तुरुवषा सूर्यविस्करः तत्स्माद विवाहय च षुद्धे हित्यम। तत्वापराणां परामाग्रामस्य भारयपेते भवति। एतद्वरुण सत्तमे षुद्धे सतमे वशितस्तित्विकलयाः कुटस्वथमन्योत्तरात्मनां समस्तायामयात्मनां सत्स्मादरात्मनम पररा भवति। तथा च सत्तमे षुद्धविवाहयाः षुद्धविविधयां समस्तायामयाः, षुद्धविविधये षुद्धाः पक्षं च जातिक-रक्षितमे। तत्रापराणां परामाग्रामस्य भारयपेते भवति। एतद्वरुण सत्तमे षुद्धे सतमे वशितस्तित्विकलयाः कुटस्वथमन्योत्तरात्मनां समस्तायामयाः, षुद्धविवाहयाः पक्षं च जातिक-रक्षितमे। तत्रापराणां परामाग्रामस्य भारयपेते भवति। एतद्वरुण सत्तमे षुद्धे सतमे वशितस्तित्विकलयाः कुटस्वथमन्योत्तरात्मनां समस्तायामयाः, षुद्धविवाहयाः पक्षं च जातिक-रक्षितमे। तत्रापराणां परामाग्रामस्य भारयपेते भवति।
160. यथा: पाश्चकक्षुस्य ज्ञाताय श्रव्यायेन सत्तमेऽ परामाग्रामस्य भारयपेते षुद्धेः। काश्या० quoted in स्वामिस्वत्तम (on भाष. p. 18), विष. र. p. 669.
words occur in the Vedic literature, but the sense is generally 'a group' and there is no special meaning attached. 'śrenī' occurs in the Rg. I. 163. 10 \(^{161}\) (like flamingoes the horses press forward in rows or groups); both vrāta and gana occur in Rg. III. 26. 6, V. 53. 11 and in numerous other places. The Kautilya Br. 16. 7\(^{162}\) speaks of Rudra as pūga (as he is the head of the band of Maruts). Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 3. 26\(^{163}\) quotes a Brāhmaṇa passage about a group (sāṅgha) of brahmācārins going about for alms. Pāṇini teaches\(^{164}\) the formation of derivatives from pūga, gana, sāṅgha (V. 2. 52), from vrāta (V. 2. 21). In his time it appears the words had acquired specific meanings. The Mahābāṣya 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 Kāśika\(^{165}\) 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 śrenis (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 (śrenī) when there is conflict of documentary evidence. Viṣṇu Dh. S. V. 167 prescribes banishment for him who embezzles the wealth of associations (gana) and who transgresses the conventions made by them. Manu (VIII. 219) has a similar rule about village and local associations (sāṅgha). The above words are variously explained by the several commen-

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161. हस्तः हय अश्पिरो यज्ञे पञ्चमिष्टुवन्धमञ्जरिः । द्र. I. 163. 10.
162. पौरो वे हुदः । सदृशेन स्वसन समज्याति । कौशी । व. I. 16. 7.
163. तस्मादुः हे वै पञ्चार्थासिद्धं । चर्तरति न प्रयात्वकारिति हृदेष्वेष्येवं वर्णतः । सपादितिः हि महाप्रायः । आप. व. स. I. 1. 3. 26.
164. ब्राह्म जीवितः । प्र. V. 2. 21 (भारती) । बहुद्विग्यसंख्ययोऽनुसरणः । प्र. V. 2. 52.
165. नायकानीया अन्नव्रतस्वरुपः उत्तेरणखीनः । संज्ञा भावः । तेषां कर्म ब्राह्मणां ब्राह्मणां जीविते । नायकानीया अन्नव्रतस्वरुपः उत्तेरणखीनः । संज्ञा भावः । प्र. V. 2. 21.
166. आधुनिकमयम अल्पोपयाचारः वा न स्वरुपः । अर्याधाश भ. VII. 1. p. 265, कामसौर्ख्यस्वरुपः एकादशास्वरुपः । अर्याधाश XI. I. p. 378; स्थायिकगतिविशेषः प्राणयालयमत्वेण स्थायीमयः । संसद 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, vrata is a company of soldiers carrying various arms, pūga is an association of traders and the like, gana is a group of brāhmaṇas, saṅgha is a body of Baudhās or Jainaśā; and bands of cāṇḍālas and śvapacas are called gulma.' Yāj. (I. 361) directs the king to punish kulās, castes, śrenis, ganaś, if they transgress their rules (of conduct or business) and the Mit. explains śreni as a guild of sellers of betel leaves and the like and gana as of 'heḍābukas' (horse-dealers); while Yāj. II. 192 and Nārada¹⁶⁸ (samayasyānapākarma 2) require the king to prevent the breach of the conventions of śreni, naigama, pūga, vrata, gana and to confirm them in their traditional occupations. Yāj. II. 30 says that pūgas and śrenis had authority to investigate disputes and that the pūga was a higher tribunal than the śreni. The Mit. on this explains that pūga is an association of people of different castes and different occupations that stay in one locality, while a śreni is a group of people of different castes, that subsist by the occupation of one caste and gives 'heḍābukas' 'tāmbūlikas' (betel sellers), 'kuvindas' (weavers) and 'carmakāras' (shoe-makers) as examples of śreniś. In the Harṣa stone of Chāhānāmā Vigharārāja (E. I. vol. II. p. 124) there is a reference to one dramma for each horse given to 'heḍāvikas.' In the Nasik Inscription No. 15 (E. I. vol. VIII. p. 88) we are told that in the reign of the Abhirā king Iśvarasena 1000 kārṣapaṇas were deposited with an association of potters as a permanent donation yielding interest, 500 with a guild of oilmen and 2000 with a guild of watermen (udaka-yantra-śreni) for medicines to be given to sick bhiksūs. No. 9 and No. 12 of the inscriptions at Nasik also contain reference to deposits of money with the guild of weavers. The Mathurā Brāhmaṇi inscription of Huviśka's reign mentions a guild of flour-makers (samiṭakaṇa, vide E. I. vol. 21 p. 55 at p. 61). The Junnar Buddhist cave Inscription (A. S. W. I. vol. IV p. 97) refers to an investment of monies with the guild (śreni) of bamboo-workers and of braziers (kāśakāra). The Indore copperplate of Skandagupta (of the Gupta sāṃvats 146) speaks of the deposit with the guilds of the

¹⁶⁷. These verses are quoted in the अपवादब्रह्मसार pp. 618-669, सदृशम्, शतिरञ्जयम् p. 426., पर.class. (on धव.) p. 352 &c.
¹⁶⁸. पथ्रकृतिस्मखेत्रपदासारसदसिद्ध । संस्कृतसत्व राज्या चुंवं जनपदे तथा इ नारद (समयसंव. 154 p. 2.)
oilmen of Indrapura for permanently securing a supply of two *polas* 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 (Dasar 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, Vāik. smārta-sūtra X. 11-15, Ușanas, the Sūtasamhitā (Siva-māhātmya-khanda 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 Andras were to live outside the village and to subsist (X. 48) by killing wild beasts. In the edicts of Aśoka the Andras are associated with Pulindas (vide Rock Edict No. 13). The Udyaogaparva (160. 103) mentions Andras (probably as people of Andhradesa) along with Dravidas and Kāṇcyas. In the Nālandā plate of Devapāladeva (E. I. vol. 17 p. 321) meda, andhraka and candala are spoken of as the lowest castes. In Orissa one scheduled caste is noted as Ādi-Andhra (vide Sch. C. O. 1936).

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

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

Antyaja. This word is applied to all lowest castes like the cāndāla in Manu IV. 61, Viśṇu Dh. S. 36.7, Yāj. I. 273, Bṛhad-yama (quoted in Mit. on Yāj. III. 260). In Manu VIII. 279 the word is used in the sense of 'sūdra'. Various enumerations of the subdivisions of antyajas are found in the śrmīs. Atri 199 enumerates several antyajas viz. rajaka (washerman), cārnakāra (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 antyajas, viz. the one quoted above which it says is not so low as another group of seven, which are called antyāvasāyins,171 viz. cāndāla, śvapaca (eater of dog flesh), kṣatṛ, sūta, vaidehika, māgadha and āyogava. In the Mahābhārata (Śānti 101. 19) reference is made to antyaja soldiers and Niḍakaṇṭha explains that they were the kaivartas and bhillas of the border regions. According to the Sarasvatīvilāsa (p. 74) Piṭāmaha speaks of the seven castes of rajaka and others as prakṛtis.172 Is it possible that the Prākṛta languages were originally so called because they were spoken by these castes called prakṛtis? In the Sangamner plate of Bhillama II dated 922 (E. I. vol. II. p. 230) a village is granted with eighteen prakṛtis (meaning probably the eighteen guilds of washermen and others). The Vīramitrodaya (vyavahāra p. 12) explains that śrenis mean the eighteen low castes such as the rajaka. This shows that these low castes had risen in social status in the medieval ages by their organization and

170. रजस्वर्भनकारसि नाती पुढ़ एव ज। कैसितेन्द्रविजया तसते चावस्यतः स्वस्तः। अभिग्राह्यात (Jiv. I. p. 554), यम 33 (Anānd. ed.). Some mss. read अन्तेश्वर for अभिग्राह्य; vide note 202 below.

171. चावस्यति: भवयथं: कस्तत सुतो वैवेदिकस्तथा। मागधयोगसी चैव सतैवस्वयायाव साधिन्दः॥ मया महामात्रस्वयम् सौन्दर्यसभालयोऽसा, ग्रंथारूढः स्वयम्। सौन्दर्यसङ्ख्यासून्। सूतान्द्रविजया स्वस्तान्तः। (Jiv. I. p. 554), यम 33 (Anānd. ed.). Some mss. read अन्तेश्वर for अभिग्राह्य; vide note 202 below.

172. शास्त्राय वर्णविवेन्द्र समीतलं क युपवित्तः। भवयथास्वयमि क यास्त्वा कार्य सम्बन्धेऽसि। महान्तिनि भिन्तादिनव दत्तितान्त एजन्यायांकारसि-सुदः। वेदयास्याग्राह्य। सरस्वतीविषपल p. 74.
wealth. The Veda-Vyāsī smṛti (I.12-13) enumerates twelve castes by name as antyajas and adds that all those who eat cow’s flesh are also antyajas.\(^\text{172}\)

**Antāvasāyīn or Antyāvasāyīn.** Manu IV. 79 separately mentions ‘antyas’ and ‘antyāvasāyīns’ and Manu X. 39 says that the antyāvasāyīn is the offspring of a cāndāla male from a nisāda female, that he is condemned even by all ‘bāhyas’ (untouchables) and stays in a cemetery. Gautama 20. 1 and 23. 32 mentions ‘antyāvasāyīn (and -yin)’. Vas. Dh. S. 18. 3 holds that the antyāvasāyīn is the offspring of a śūdra from a vaisya woman. The Bhāradvāja-śrauta sūtra (XI. 22. 12) forbids the study of the Veda in the presence of the antyāvasāyīn. The Anuśāsana-parva (22. 23) speaks of Medas, Pulkasas and Antāvasāyīns (the printed text is corrupt). Śaun (141. 29-32) gives a graphic description of a hamlet of cāndālas and calls them ‘antyāvasāya’ (in verse 41). Nārada (ṛṇādāna 182) says that an antyāvasāyīn 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 antyāvasāyīn of the smṛtis.

**Abhīśikta** — See under Mūrdhāvasikta.

**Ambaṣṭha** — (same as Bṛjjakaṇṭha).

In Ait. Br. (chap. 39. 7) king Āmaṣṭhya is said to have performed an Aśvamedha sacrifice. In Pāṇ. VIII. 3. 97 the word Ambaṣṭha is derived and on Pāṇ. IV. 1. 170 Ambaṣṭha (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. Karnaparva (6. 11) mentions a king Ambaṣṭha. In Baud. Dh. S. I. 9. 3, Manu X. 8, Yāj. I. 91, Uśanas 31, Nārada (striśūla v. 107) Ambaṣṭha is an anuloma sprung from the marriage of a brāhmaṇa with a vaisya woman, while according to Gautama 4. 14 as interpreted by Haradatta he is the offspring of a kṣatriya from a vaisya woman. Manu X. 47 prescribes the profession of medicine for him and Uśanas\(^\text{174}\) (31-32) says that he may subsist by agriculture or may be a fire-dancer or he may be a herald (/banner proclaimer).

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172. वर्णकारो भद्रो भिन्नो रजकः पुण्यकरो तदः। विवाहे नेववाण्याती ब्रजः। न्याय- कोटिलका:। वेददर्शन:। समारामवध:। वेदो या कर्मादाना:। एवं संसारानातीतातुर्वीरचक्र- शीलान्।। नेवद्वार P. 12.

173. जूबुकानीहो भद्रकार तत्वक्षेपेन्तर्कः। भजविकाचं कार्याक्षात अन्न्व:। गुरु- जीविन। (शर्यानिवृत: ?)। उदाहरणः 31-32.
and live by surgery. Vaik. 10. 12 has almost the same words; the Sabyāḍrī-khaṇḍa (26. 40-41) says the same. Haradatta on Āp. Dh. S. I. 6. 19. 14 says that ambastha and salyakṛpta are synonymous. The Baidyas of Bengal came to be the ambasthas 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 Pāñ. II. 4. 10 mentions him as a śūdra along with ākṣaṇa (Mahābhāṣya, vol. I. p. 475).

**Avartī.** Devala quoted by Aparārka (p. 118 on Yaj. I. 92) says that he is born of the illegitimate connection between a married woman and a male of the same caste and he becomes a śūdra. The Śudrā-kāmalākara 175 (p. 247) cites from the Śrīmāta Kaumudi a verse of the Ādityapurāṇa to the same effect.

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

**Āpīta.** According to the Sūtasaṁhitā he is the offspring of brāhmaṇa from a Dāusyantī.

**Ābhiṇa.** According to Manu X. 15 he is the child of the union of a brāhmaṇa with an ambastha girl. The Mahābhārata (Mausalaparva 7. 46-63 and 8. 16-17) states that the ābhiras were dasyus and mlecchas who attacked Arjuna after the great war in the land of the five rivers and carried away Vṛṣṇi women. The Sabhāparva (51. 12) mentions ābhiras with Pāradas and the Āsvamedhika (29. 15-16) says (just as Manu X. 43-44 do) that the Ābhiras, the Dravidas and others became śūdras by non-contact with brāhmaṇas. The Mahābhāṣya expressly states that the ābhiras are not a subcaste included under the genus śūdra but that they are a caste distinct from śūdras. 176 The Kāmasūtra (V. 5. 30) names an ābhira king Koṭṭarāja. Dandin in his Kāvyādāra (I. 36) says that Abhraham is the appellation of the speech of ābhiras and the like.

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175. हन्तीचेन हु: य: विन्त्रवा कवनयान भजायते । अवरोट इव रूपम: श्रवणति स जातित: । देवते स्वेतम् पितामह मन्त्रम् । (in Aparārka p. 118 and in Kṛṣṇa on Mahābh. X. 5 (अवरोट इव रूपम:). सप्तशेष सवनिज्ञु वे जागते परीरं । अवरोटकस्कारं भवतंस्कारवाचिता: ॥ श्रवण-कामलकार p. 247.

176. पि श्रवणविविक्षविविविषितवेदार्थाय न भविष्यते भुजाभीरो भौस्वामिः तुष्णां पनि स्वयं । नैय दृष्टं । इह तपस्य्यात्मामयित्वान्तः आभ्रास्मास्य आस्यास्यायनी शब्दार्थ: वो. I. p. 251 (on p. I. 2. 72.).
in poetry. The Amarakośa says that they are cow-herds and that the ābhīra wife of a Mahāśūdra is called Ābhīra. The Ābhīras became absorbed in Hindu society and we find that an Ābhīra senapati 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 Īvrasena, 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.

Āyogava. Vide Āyogū above (p. 43) from Vedic literature. According to Gaut. IV. 15, Visṇu Dh. S. 16. 4, Manu X. 12, Kaut. 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), Uṣanas 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 pulkasā as the name of one sprung from a vaiśya male and a kṣatriya female. His avocation (Manu X. 48) is to pare wood, while Uṣanas (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 Visṇu Dh. S. 16. 8 and Agnipurāṇa (151. 15) he is to make his living by going to the stage. The Sahyādrikanda says (26. 68-69) that he works in stones and bricks, makes pavements and whitewashes walls i.e. he is the modern Pātharaṇṭa (in the Deccan).

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

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

Āhīndika. According to Manu X. 37 he is the offspring of a niśāda male from a vaiśeḥī female i.e. he is a double pratiloma caste. Kullūka says that his avocation according to Uṣanas is to prevent strangers from trespassing on places where offenders are kept imprisoned. Manu X. 36 shows that the same caste is called Kārāvara 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, Kaut. III. 7, Yāj. I. 92, Anuśāsana 48. 7 he is an anuloma offspring of a kṣatriya male from a śūdra.
woman, while according to Ušanas (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 Ušanas (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 Sahyadrikhanda 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 Ušanas (verse 15) he is the offspring of the union of a sūnika and a ksatriya woman, subsists by washing clothes and is an untouchable. Vaik. 10. 15 says he is the offspring of a khanaka and a ksatriya woman.

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

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

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

Karana. According to Gaut. (IV. 17 the view of some ācāryas) and Yaj. 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 ksatriya who is a vṛātya (i.e. for whom no upanayana has been performed) has from a similar woman a child variously called Jhalla, Mall, Niccivi (Lichivi?), Naṭa, Karana, Khaśa, Dravida. Ādiparva 115. 43 tells us that Dhṛtarāṣṭra had from a vaiśya female a karana son named Yuyutsu. Keśirasvāmi on Amara says that karana also denotes a group of officers like kāyasthas and adhyakṣas (superintendents). The Sahyadrikhanda (26. 49-51) says he is the same as
cārana or vaitālika and his business is to sing the praises of kings and brāhmaṇas and study the science of erotics.

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

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

_Kāṁsyakāra_. (modern kāṁsāra in Marathi) Mentioned by Nārada (mnādāna 274) and Viṣṇu Dh. S. X. 4 in connection with the balance ordeal.

_ Kakavaca_. 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 Sakas. Vide under Yavana.

_Kāyastha_. Heated controversies have raged in medieval and modern times about the origin and status of kāyasthas and the bitterness is reflected in the decisions of the Indian courts also. In _Bholanath v. 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_177 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

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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 Manuṣmṛti. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. VII. 3 defines a public
document (rājasāksīka) 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 cātās (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. Uṣanas¹⁸³ (35)
holds the kāyastha to be a caste and gives an uncomplimen-
tary 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 śudras 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. Brhas-
pati as quoted in the Smṛticandrika (vyavahāra) speaks of the
ganaka and lekhaka as two persons to be associated with a
judge in a court of justice and says they were to be dvijas. Vide
also Aparārka p. 600. Therefore both these were only officers and
not members of a particular caste. In the Mṛchakatikā (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
Uṣanas and Veda-Vyāsa) the kāyasthas also had come to form
a caste in medieval times.

¹⁸². राजाधिकारी मर्यादाकारकत्वात् तब्धशक्तकारितात् राजसाधिकारि। विश्लेषणम भर्तचरणम नीति

¹⁸³. काकाहीर्ष्य यथात् कौर्ष्य तथात्यं कारर्धस प्रतिव निदेश स्वरूपम्॥ उदारगुणम्॥ 35.

¹⁸⁴. ब्रह्मज्ञिनो नालिको गोप आचारः कुम्भमार्गः। ब्रह्मज्ञको-विस्तार-कार्योत्तमालकार-कुरूविन्दः॥ एते साधनो च बहुः प्रभृति भवनिश्चित रक्षितः॥ वेदार्थार्थार्थः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥ इद्यम्पत्रायः॥

In the Rājataranginī (VIII. 131) kayasthas and divirās are mentioned separately and in VIII. 2383 it is stated that the brāhmaṇa Śivaratha, who was a roguish kayastha, was strangulated in the reign of Jayasimha. So in the 12th century kayasthas were only officers in Cashmir and brāhmaṇas held such offices. Vide Rājataranginī V. 180-184 for a bitter diatribe against kayasthas.

The Sudrakamalakara (pp. 279-280) speaks of three sub-castes of kayasthas.

Karavara. According to Manu X. 36 he is a doubly mixed caste sprung from the union of a nisāda with a vaidehi and his craft is that of a caryakaṭa. According to later digests like the Sudrakamalakara he is called 'kahāra' or 'bhoi' and holds torches and carries umbrellas for others.

Karusa. According to Manu X. 23 this caste springs from the union of a vrātya vaisya and a similar female. This caste is also called Sudhanvācarya, Vijanman, 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 kṣatriya reduced to the status of a śūdra. Anuśāśana (35.17-18) says the same about Mekalas, Dravidas, Lāṭas, Pauṇḍras, Yavanas and others. Karnaparva 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.
Kukkuta. According to Baud. Dh. S. I. 8. 8 he is a pratiloma caste, but I. 9. 15 says that he is the child of the union of a śūdra with a niṣāda woman, while I. 8. 12 states that he is the offspring of a vaisya from a niṣāda woman. 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 Śūdrakamalākāra he manufactures swords and other weapons and engages in cockfights for the king.

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

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

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

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

Kulika. This caste is mentioned in Śāṅkha 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 ambaśṭha from a vaidehaka female. According to Amara he is the same as a cārana (a bard). According to Kauṭ. (III. 7) he is the offspring of a vaidehaka male from an ambaśṭha female (i. e. exactly the reverse of Baudhāyana’s view) and he gives the name vaiṇa to the offspring of an ambaśṭha male from a vaidehaka female.

186. यति-तिमस्वायायज्ञांभागव-विषेषस्त्रुक्कसुकुकु-केवल-कच्छवातां: | विनानांतु
नृतिवायं गुल्लकः | नियर्पते क्रकुकु: | मी. प. घु. I. 8. 8, 11-12; गुस्ताक्षिप्यां क्रकुकुः: | गो. प. घु. I. 9. 15.

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. Medhatithi 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 nāśāda from an ayogava woman, who is also called mārgava and dāsa (dāsa?) and who subsists by plying boats. Saṁkara 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.

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

Kṣatṛ. 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 (stripurśa 112), this is a pratiloma caste sprung from a śudra 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 kṣatṛ 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 Sahyādrikhanda (26. 63-66) says that kṣatṛ 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 karana; while in X. 43-44 he makes the khaśas a kṣatriya caste originally but reduced to the status of śudras by the absence of saṁskāras 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 südra subcaste. Yaj. 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 Gopalaka.

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

Cakri. According to Usanas (22–23) he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a südra male and a vaiśya female and subsists by (selling) oil and oilcakes or salt. He seems to be the same as tailika. Harita (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 Viśṇu Dh. S. (51. 8), Āpastamba (in verse 9. 32), Parāśara (VI. 44). According to Usanas (4), he is the offspring of a südra 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 cārmanvakartin (cutter of hides). According to several smṛtis he is one of the seven antyajas. According to the Śutasamhitā he is the offspring of an āyogava from a brāhmaṇa female. This name persists to this day as cāṁbār (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 carkārās 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. Kṣirasvāmi says that he announces the king’s arrival by ringing bells and that some regard him as the same as vaitālīka. According to Śaṅkha (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 südra male and a vaiśya female and his avocation is the sale of salt, oil and oil cakes.
Cāndāla (or cāndāla). 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 43. 11 he is a pratiloma caste sprung of a śudra from a brāhmaṇa woman. He is the lowest among men (Manu X. 12), beyond the pale of religious observances prescribed for the four varnas (sarvadharma-bahi-skṛta, as Yāj. I. 93 says) and often spoken of in the same breath with dogs and crows (e. g. Āp. Dh. S. II. 4. 9. 5, Gaut. 15. 25, Yāj. I. 103). The word occurs in the kulālādi gana (Pan. IV. 3. 118). Veda-Vyāsa-smṛti (I, 9-10) says that there are three kinds of cāndālas, viz, the offspring of a śudra from a brāhmaṇa woman, the offspring of an unmarried woman, the offspring of a union with a sagotra girl. Yama quoted in Par. M. vol. II. part 1 p. 306 says that one born of a person who after becoming an ascetic turns back to the householder's life, one born of a sagotra woman and one who is the offspring of a śudra from a brāhmaṇa woman are all cāndālas. Laghu-Sātātapa (59) has a similar verse. Manu (X. 51-56) says that cāndālas 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 head of persons that are to be hanged. Usānas (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 Viśnu Dh. S. 16.11 and 14 their avocation is to be hangmen or to kill those offenders who are condemned to death and cāndālas have to stay outside the village and to wear the clothes on corpses. Śanti 141. 29-32 gives a graphic description of their hamlet. The classical description of a cāndāla hamlet is in the Kādambarī of Bāna. In Anuśāsana (29.17) Mataṇḍa is called a cāndāla because he was born of a brāhmaṇa woman from a barber.

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

188. यथात्: पतितमहाभाष:यकर्षकुकुटकः। यशोऽस्त्रयोऽश्रयः स्वः पश्य: 
H. D. 11
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 candalas are returned as a scheduled caste in Madras and Orissa.

Cina. According to Manu X. 43-44 the Cinas were a ksatriya 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 vaidehaka woman.

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

Cailanirnejaka (or only nirnejaka)—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 'nirnejaka' (one who washes clothes). Very often 'rajaka' means only 'a washerman' (as Amara says).

Jālopaśivin—(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 Karana and Khasa. In Bengal Jhalo Malo or Malo is returned as a scheduled caste.

Dōmba (or Doma) is the same as śvpaca according to Kṣra-svāmī on Amara. Parāśara quoted by Aparārka (p. 1197) puts śvpāka, domba and cāṇḍāla on the same level. In the Rājatarāṅgiṇī (V. 354, VI. 182, VI. 192) dombres are spoken of as untouchables on the same level with cāṇḍālas and as following the profession of singers. In Rājatarāṅgiṇī V. 389-394 dombres are spoken of as śvpacas. This caste is returned as a scheduled caste in Madras as Đombo, as Đom 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 taksan is a śūdra and on the same level with an ayas-kāra (ironsmith) and excluded from sacrificial rites. Even so early as the Śat. Br. the taksan was an unholy person (amedhya) and his touch made yajñapātras impure (I. 1.3.12). Usanas 43 says that taksaka 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 smṛitis the carpenter lost his former status. According to Vaik. (X. 14) the offspring of a brāhmaṇa girl from a sūcaka (sūcaka?) is a taksaka who is untouchable or a goldsmith or blacksmith or worker in bell-metal. Brhaspati names the taksaka as one whose food a brāhmaṇa could not eat.

Tantuvaṭya (a weaver), also called kuvinda. He is mentioned in Viśṇu Dh. S. (51.13) and Śaṅkha quoted by Aparārka p. 1175. He is regarded as a śūdra by the Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇ., II. 4.10 and as excluded from sacrificial rites.

Ṭambūlika—seems to have been a caste. Vide Kāmasūtra I. 5.37. Bāṇa refers to his house as stored with spices and betel.

Ṭanropajiṁ (coppersmith). According to Usanas (14) he is the offspring of an ayogava 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-kuṭṭaka.

Tunnavaya (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 Viśṇu Dh. S. (51.15), Śaṅkha and Sumantu quoted by Aparārka (pp. 1175 and 1176).


Dāsa (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 mārgava, dāsa (dāsa?) and kaivarta are the same and that he subsists by plying boats. Pāṇ. (III. 4.73) derives the word. Vide under kaivarta.

189. चुःचुःमित्राप्यतनेष्कोष्ठाः सुवस्त्रूर्विन्याससंतप्रदायाकारः सुप्रसंस्कारोदज्ञस्कारः कौरवकारी वा। वेदः X. 14; नवनिकान्तकप्रदायाकारः सुप्रसंस्कृत । स्थायुपप्रसंस्कारिका अभोज्यकारः: मकरित्वात् बुःस्मि in par. Ma. II. 1. p. 380.
Divākīrttya—occurs in Mānavagṛhya II. 14. 11. According to Amara both candala and nāpita are called divākirttya.

Dauṣmantara. According to Gaut. 4. 14 this is an anuloma caste sprung from the union of a ksatriya male and a śudra female. According to the Sūtasaṁhitā the name is Dauṣyanta.

Draviḍa. The same as karaṇa, according to Manu X. 22. According to Manu X. 43-44, this is a ksatriya caste reduced to the status of a śudra. Vide under khaṣa, and Mahābhārata, Udyoga 160. 103, Droṇa 93. 43.

Dhīvarana. According to Manu X. 15 he is the offspring of a brāhmaṇa male from an āyogavā 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 Usanas that Dhiyana subsist by working on hides and selling them and distinguishes them from kārāvaras. This passage is not found in the printed text of Usanas. In the Jātiviveka he is styled Mocikāra.

Dhivarā. Same as kaivarta and dāśa. Gaut. (IV. 17) indicates that this is a pratiloma caste sprung from a vaśiya male and a ksatriya 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.

Dhvaṇi (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 śaunḍika.

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 saḷīṣa and Aparārka remarks that naṭa is a specific caste, while saḷīṣa 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 karaṇa, khaṣa (vide note on khaṣa p. 79). Pāṇini knew of a Naṭasūtra composed by Śilāliṇ and another by Kṛśāva (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 raṅgāvatārīn for a quotation from Maitrī Up. Probably this caste is the same as the Kolhāṭis or Bahu-rūpīs of modern times (in the Deccan) who are dancers, acrobats and jugglers by profession. Fick's work p. 299 speaks
of natakakulas mentioned in Buddhist Jātakas and at p. 294 he shows that in the Suruci Jātaka the nāta is described as throwing up a ball of rope and climbing it and performing other tricks of jugglery.

Nārākṣa. According to Usanās (19) he is the offspring of a rañjayaka from a vaśīya woman and his profession is that of a singer. Brhaspati quoted in Par. M. (II. part I p. 380) separately mentions in the same verse nāta and nārākṣa (both being abhojānna to a brāhmaṇa). Atri VII. 2 also mentions the two separately. See note 189.

Nāpita (barber). The Śāṅkhyāna grihya I. 25 refers to him (in cūḍākarmā). Usanās (32-34) and Vaik. (X. 12) say that he is the offspring of a clandestine affair between a brāhmaṇa male and a vaśīya female and Usanās derives the word by saying that he shaves the body above the navel of a person.190 Vaik. (X. 15) says that the offspring of an ambaṣṭha male from a kṣatriya female is a nāpita, but he shaves the hair on the body below the navel. Paraśara (XI. 21)191 says that the offspring of a brāhmaṇa from a śūdra girl is called dāsa if saṃskāras are performed on him, but if they are not performed he becomes a nāpita. Pān. (VI. 2. 62) specially provides for the accentuation of words meaning artisan (śilpi, like nāpita or kulāla) when compounded with the word grūma. The Sūtasamhitā (Śiva—chap. XII. 15) says that the offspring of the clandestine union of a brāhmaṇa male and a vaśīya female is called kumbhakāra or urdhva-nāpita, while verse 32 says that the offspring of a kṣatriya female from a nīṣāda is called ‘adho-nāpita’.

Nicchīvī. Manu X. 22 says that this is another name for karaṇa or khaśa. Probably this is a misreading for Licchavi or Licchīvī. Kaut. (Arthaśāstra XI. 1) speaks of the oligarchies or corporations of Licchivika, Vṛjika, Mallaka192 etc. Vaiśali was the seat of this oligarchy in the 6th century B.C. (Rapson’s ‘Ancient India’ p. 169). Vide Indian Antiquary vol. 32 p. 233 for their Tibetan affinities and I. A. vol. 9 p. 178 and vol. 14 p. 98 for inscriptions of this tribe and ‘Indian Historical

190. नामेश्वरी तू वषेनि तस्माश्चापित उच्चये। उज्ञानसू। 34.
191. शूरुक्षणसहवेदो भद्रपोजन तू संस्कृतः। संस्कृतसत्र अवेरासो शास्त्रकारीसै नापित:॥ परासर XI. 21.
192. विनिविदक-चुंजक-मुखक-मुणक-कुकुरक-कुप्र-शालावयो राजशस्वपनोलिचिय:। अर्थशास्त्र XI. 1.
History of Dharmasastra

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 Vaisali were attached to Buddha and also speaks of Ananda (pupil of Buddha) and the Licchavis.

Nāśda. For vedic references see above (pp. 43 and 46). The Nirukta193 III. 8 while explaining the words 'pañcajanā mama hotram juṣadhvam' in Rg. X. 53. 4 remarks that according to Aupamanyava the 'five people' are the four varnas with nīṣāda as the fifth. This shows that Aupamanyava regarded them as distinct from the four varṇas (including the südras). The Nirukta further says that according to the Nairuktas the nīṣāda is so called because 'sin (or evil) sits down in him'; from this it follows that in the times of Yāska the nīṣādas had come to be looked down upon with scorn as evil people and were probably some aborigines like the modern Bhils. According to Baud, Dh. S. (I. 9.3 and II. 2.33), Vas. 18.8, Mānu X. 8, Anuśāsana 48.5, Yāj. I. 91 the Nīṣāda is an anuloma caste, offspring of the marriage of a brāhmaṇa with a südra woman. Baud. Dh. S. (II. 2.34), Kaut. (III. 7), Manu (X. 8) and Yāj. (I. 91) say that pāraśava is another name for nīṣāda. Manu (IX. 178) derives pāraśava from the root paray (to go across) and the word sava (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 nīṣāda and pāraśava, the former (acc. to the comm. Haradatta) being the offspring of a brāhmaṇa from a vaisya woman and the latter being the offspring of a brāhmaṇa male and a südra female. According to Nārada (stripūṃsa v. 108) and Anuśāsana 48.12, nīṣāda is the offspring of a kṣatriya male and a südra female and he subsists by fishing (according to the latter). Nārada (stripūṃsa 108) says that pāraśava is the offspring of a brāhmaṇa male and a südra female. Usānas (36-38) says that the offspring of the marriage of a brāhmaṇa with a südra 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 nīṣāda is the illegitimate offspring of a brāhmaṇa from a südra woman who subsists by killing wild beasts (such as elephants) and by

193. निखऽ भवतिः भवति मिनित निविष्ण्णसिद्ध पापसमतिः पेषन्ति: भवतिः III.8.
194. सूतमाहणि (सूतमाहणि) पार्यः। पार्यः नेव (पार्यः नेव (पार्यः नेव) जीवो विवृति शान्तः। किंचिद् 18.9-10, where नेव is a paraphrase of the rather obscure words जीवो विवृति in Manu IX, 178.
Varna and niśāda

selling flesh. The Vaik.\textsuperscript{195} (X. 13') has practically the same remarks to make about pāraśava and niśāda. Santiparva (59. 96–97) speaks of niśādas as men with reddish eyes and with black hair. In the Rāmāyana Guha, the king of niśādas, helps Rāma to cross the river Ganges (Ayodhya 50. 33). Here he is spoken of as belonging to the caste of niśādas (niśadajātyāh). We have historical evidence for the name pāraśava in the Harsacarita (I, towards end), where Bāna\textsuperscript{196} tells us that he had with him two pāraśava brothers Candrasena and Mātṛṣena in his travels. In the Tipperah copperplate of a chieftain called Lokanātha (about 650 A.D.) we are told that the king’s maternal grandfather Keśava was a pāraśava (vide E. I. vol. 15 at p. 307). The Mit. on Yāj. I. 91 cautions that this niśāda (the anuloma offspring of a brāhmaṇa from a śudra woman) is different from another caste called niśāda, which is a pratiloma one and lives by catching fish. Medhātithi on Manu X. 8 does the same. Niśāda occurs in the gana kulālādi (Pan. IV. 3. 118). The Vāyupurāṇa (vol. II. chap. 1. 120–121) narrates that the niśādas, dark and dwarfish, were produced from the left hand of king Vona and they dwelt on the Vindhya. In the Bhāgavata-purāṇa we have the same story\textsuperscript{197} (IV. 14. 42 ff.) and we are told that niśādas were dark like crows, of short stature, snubnosed, with red eyes and hair and that they dwell in mountains and forests.

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

Pāṇḍūopaṇaka. According to Manu X. 37 he is the offspring of a cāndala male from a vaidehiaka 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

\textsuperscript{195} विष्णुस्वामिया पारशानो भद्रकालीपुजन-विज्ञानज्ञानिलिङ्ग (अभावमाल्याः) तुरभोषणमर्दन (मार्गदेव) त्विलितज्ञातिः। कृतविवादन विधानविधानसाधकार्यं वेदेः।

\textsuperscript{196} अरण्यारात्मा वयस्ता समाना श्वाली सहायताः। तथा च भात्री पारशानी, चार्ग- सेनसमातुपयों। ह्येष्वचित्त, उपस्थान (at end).

\textsuperscript{197} काकक्षणोत्विद्वेल्पं ज्ञात गाृहसम्बादकी। चार्गस्पर्शिनसरसायो रत्नाख्तातः। तिरिक्तेयद् के तिरिक्ते निष्पावनतः। तत्स्य वेषातु नैषादविगितकालिन- पोच्छादः। भागवत IV. 14. 44–46.
History of Dharmaśāstra

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

Pārāśava. Vide niśāda above. In the Ādirāvpa 109. 25 Vidura is called pārāśava and he is said (in Ādi. 114. 12) to have married the pārāśavī daughter of king Devaka. The Saḥyādri-khaṇḍa (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.

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

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

Pulkasa (or paulkasa). The word is also written as pukkasa. Śaṅkaracārya 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 niśāda male from a śūdra female. According to Kauṭ, (III. 7) he is the offspring of a niśāda male from an ugra female, while Vaik. X. 14, Uṣanas (17) and the Sūtasamhitā say that he is the offspring of a śūdra male from a ksatriya woman and that he makes his livelihood by manufacturing and selling 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 vaisya

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198. युद्धश्चिनियां पुलकस्: इत्यकं वासिः वा युद्धं द्वाप्य पाषण्डको विकृतिः 1 

वैकान्तस X. 14.
male from a kṣatriya female and the latter adds that he subsists by hunting. The Agnipurāṇa (151. 15) says that pukkasas are hunters. Yama† and Hārīta quoted in the Kṛtyakalpataru 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. Keśrasvāṁī (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, Pulkasa or Vaiṣṇa.

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

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

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

Paulkasa. Vide pulkasa above.

Bandin. See under vandin below.

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

Bāhya. Vide under antya (p. 70).

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

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

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

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

199. वैद्यायारण्यं श्लोकाणं नाम जापते। यस्म इन कुर्यकल्पतकः (ms).

H. D. 12
and he maintains himself by studying the Ayurveda 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 Krtyakalpataru he is the offspring of a vaiśya from a kṣatriya female.

_Bhūrjakāntaka._ 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, puṣpadha or saikha.

_Bhrijjakānta._ (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.

_Maniḍarā._ According to Uṣanas (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 Uṣanas (44) he is the offspring of a taksaka (carpenter) from a kṣatriya woman.

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

_Muḍagada._ 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, Uṣanas (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 śudra male and a vaiśya female and Viśnu Dh. S. 16. 5 makes him the offspring of a śudra from a kṣatriya female. Manu (X. 47) prescribes trade by land routes for...
Magadhas; Anusāsana X. 48 says that they maintain themselves on speech (i.e. by praise) and are also called bandin. Sahyādrikhanda (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 ksatriyas, he maintains himself by lauding (the deeds of others) or as a messenger or servant of a vaiṣya. Pāṇini IV. 1. 70 derives the word Māgadhā from the country Magadha, but apparently not in the sense of a caste.

Mānavika. According to the Sūtasamhītā he is the offspring of the clandestine union of a śūdra male and a śūdra female.

Mātaṅga. The same as cânḍāla. The Kādambarī of Bāna (para 9) and Amara employ them as synonymous. Yama (12) uses the word Mātaṅga where we ordinarily find cânḍāla 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.


Māhiśya. 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 ksatriya with a vaiṣya woman. According to the Sahyādrikhanda (26. 45-46) he is entitled to upanayana and his avocations are astrology, augury, prognostications due to svara. According to the Sūtasamhītā he is the same as ambaṣṭha.

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 ksatriya woman. According to Vaik. (X. 12) the offspring of the marriage of a brāhmaṇa with a ksatriya woman is the foremost among anulomas and is called savarṇa, while the offspring of the clandestine union of these two is called abhiśikta. 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 Sahyādrikhanda (chap. 26. 36-39) more details are added.
Mṛṭapa. Vide pulkasa above. In the Mahābhasya on Pāṇ. II. 4. 10 this caste is mentioned as separate from cāndāla, 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 anityajas (vide note 170). This is mentioned in Nārada (vākparusya, verse 11). Anuśāsana 22. 22 speaks of medas, pulkasas and antāvesāyins, and the com. Nilakanṭha explains that Medas are those who eat the flesh of dead cattle. Manu X. 36 says that he is the offspring of a vaidehaka male and a niśāda woman, that he dwells outside the village and Manu X. 48 says that his business along with that of Andhra, Cuñcu and Madgu is to kill wild beasts. Vide under Andhra above and see E. I. vol. XX. p. 130 where meda and cāndāla 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 Kārusa.

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 Dhukanakāra.

Mleccā. 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
always associated with Sakas and several other non-Aryan tribes; vide Sabha. 32. 16-17, Vanaparva 254. 18 (as inhabiting the west), Udyoga 19. 21, Bhāsha 20. 13, Draṇa 93. 42 and 121. 13, Karna 73. 19, Śanti 65. 13. From Strīparva 22. 11 it appears that Jayadratha (king of the countries of Sindhu and Sauvitra) had Kamboja and Yavana women in his harem. Pāṇini (IV. 1. 59) derives the word Yavanāṇī from Yavana and a vaśrīka on that sūtra adds that Yavanāṇī means the lipi (the written alphabet) of the Yavanas. Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya (on Pan. II. 4. 10) indicates that he was prepared to regard Yavanas and Sakas as śūdras but as outside Ārya-varta. Asoka in Rock Edicts V and XIII refers to the Yonas and Kambojas as nations on the borders of his empire. The Visṇupurāṇa IV. 3. 21 describes that the Yavanas shaved the head and also the beard, the Sakas tonsured their heads only, the Pāradas allowed the hair on the head to grow long and the Pahlavas grew beards and that all became Mleṣhās because they gave up their original dharmas and because brāhmaṇas also left them.

Rāṅgāvatārīn (or-tāraka). According to Manu IV. 215 he is distinct from śailīsa and gāvana. Śaṅkha (quoted by Aparārka p. 1175), Śaṅkha (17. 36) and Visṇu Dh. S. 51. 14 mention him. According to Brahmapurāṇa (quoted by Aparārka p. 1178) he is a nāṭa who goes on the stage for livelihood and who introduces various changes in his appearance and dress. Rāṅgāvatārīn is mentioned in the Maitrī Up. along with nāṭa and bhaṭa. 208

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 Vaikṣh. (X. 15) and the Śūtasamhitā he is the offspring of a pukkasa (or vaideha) from a brāhmaṇa woman, while according to Usānas (18) he is the offspring of a pukkasa 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 Śūtrakālamālākara mentioned another caste of rajaka (which is the offspring of an ugra male and vaidehaka female).

208. ने चाठने ह चाडायतनमहस्यम्भन्तिर्द्वारप्रवतार्थिणो राजकचांति पसिनाद्: .......
श्रेयं न संबन्धत:। नेषी उप. VII. 8.
Radhaka (dyer). Manu IV. 216 mentions him. According to Uṣanas (19) he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a śūdra male and a kṣatriya 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 karana female and according to a prose passage of Śaṅkha quoted by the Mit. the rathakāra is entitled to have upanavāna performed, to offer sacrifices and gifts and makes his living by learning the art of taming horses, of making chariots and building houses. According to Uṣanas (5–6) and Vaik. (X.13) he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a kṣatriya 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), vaiḍehaka according to Baudhāyana.

Lubdhaka (hunter of deer)—same as vyāḍha.

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. Nārada202 (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 Gāhadavāla 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 kṣatriya female. According to the Brahma-purāṇa quoted by Aparārka p. 1177 a vandin is one who sings the praises of men.

203. जातेव तोहकारो यः कुमालभारिकर्मिणि नापक (अणाभाब 288).

History of Dharmaśāstra [Ch. II]
Varūta. Enumerated among the antyajas by Veda-Vyāsa (I. 12-13).

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

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

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

Vena (or Vaina). According to Manu X. 19 and Baud. Dh. S. (I. 9. 13) he is the offspring of a vaidehaka male from an ambaṣṭha female, while Kauṭ. (III. 7) makes the vainya the offspring of an ambaṣṭha 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 Vena is one who maintains himself by splitting bamboos and that he is the same as buruḍa according to Viśvarūpa. For Vaina see Āp. Dh. S. quoted under pulkasa (p. 89). Kauṭ. (III. 7) adds that a vainya follows the same profession as a rathakāra. Śaṅkha (17. 38), Visnu Dh. S. 51. 14, Yāj. III. 207 place the vainya alongside of carmakāra, nisāda and pulkasa. According to Vaiṣ. Dh. S. (18. 2) he is a pratiloma sprung from the union of a sudra male and a kṣatriya female. Yāj. I. 161 has the form vainya which the Mit. explains as meaning one who maintains himself by cutting and splitting bamboos. The Śūdrakamalakāra notes that according to Ādipurāṇa vena is a drum-beater to announce royal orders and edicts.

Venuka. According to Usānas (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 madgū from a brāhmaṇa woman and his avocation is to play on a vīna and on flutes. According to the Śūtasamhitā he is the offspring of a barber from a brāhmaṇa woman.

Velava. According to the Śūtasamhitā he is the offspring of a sudra from a kṣatriya woman by stealth.

Vaidehaka. According to Baud. Dh. (I. 9. 8), Kauṭ. (III. 7), Manu X. 11, 13, 17, Visṇu Dh. S. 16. 6, Nārada (stripumṣa III), Yāj. I. 93, Anuśāsana 48. 10 he is a pratiloma sprung from a vaisya male and a brāhmaṇa female; while according to Gaut. IV. 15 he is the offspring of a sudra from a kṣatriya woman and according to Vaik. (X. 14), the view of some Ācāryas.
In Gaut. IV. 17 and Uṣanas (20) he is the offspring of a śūdra male from a vaisya 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 Uṣanas (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-samhitā says that vaideha and pulkasa are the same.

Vyūdha (huntsman)—mentioned by Sumantu in Aparāraka 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 ksatriyas 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 kambojadīgana (Pāṇ. IV. 1. 175). Vide note 200.

Śabarā. An aboriginal jungle tribe like the Bhilla. In the Mahābhārata the śabarās are frequently mentioned (e. g. Anuśasana 35. 17, Śanti 65. 13).

Śālikā. According to the Sūtasamhitā he is the same as Māgadhā.

Śālikā. According to Uṣanas (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.

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

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

204. वर्गवेशी नानां त सः श्रीपुष्कम्: स्वस्तः। ब्रह्मपुराण य. भ. अपरारक प. 1178.
vyāḍha. Yāj. II. 48 does the same and the Mit. paraphrases the word by naṭa.

Śauṇḍika (wine-seller). Viśnu 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 gana kulālādi (Pāñ. 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 kṣatṛ sub-caste, while according to Manu X. 19 he is the offspring of a kṣatṛ male from an ugra female. Vaik. (X. 15) and Sūtasamhitā say that he is the offspring of a cāndāla male and a brāhmaṇa female, while Uśanas (11) holds that he is the offspring of a cāndāla male from a vaiśya woman. According to Manu X. 51–56 cāndālas and śvapacas follow the same avocation and are governed by the same rules (vide p. 81 under cāndāla). 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 cāndālas have to wear (under the king’s order, as Manu says in X. 55), that they remove the filth of towns etc., stay near cemeteries, have to dispose of corpses of men that leave no relatives, have to act as hangmen for offenders sentenced to death and to take their clothes etc., have to take food in broken pots and to eat dogs’ flesh and to deal in hides and armour (or in armour made of hides). The Bhagavadgītā (5. 18) puts him on the same level with dogs. In the Mārkanḍeya-purāṇa (8. 81–83, 86, 96) a cāndāla is called śvapāka (i.e. no distinction is made between the two). In the Jātiiviveka he is identified with the Mahar and with the Mang of the Deccan.

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

Sudhanvacārya. According to Manu X. 23 he is the same as kāruṣa 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 Ațharvaveda, 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.

H. D. 13
Suvarnakāra or Sauvarnika 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 (ra ṅādāna 274) a goldsmith or a dealer in bronze or a bania was to examine the balance in the balance ordeal. Manu IV. 215, Vāj. I. 163, Śaṅkha and Sumantu quoted by Aparārka (pp. 1175, 1176) treat him on a level with karmakāra (blacksmith) and nīśāda. Manu IX. 292 condemns him as the worst of all rogues (sarvakantakapāṣṭha). For the view of Vaik. and Bṛhaspati vide under taksan above (note 189). In the Mahābhārata it is said that after Parāśurāma's alleged extermination of the kṣatriyas, some of them that escaped resorted to the castes of ironsmiths and goldsmiths.

 Sucaka. According to Usanas (v. 43) he is an anuloma born of the marriage of a vaisya male from a śūdra female.

 Sūcika or saucika or suĉi—one who works with a needle, a tailor. According to Vaik. (X. 15) and Usanas (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 tunnavāya (for which see above p. 83) and the Brahmapurāṇa quoted by Aparārka (p. 1178) also equates sūci with tunnavāya.

 Sūla. 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 (stripūrīsa 110), Viṣṇu Dh. S. (16. 6), Vāj. (I. 93) and Sūtasamhitā, he is a pratiloma sprung from a kṣatriya male and a brāhmaṇa woman. Kauṭ. is careful to add that the sūta who figures in the purāṇas as the reciter is quite different from this. A vārtika on Pāṇ. (VI. 3. 70) teaches the formation of words like sūtaputri.

205. The 9th vārtika on Pāṇ. VI. 3. 70 is suṣṭhapati (maker of bowstrings) also.

206. The examples given by the Pāṇ is probably for vīkāra (an iron-smith), while another reading is upakāra (maker of bowstrings) also.

The examples given by the Mahābhārata are śrutapati; suṣṭhapati, upakāra, upamukti.
are the attendants of brāhmaṇas and ksatriyas and the latter need not carry out what the sūta says. According to the Vāyupurāṇa (vol. I. 1. 33-33 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-samhitā expressly say that the difference between the sūta and the rathakāra consists in this that the former is the offspring of a marriage, while the latter is the offspring of a clandestine union of a ksatriya male with a brāhmaṇa woman. The Sahyādrīkhanda (26. 53-54) says that he is inferior to ksatriyas, but is entitled to do all the work of a ksatriya and that he also performs the work of a charioteer, of taming elephants and riding horses.

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

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 ucchīṣṭa 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 (Pān. IV. 3. 118). From the Mahābhārata we see what duties Draupadī disguised as sairandhri had to do for the queen of Virāta (Virāta-parva 9. 18-19), viz. combing and arranging the hair, pounding unguents, making garlands. Similarly Damayanti became a sairandhri to the mother of the Cedi king (Vanaparva 65. 68-70), but she refused to eat ucchīṣṭa food, would not wash the feet of anybody and would not allow any man to approach her. According to Adipurāṇa quoted in Śūdrakamalākara he lives by hunting deer and guarding royal harems and women after delivery.

207. सालिककथास्यन्वादिकाशदहस्यप्रकर्षकाराः अनोज्यांत्र अवतिरिवाधारः सुभवत्रत्वम् परिमा. II. 1. p. 383.
Sopāka. According to Manu (X. 38) he is the offspring of a caṇḍāla male and a pukkasa female, subsists by the profession of being hangman to those whom the king condemns to death.


It will have been noticed that some of the castes mentioned in the smṛtis such as ambāṣṭha, māgaḍha, malla and vaidehaka 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 (Anuśāsanaparva 33. 21-23 and 35. 17-18) were prepared to admit that several foreign races like the Sakas, Yavanas, Kambojas, Dravidas, Daradas, Śabaras, Kirātas etc. were originally ksatriyas, 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 Viśnupurāṇa (IV. 4. 47-48) says the same. Numerous names of castes arise from the professions they follow, e.g. ayaskāra, kumbhakāra, carnakāra, taksan, tailika, nāta, rathakāra, vepa 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 pāṅktipāvana later on).

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

208. तपः छुट्टे च नेतिन्द्र एवं ब्राह्मणकारणम्। तपः, शुद्धतायाऽयो हि हृदय ज्ञातिब्राह्मण एव स। महाभाष्यम् on पर. II. 2. 6 (vol. I. p. 411 and II. p. 363). In the अभ्यासात्मकम् 121. 7 we have a similar verse तस्माद ब्राह्मणकारणम्। बोध्युक्ते: सत्यदीर्घायते ततो भवति वेव विज्ञातः। The महाभाष्यम् has another verse (vol. II. p. 220) हृदय पवित्रवातानि विश्वा नेतिन्द्र कार्ये च। एतस्मिन्ते विज्ञानीलि ब्राह्मणाय शपथय लक्षणम्॥
it is often said that a brāhmaṇa is by birth alone and that he deserves respect from all, still we meet several times with passages\(^{209}\) 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 told\(^{210}\) ‘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 Śaṅtiparva\(^{211}\) (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 told\(^{212}\) ‘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).’ Udyogaparva\(^{213}\) (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
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 Śudra-kamalākara (first half of 17th century A. D.) several more castes are mentioned, some of which are set out below.

Āghāsika or Āndhasika—from a vaidehika male and a śudra female; sells cooked food; also called Rāndhavanu.

Āvartaka—from a bhrjjakantha and a brāhmaṇa woman.

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

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

Kāndhānaka—from āvartaka and a brāhmaṇa woman.

Kuntalaka—the same as nāpita.

Kuruvinda—from a kumbhakāra and a kukkuṭa female. Same as modern Sāi, according to Śudrakamalākara.

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

Durbhara—from an āyogava and a dhigvāna woman; called Dhor or Dhor in modern times.

Paustika—from a brāhmaṇa and a nisāda female; called in modern times Kahāra or Bhor (palanquin-bearer).

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

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

Bhasmāṅkara—from a Śaiva fallen ascetic and a śudra prostitute; called Gurava by the Jātiviveka.

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

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

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

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

In modern times each of the principal varnas has numerous sub-castes, based upon difference of country, occupation, sect and other causes. For example, brahmaṇas are first divided into ten classes, five of them being Gauḍas and five Drāvidas. Among the Drāvida brahmaṇas, the Mahārāṣṭra brahmaṇas are again subdivided into numerous sub-castes such as the Cītpavāna (or Koṅkanastha), Karhāde, Deṣastha, Devarukhe etc. It is said that in Gujerat there are 84 subcastes of brahmaṇas, 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 vedio times gradually led on to further and further divisions and subdivisions of people owing to geographical situation and other causes. It appears that probably even in ancient times the brahmaṇas of the north looked down upon the brahmaṇas in eastern countries like Magadha. Vide notes 31–32 above and Fick (pp. 213–214). The Matsyapurāṇa (16.16) says that brahmaṇas who dwell in Mleccha countries, in Trīśāṅku, Barbarā, Odra (Orissa), Andhra (Telīṅgana), Takka, Drāvida and Koṅkana are not to be invited at śrāddhas.

214. ब्राह्मणाधिप श्रेष्ठ: कनोट्ट मध्यदेशः। युज्याधिप पशुते ब्राह्मण: प्रश्न कच्चे क सारस्तत: काण्यकुञ्जा उस्तला मैत्रित्यां ये। गोविध पशुथा वेच्य दुःस्विता: प्रकी-लितां। सन्यासिक्षण। (section of the सन्यासितम्) उत्तरार्थ 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. 59. 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 brahmaṇas and he enumerates these at pp. 127–133.

217. कल्याणाम्बिकांकांलांसेवयोनिविधिनिवासिनः। विशाशुचमर्यादां एकमण्डल-कोष्ठ्यान्त। सत्यपुराण 16.16.
Among ksatriyas 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, Guhilotas 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 Jātviveka, Mādhava-kalpalata, Paraśu-rāma-pratāpa and other works. It is only in the census reports prepared at great expense by the British Government after elaborate efforts and organization that the great complexity of the caste system in modern India is laid bare to the eye. But this work cannot, by reason of its limited scope, go into these varied and complex details of the hundreds of castes that exist in the several provinces of India.
CHAPTER III

THE DUTIES, DISABILITIES AND PRIVILEGES
OF THE VARNAS

The duties and privileges of varnas occupy a very prominent place in all works on Dharmasastra. The study (of the Vedas), offering sacrifices and giving gifts are said to be the duties absolutely enjoined on the brähmana, ksatriya and vaiśya, while each of these three varnas has certain peculiar privileges, which are its principal means of livelihood. Teaching Vedas, officiating at sacrifices and receiving gifts—these are the privileges of brähmanas; the profession of arms and protection of the people are the peculiar privileges of ksatriyas; 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 vṛti or jīvaka (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 brähmana is not bound necessarily to earn his livelihood by all or any one of the three viz. teaching, officiating at a sacrifice or receiving gifts. A few words on each of these duties and privileges must be said at this stage.

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

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218. भ्रजानिनमध्येननिमित्या युम्भ म भाग्यानियभिषिक्तः।
पूर्वः नियमवहसो राजाविधिक रक्षण सर्वं विमुन्नायः।
वैद्यायागिर्गुरुनिक्षमिताद्वैर्युप्रसूदः।

219. पूर्वः पवित्रपति अवस्थापत्यानि। अहुरुपति अवस्थापत्यानि।
अहुरुपति अवस्थापत्यानि। अलोकाः अवस्थापत्यानि।
हरस्व यो मयं। X. 3।
अत अवस्थापत्यानि। मतिरात्यानि। ततः यो मयं। I. 118.

H. D. 14
Ajātaśatru, king of Kaśi (Br. Up. II. 1 and Kauśitaki Up. IV), Śvetaketu Aruneya from Pravāhana\(^{220}\) 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 Upāniṣads.\(^{221}\) From this it may be inferred that some ksatriyas at least spent a good deal of time in the study of religious and philosophical doctrines. The conclusion\(^{222}\) that is sometimes

220. Pravāhana Jāvāli says in Dendantu V. 3. 7 that panchavidya was not known to brāhmaṇas till he imparted it to Gootam 'yada ma tām Gootamabhū sāryo n maṅkī lathā pura vīda. Panchavidya evam tathāma tathāte lokaṅkā kṣetrajñā nāmaṃjñā vidita'!; vide Bh. Up. VI. 2. 8. where similar words occur about the same vīda.


222. Vide Deussen’s ‘Das System des Vedānta’, 1883, (pp. 18–19) the real cherisher of those thoughts was originally the caste of the ksatriyas, rather than the caste of the priests. Over and over again we come across the situation that the brāhmaṇa asks the ksatriya for information’ and Deussen refers only to six passages (Br. Up. II. 1, VI. 2, Ch. Up. V. 3 and V. 11 and Kauśitaki Up. I. 1 and IV. 1.). Vide also ‘Philosophy of the Upāniṣads’ (translated by Geden, 1905, pp. 17–19). In the first place these are too few passages out of the vast Upāniṣad literature to found the sweeping generalisation in which the German savant indulges. In the second place in Br. Up. II. 1 and Kauśitaki Up. IV. there is no statement that brahmavidya was known only to ksatriyas; on the contrary Ajātaśatru expresses surprise that a brāhmaṇa should approach a ksatriya for the expounding of brahmavidya 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 brahmavidya. In Kauśitaki I. 1. and Ch. Up. V. 11 all that is narrated is that Gautama Śvetaketu learnt from Citra Gārgyāyai and certain śrotriyas like Aupamanyava learnt Vaiśvānaravidya from Aśvapati Kālkeya. But nothing is said here about brahmavidya being first known to ksatriyas 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 pañcagīnavidya. 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 Upāniṣads. The same views are echoed by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in ‘Verhand-lungen des VII

(Continued on next page)
drawn by certain writers that ksatriyas or kings were the pioneers in brahmavidya cannot be accepted as correct. The germs of the philosophy of the Upanisads are seen in the later hymns of the Ṛgveda, in the Atharvaveda and in some of the Brāhmaṇa treatises. The Upanisads 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 Kāṭha-Śamhitā (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 four 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 Mahābhāṣyā 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

Internationalen Orientalisten Congresses zu Wien (Arische Sec. pp. 108-109) and in 'Vaisnavism and Saivism' p. 9 'Ksatriyas engaged themselves in active speculation on religious matters about the time of the Upanisads 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 Detissen and Bhandarkar.

223. योऽध्वजानी विद्यामूर्त्ततेन नेव रोचेत स परिमुद्देश्निर्द्वारम् परेत्य वर्तमान-सत्यस्य ब्राह्मण दृष्टिन्ते सिद्धांत व्यवहारित। काठकर्म 1X. 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. जात्तीन्द्रध्वजाकार्योर्चम: दधिकृतेः वेदोपनिष्ठे वेद इति। महामात्य (vol. I. p. 15).
Teaching the Veda—It is probable that in very remote times the son was taught the Veda by his father. The story of Śvetaketu Ārṇeya (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 ksatriya 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 ksatriya or vaisya, but the only service (which as a pupil) he should render to a ksatriya or vaisya 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. अध्यायंताहर्निः—पूर्व वेदश बेदी च विलिष्येत त्रिपुष्पं। स वा दुर्ब्राह्मणो

नाम चर्चेऽ हुपतीपितः। चर्यायणंशुषुपीरमिव। I. 10. 5–6. This is quoted as Yama’s by Aparārka pp. 286, 449. Anusāsana (chap. IV p. 524, Jiv.) has the verse, but the last pāda is आज्ञाकृति न कदाचन. Vide for दुर्ब्राह्मण the following Arthavatsha § 806. वि 806. सोंसे विपास्यत्। अभिन्ने है

वेदाण्तमेकविरस्सती। प्रकाशायसंपीयं भावात्। ते। सै. I. 1. 10; vide also ते। सै. II. 1. 5. 5 एवेकांशं पुनर्लोकमात्रेण य आ तुतीयायुक्तात् सोंसे न पिदेत।

227. ृप: यातापः। प्रजापत्यो रितरैं ब्राह्मणांहुषुक्तं। महत्त्व अहुरा उपिन्या

ब्राह्मणं बेदा अशु। दु. ज. V. 2. 1.

228. पदेशत्वमेव अयस्क वाच शास्त्रसपेश वदित हिसामारः। त्र. VII. 103. 5.

229. ब्राह्मण आचार्यः। स्वयं तु। आपि। ब्राह्मणे रजन्ये बेदी वाचापणम्। अरु-

गमनं च पञ्चात्तु। तत्र उच्चे ब्राह्मण द्वारे गती स्वतः। आप। ज्ञ. II. 2. 4. 25–28.
(of his ksatriya teacher). Gaut (VII. 1-3) and Manu (X. 1, II. 241) lay down the same rules. Manu (II. 242) adds that a perpetual student (naisthika brahmaçari) should not stay as a pupil with a teacher who is not a brâhmana and that a brâhmana may learn even from a südra a useful or efficacious craft (II. 238). The profession of teaching the Veda could not have brought much money or wealth to brâhmanas, 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 brâhmana alone to officiate as a priest. Jaimini²²⁰ says that, as the ksatriya and vaisya cannot be priests (rûviks), the sattra (a sacrifice extending over many days or years) could be performed only by brâhmanas. The Kâtyâyana Śrautāsûtra uses a similar argument. When Viśvāmitra agreed to perform a sacrifice for Trîśanâku who had been cursed to be a cândâla, the Ramâyana²³¹ 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 Devâpi was the purohita of Śantanu and the Nirukta (II. 10) adds that Devâpi and Śantanu were brothers and descendants of Kuru. So, according to the Nirukta at least, a ksatriya could be a purohita in Vedic times. It may be admitted that the Rg. itself does not expressly say that they were brothers. In modern times many writers often speak of brâhmanas as the priestly caste or as priests. But this is not a very accurate statement. All brâhmanas never were nor are priests; besides even in modern times when caste is so rigid all priests in all temples and shrines are not brâhmanas. Some brâhmanas became the family priests (purohitas) of kings, many engaged as rûviks 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 brâhmana who took

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²²⁰ Jaimini
²³¹ Ramâyana
²³² Manu

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Quoted in Sûtratattvâvâcharana II p. 396, the first verse being quoted by Apparâikk 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 Yama\textsuperscript{223} quoted in the Sm. C. (I. p. 179) *pratigraha* (receiving gifts) from a worthy person of the three higher varnas is superior to the acquisition of wealth by officiating as a priest or by teaching. But Manu (X. 109-11) says that *pratigraha* from an unworthy person (or a śūdra) is worse than the act of teaching him or officiating as a priest for him. Very elaborate rules were laid down about gifts i.e. who should receive gifts, from whom gifts may be received and on what occasions and what things were proper subjects of gift. The latter two matters will be discussed in detail later on. Here the rules about the persons to whom gifts should be made and from whom they were to be accepted will be set out. It appears from the Br. Up. (IV. 1.3) that even in those ancient times there were prohibitions against receiving gifts from unworthy persons and officiating as priests for the unworthy. And the Br. Up. (V. 14. 5-6) suggests that it is only the learned who could properly accept large gifts.

In the first place, the ideal set before brāhmaṇas was one of poverty, of plain living and high thinking, of forsaking the active pursuit of riches and cherishing cultural preservation and advancement. Manu lays down the general rule that when not in distress a brāhmaṇa should acquire wealth only just sufficient to maintain himself and his family, and to enable him to perform his religious duties without causing any harm to others or by as little harm to others as possible and without unduly worrying his own body (IV. 2-3) and then Manu (IV. 7-8) says\textsuperscript{224} that a brāhmaṇa householder may

\textsuperscript{223} 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 'kusūladhānaya' as suggested by Manu X. 7; while 'kumbhidhānaya' is one who has a store of corn for one year. Medhātiṣṭha 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 'kusūladhānaya'; according to Govindarāja, 'kusūladhānaya' and 'kumbhidhānaya' are respectively those who have corn for 12 and 6 days. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 128 accepts Govindarāja's explanation.
either accumulate so much grain (but not more) as would fill a
kusūla (a granary), or a kumbhi235 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 'kumbhādhiṣṭya' is very ancient is shown by
the use of the word kumbhādhiṣṭya in the Mahābhārata where
it is explained as follows (on Pan. I. 3. 7, vol. I. p. 264)
'कुम्भाधिष्ठया: श्रीविधिक उच्चयते। यस्य कुम्भस्य धार्मिक स कुम्भाधिष्ठया:। यस्य पुनः कुम्भायं
धार्मिकं च नासी कुम्भाधिष्ठया:।'

236. तदलस्य श्रीविधिको धार्मिकतयो धनविविधतयं। यत्नमेव भवतस्तु याहरणः धार्मिकमः हीयते॥


237. वैविधिकतयो भवतस्तु स्वयमिकस्य धनविविधतयं। पञ्चयं स्वयमेव न सूचा सत्यते
धनम्॥ अध्यासान 47. 22; अन्धकारान्ध्य यथौ विचिनित्यार्थे महारः। अध्यासान
61. 19.
king (or a rich man) for his *yogakṣema* (i.e., for his livelihood and support). Manu (IV. 33), Yaj. (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 *dvijātī*. 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, Yaj. III. 41); but a brāhmaṇa should not seek gifts from a śūdra for the performance of a sacrifice or for *agni*hotra, as thereby he becomes a cāndāla in another birth (Manu XI. 24 and 42, Yaj. 1. 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, Yaj. I. 216). Yaj., 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 ksatriya lineage nor from butchers, oilmen, keepers of liquor-shops and of brothels nor from courtesans (Manu IV. 84), nor from a king who is avaricious and transgresses the rules of the śāstras 240 (Yaj. I. 140, Manu IV. 87). The Smṛtis lay down

238. प्रस्तावनां स्वक्षमेषु द्विजार्नीं ब्राह्मणों छत्वायत: प्रतिश्रुत:प्राचन. [Smriti 17.1-2.]

239. द्विपावां विपासितस्वभिः प्रभावप्रकारोऽप्रमाणोऽच्छुदाय। [Smriti 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 Anuśāsana 93. 94 the sages say to king Viśَfadarpp: "राजाम परिष्दोऽराजः महाराजाः विवेकम्. तत्वामात्राम्: वस्त्रालम् छुदाय स: प्रतिश्रुत:। वेषम् जस्तवं भिवधे भीतातिः सीताति धुधा। तत्वापि तथेष्व राज्यस्चिरोऽपि सीताति। मातृ 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, Yaj. 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). Yaj. 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. 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 (Yaj. 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. 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 Nashik cave Inscription No. 12 (E. I. vol. VIII p. 78) king Usavadatta (Ṛṣabhadatta) 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, Vaiśāvadeva, the offering of bali and caru (vide Sarsanvi plate of Buddhārāja in E. I. vol. 6 p. 298 dated in Kaṭacchuri Sāvat 361 i.e. 609-10 A. D., Damodarpur plates in E. I. vol. XV. p. 113 dated 443-44 A. D.).

242. अतिप्रसूत्यां भ्रान्ताच्छेद्ये तु संप्रमाणं अथ याच्चानां स्त्रापरां तु निग्भ-लयं॥ प्रारकाः प्रारकाः ॥ 29; सता यथेन्ते तु तद्यथवत्तां शुभम। सत्यवृत्तानां यथिते पार्द्धिते तु नवस्म्पं॥ quoted by the Mit. and Aparākṣa (p. 291) on Yaj. I. 203. Vide अतिप्रसूत्यां च शृंखलाये quoted by Aparākṣa p. 291 and Śentipaśva 294, 18-19.
To the same effect are Yaj. (I. 200-202), Vas. Dh. S. (VI. 32), Ausanasa (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 daksinā 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.’

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)—Yaj. 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. खुचिमन्निनिन। सवंहरुक्षु्रिषो भोजयेद्। बुधानां कालमां होयतः सम्प्रक्षितस्वविद्विद्विदि
इति दुर्मान्मित्वमेति। आप. ध. ख. II. 6. 15. 9-10.

244. यथा बिद्धकं लोको यथास्थल वृत्तिः भोजेत।तत्वध्वजस्व बृह्य तत्त्वावस्थामिन्वता। हुक्क
III. 31. This is also śalya 44-45, अक्षयाक्षपठेष्टम नाक्षयाक्षपठेष्टम 59. 7, शास्त्र्याम्य 35. 52-53,
स्त्रियत्राम 72. 39.
brāhmaṇa who stays near in favour of a worthy but distant brāhmaṇa.\textsuperscript{245} Vide Vas. Dh. S. III. 9-10, Manu VIII. 392 (which prescribes a fine of one māsa for this), Veda-Vyāsa-smṛti IV. 35-38, Brhaspati-smṛti 60 and Laghu-Satātapa 76-79, Gobhila-smṛti II. 66-69. Devala quoted by Aparārka p. 238 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 sāstras like grammar, logic, mlmāṇa) are still found who are content with what little patrimony they have got, who engage in the profession of teaching the Veda and sāstras in accordance with ancient rules and who do not go about seeking gifts nor accept invitations for dinner at śrāddhas. In the Sāntiparva 199 brāhmaṇas are divided into two sorts, viz. those who are pravṛttta (i.e. engage in all sorts of activities for acquiring wealth) and those who are nivṛttta 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 ),\textsuperscript{246} Manu VII. 85, Veda-Vyāsa IV. 42, Dakṣa III.

\textsuperscript{245} Ṛṣīgaṇitakāmāḥ mañjītāṁ Ṣūrīṁ mahāgañitajñāte. Jvalantamārīṣukṛtya naṁ bhāṣāni hṛdaye\textsuperscript{26} भो. ध. श्र. I. 5. 98, वेदव्यास IV. 37 (reads चिन्ते चेतुवचिज्जिते ), पक्षक III. 10, मोनितस्मृते II. 68-69. The Mahābhārata 227. 7 also prescribes a fine for śrāddhāgaṇitāṁ ‘हिजोनेबे हं संपत्ते महत्वविवस्तत्वविहिनं्’ ब्रह्मा-वस्तुत्वो दुःखः पापेः नाति विद्धिताः.’

\textsuperscript{246} समन्वयोऽसां विद्येष्यां विद्येष्यां विद्येष्यां विद्येष्यां विद्येष्यां विद्येष्यां. भो. V. 18; समन्वयोऽसां विद्येष्या विद्येष्या विद्येष्या विद्येष्या विद्येष्या विद्येष्या विद्येष्या. माश्चेति शतसाधस्तस्ते वेदव्यास IV. 42 and Dakṣa read तस्माहणांचार्ये which reading is noted by Kullūkā also and Vedavyāsa (IV. 43-47) explains the words ब्रह्माणनेत्र, अचार्ये and वेदव्यास.
28 say that a gift given to a brāhmaṇa (who is only so by caste, but is not learned), to a śrotiṣṭya (or acārya) and to one who has completely mastered all the Vedas (with their subsidiary lore) respectively confers merit which is twice, a hundred thousand times or an infinite number of times more than the merit conferred by a gift to a non-brāhmaṇa. Gautama\(^4\) (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, śrotiṣṭya and vedapāraga when they seek help for giving a daksinā 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, śrotiṣṭya and vedapāraga). Manu (XI. 1-3) gives practically the same rule. In the Viśvādeva the householder was enjoined to give food to every one including even dogs and cāndālas, as we shall see later on (under\(^5\) Viśvādeva). Medhatithi 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 sāstra; just as when a man gives instruction as to what is beneficial he does not care to see what the caste of the person to be benefited by the advice is, so a gift made through compassion is made irrespective of caste; and that when non-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.\(^6\)

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\(^247\) एवं च विध्वंजयस्वरुप: वृत्तिश्रीमान: यथा ब्राह्मणाः प्रभालमं बन्धुविद्वाति निवृत्तमेव भूतम्। निश्चिन्तमाणु नृत्तज्ञानितेषु।

\(^248\) एवं च विध्वंजयस्वरुप: वृत्तिश्रीमान: यथा ब्राह्मणाः प्रभालमं बन्धुविद्वाति निवृत्तमेव भूतम्। निश्चिन्तमाणु नृत्तज्ञानितेषु।

\(^249\) नाध्यो च कहणेऽविश्वमुद्रावयौ। नेति पुमः। न तत्र ब्राह्मणं। सि ताहि कहणेऽविश्वमुद्रावयौ। सा तर्कोपकाराद्र। तत्र यथा। कहणं ब्राह्मणं विध्वंजयस्वरुपं विध्वंजयस्वरुपं विध्वंजयस्वरुपं विध्वंजयस्वरुपं विध्वंजयस्वरुपं विध्वंजयस्वरुपं।

\(^247\) एवं च विध्वंजयस्वरुप: वृत्तिश्रीमान: यथा ब्राह्मणाः प्रभालमं बन्धुविद्वाति निवृत्तमेव भूतम्। निश्चिन्तमाणु नृत्तज्ञानितेषु।

\(^248\) एवं च विध्वंजयस्वरुप: वृत्तिश्रीमान: यथा ब्राह्मणाः प्रभालमं बन्धुविद्वाति निवृत्तमेव भूतम्। निश्चिन्तमाणु नृत्तज्ञानितेषु।

\(^249\) नाध्यो च कहणेऽविश्वमुद्रावयौ। नेति पुमः। न तत्र ब्राह्मणं। सि ताहि कहणेऽविश्वमुद्रावयौ। सा तर्कोपकाराद्र। तत्र यथा। कहणं ब्राह्मणं विध्वंजयस्वरुपं विध्वंजयस्वरुपं विध्वंजयस्वरुपं विध्वंजयस्वरुपं विध्वंजयस्वरुपं विध्वंजयस्वरुपं।

\(^249\) नाध्यो च कहणेऽविश्वमुद्रावयौ। नेति पुमः। न तत्र ब्राह्मणं। सि ताहि कहणेऽविश्वमुद्रावयौ। सा तर्कोपकाराद्र। तत्र यथा। कहणं ब्राह्मणं विध्वंजयस्वरुपं विध्वंजयस्वरुपं विध्वंजयस्वरुपं विध्वंजयस्वरुपं विध्वंजयस्वरुपं।
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 pratigrāha had to be relaxed and in course of time it came to be said that a brāhmaṇa, whether learned or ignorant, was to be a donee and may accept gifts without any scruples. The first inroad\textsuperscript{250} 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\textsuperscript{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 śṛṃtī (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.’\textsuperscript{252} ‘The wise should not despise brāhmaṇas, whether they be squint-eyed, humpbacked, dwarfs, indigent or diseased, since they are

\textsuperscript{250} भास्मक्षा परिक्षेत क्षित्रायो वानरास्मिः। वै वक्ष्य सूक्ष्मेऽद्वा भास्मक्षमाः। परिक्षणम्। अधिकतम 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.

\textsuperscript{251} भासने वृत्तिसिद्धेऽय सैवद्रिका क्षति।। परिक्षणम्। रमोच्य आर्ज्ये गुणवस्तु।। अपरीक्ष द यो वृत्तिसिद्धावर्गमार्जसामासितः।। तत्स्य वृत्त्य सिद्धे दृष्टास्थ न संबत्तः।। वृत्त्य सिद्धे सामासितः।। भासना नामांसस्मात्य भक्तस्मायाम्ब्रह्मोपये।। आस्ति।। अविद्या।। प्रतिपदाकालोद्वितिः भविष्यतानां।। नाथस्मात्य।। वृत्त्य सिद्धे।। वृत्त्य सिद्धे।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपদाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिप�ाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिप�ाकालो।। प्रतिप�ाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रतिपदाकालो।। प्रति
my forms (i.e. of Kṛṣṇa). The Anuśāsanaparva (152. 19) 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).

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 śrāddha too many brāhmaṇas should not be invited.

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 dharmāśāstra 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. अविनाय वात्रणो वेदः पाठं व पावरं महत्। विविद्य, सुप्रस्तरं वेदः पूर्णमार्ग-संभिन:। एवं विक्रमयितुं वस्ति सर्वकामम्। सर्वशा वात्रणो भवति विद्वत मम समर्थ।। अश्वास्त्र:। 152. 19 and 23.


255. Vide Manu III. 125-126, Gaut. 15. 7-8, Yṣj. 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 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 śruti further ordain that when the calamity or distress ceased, the person who has taken to the avocations of another varṇa should perform prāyaścittā, 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 particular 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 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. आपवत्कालो नागायनपतिमातो भद्रार्थप्रयासान्तः वृत्तिरिति कर्त्यः:। तस्यान्तः कर्तितुमिधिमिधि:। एववयोजितास्तः कर्तितुमिधिमिधितः। श्रुतिभूतः quoted by अवपुर्व प. 930.

257. न दयंदेहु दूषिते भाषण: कस्मे वर्तदयुः। इत्यतः कस्मेव ब्राह्मण पत्तिचे धिने स त्यवः:। भाषु (अभावाय 57)

258. वधो राजा स ते भूलो जपोपमथ यः। सतो राज्यश हन्ताति यथा ब्राह्मण वै जनात्सवं प्रत्येकम्। भूलातारथ: वेश भृगूपत्पालितः यह ।
अभ्य 19. 136–137 (Anan. ed.); vide जनात्सव 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 acāryas 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 (ṛṣādāna 57).

According to all ancient authorities the special duty of the śūdra was to render service to the twice-born classes, to obtain his livelihood from them and serving a brāhmaṇa conferred greater happiness or benefit on the śūdra than serving a kṣatriya and serving a kṣatriya conferred greater good than serving a vaiśya. According to Gaut. (X. 60-61), Manu (X. 124-125) and others, the śūdra was to wear the old or cast-off clothes, umbrellas, sandals, mattress etc. of his patron and the leavings of food (ucchīṣṭa) were to be given to him. If he became old and unable to do work while serving anyone of the higher varṇas he was to be fed by him whom he had formerly served (Gaut. X. 63). In course of time the position of the śūdra improved. If a śūdra was unable to maintain himself and his family by serving dvijas, he was allowed to maintain himself by having recourse to crafts like carpentry or drawing or painting pictures etc. Nārada (ṛṣādāna 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 śūdra who could not maintain

259. धृष्टुर्ध्रुष्ठेतेऽर्ध्रेर्वर्णानायः पूर्विसिद्धि पूर्विसमवेण्य विनिधेयस्य भृषः। अपि । य. I. 1. 7-8; परिवर्धियो भोजेयायः। तत्प्रयो इति विद्वेदायः। तत्र पूर्विपरिवर्धियो। नैसम X. 57-59; माजापपतिः वर्णानां द्वारस्य धृष्टामन्त्रस्य। धृष्टार्यं 60. 28; vide also Vas. Dh. S. II. 20, Manu X. 121-123, Yāj. I. 120, वी. च. I. 10. 5, भवपर्व 150. 36.

260. ध्रुतपुष्पे ध्रुपं खं ध्रुपणं ध्रुवपावर्ण। भायेदारवर्ण 8. 171; ध्रुप्य विज्ञ-ध्रुपणं द्वैरस्यविनिधेयस्य विनिधाय। अष्टंवर्जय 1. 5; सदू X. 99-100.

261. ध्रुच्यां ध्रुच्याः ध्रुप् ध्रुपणां तथा ध्रुप्यविनिधेयस्य। धृष्टार्यं धृष्टार्यं प्रत्येकिः पद्यं धृष्टार्यं वायुमित्राय। धृष्टार्यं 295. 4; धृष्टार्यं धृष्टार्यं स्वपनविनिधेयस्य वायुमित्राय। विविधः सप्तपनां प्रकटसम्बन्धग्रं उपन्यासमित । उक्तमेव वैस्मै शुल्कितं। I. p. 171; vide सप्तपन-लक्ष्य 22. 5.
himself by the service of higher varnas to resort to the avocations of a vaiśya, to rearing cattle and to crafts. Others like Laghu-Āsvalāyana (22.5), Vṛddha-Härīta (VII. 189, 192) allowed agriculture to the śūdra. The Kalikāpurāṇa quoted in the Gr. R. (p. 479) allowed the śūdra to sell all commodities except honey, skins, lākṣā (lac), wines and flesh, while Bṛha-Paṇāṣara (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. 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. The smṛtis however did not like that wealth should be accumulated in the hands of the śūdra (though they were quite willing that ksatriyas and vaiśyas should command all wealth). Gaut. (X. 64–65) says that the śūdra's accumulation of wealth should be for the support and benefit of the other varnas. 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 aniravasita śūdras (such as carpenters and blacksmiths) and the other niravasita śūdras (like cāndālas); vide note 200 above. Another division of śūdras was into those who were bhojyāṇna (i.e. food prepared by whom could be partaken by brāhmaṇas) and abhojyāṇna. In the first were included one's

262. श्रुत्वेन विज्ञातिकाशण वैपर्वणं कालाविस्मरणं कर्षणपञ्चअतानं भार्तोरीक्तं-पिण्यपञ्चाश्च-विज्ञातिकाशणं कालाविस्मरणं कर्षणपञ्चअतानं भार्तोरीक्तं । वैपर्वणं कालाविस्मरणं कर्षणपञ्चअतानं भार्तोरीक्तं ।

263. Compare आप. अभ. । भ. । तत्त्व (श्रुत्वेन श्रुत्वेन । वैपर्वणं कालाविस्मरणं कर्षणपञ्च) with मण्ड. IV. 61. This dictum of Manu must have been pronounced at a time when śūdra kings were rare; otherwise it would have no meaning and brāhmaṇas would have been compelled to leave India. So it follows that Manu did not hold the view propounded in certain Purāṇas that after the Nandas there would be no ksatriya kings and only śūdras will be kings.

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

A few words may now be said about brāhmaṇas being allowed to follow the occupations of ksatriyas and vaiśyas. From very ancient times brāhmaṇas appear to have followed the profession of arms. Pāṇ. (V. 2. 71) teaches the formation of the word ‘brāhmaṇaka’ as applied to a country, which means ‘in which Brāhmaṇas follow the profession of arms.’ Kaut. (IX. 2) quotes the view of the ācāryas that when there are armies composed of brāhmaṇas, ksatriyas, vaiśyas and sūdras each preceding one is better for enlistment than each subsequent, but Kaut. himself is against this and adds that the enemy may win over the army of brāhmaṇas by prostration before them. Āpastamba was against the idea of brāhmaṇas following the profession of arms. He says (I. 10. 29. 7) ‘a brāhmaṇa should not catch hold of a weapon even for examining it (much
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 dvijatis 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 Āsvatthāman, Krpa (the maternal uncle of Āsvatthāman) who were brāhmaṇas. The Mahābhārata says that a brāhmaṇa should fight at the order of the king. 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 Pusyamitra 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 Talagunda pillar inscription of Kakusthavarman (E. I. Vol. VIII. p. 24) that the founder of the Kadambas, Mayūraśarman, 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. राही नियोगात्र योधर्थ्यं ब्राह्मणं नियोगतं। परंतं कालं श्रवणं यथं धर्मविरूः। श्रवणं ६५. ४२॥
As to money-lending, Gautama (X. 5-6) allowed a brahmana 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 ksatriyas 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 ksatriyas, but allows them to charge a low rate of interest to persons engaged in low actions. Nārada (rnādāna 111) forbids usury to brāhmaṇas even in the direst calamities. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 9. 27. 10) prescribes a prayāścitta for a brāhmaṇa lending money at usurious rates. Brhaspati as quoted in the Gr. R. has a rather amusing verse 'sages have enumerated numerous means of livelihood, but out of all of them money-lending is pre-eminent. There is loss in agriculture due to draught, to the fear of the exactions of the king and the ravages of rats and others, but there is no such loss in money-lending.' It appears that this is only a general or satirical statement and does not recommend money-lending to brāhmaṇas.

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

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

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269. उपिषानिष्ठः पालकपंडते। कुसौः च। गो। X. 5-6; महामरणार्थसंप्रवृत्तभवति। समर्थां धान्यव्यवस्था महादेशां। मन्यतरित। स वें शाहुः निविदान कन्ता। ग्राहाविन्दविषय गवितः। महाहार्यां च इन्द्रि च तुल्या समतावतयत। अलाब्ध। भूगम्या काट्यां वापृष्ठि। समादेश। वसिद II. 40. Vide श्री। धृ । I. 5. 93-94 for these two verses; आपातान्विति वह कदापि भूमिवस्य मित्र । नासर्व (कणाठा 111)

270. अतः श्रापन्नविदयुवद्वारं करायत॥ अभावन इव विनित्तातु तुष्यतात्रित प्रवृत्त॥ आप। धृ। I. 9. 27. 10.

271. वाक्यं चतुर्दशीय श्रेष्ठमयी परिधिरित्तम् श्रेष्ठमयी। साधनां च ध्वजांगिभविषय विपुः। अनुपरयां राजपरायां युगिकाप्यपूर्वकं च। द्रुपादेति। तसं कर्षितं महेश्वरं कुसौः सा न विपुः। व्यासतति। थुह। 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, Vaj. S. XII. 67, Rg. I. 110. 5, I. 176. 2, X. 117. 7). Baudhāyana²⁷³ says (1. 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 Vaj. S. XII. 71. Manu (X. 83–84) says ‘a brāhmaṇa or a kṣatriya compelled to follow the avocations of a vaisyā (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). Harita 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. अद्वैतं दीर्घं: कृषिविनिवृद्धेऽविद रसस्य भद्ध मन्यमान:। तत्र गान: कितव तत्र जाया तत्स्ये विचारे सन्तितामयं।। यहं X. 34. 13.

²⁷³. नेत्: कृषिविनिवृद्धेऽविद विनिवृद्धिविनिवासिनी। शहितमाहस्य कुर्विनेनकस्तु कृवि

²⁷⁴. सहितेन लाक्रुः तद्भजने न विचारे। आप्पाधंतरिताधि कुर्विधातार्यां।

Hariśita in suh. r. p. 429.
distress) is accomplished’. Parāśara\(^ {275} \) (II. 2-4, 7, 14) allows a brāhmaṇa to engage in agriculture, but lays down certain restrictions. The proper number of oxen to be yoked to the plough is eight, six being middling, four are yoked only by the cruel and two by those who sacrifice the lives of their oxen; he should not yoke an ox that is hungry, thirsty or tired, he should make the oxen work only for half the day and then bathe them in water, he should offer the five 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 1/3 of the corn to the king, offer 1/11 to gods and 1/12 to brāhmaṇas and then he may not be smeared with sin’. Hārīta quoted by Aparārka (p. 937) has a long prose passage on the treatment to be given to oxen by brāhmaṇas and also Vṛddha-Gauṭama (Jiv. part 2 p. 571). Vṛddha-Hārīta\(^ {276} \) (VII. 179 and 182) says that agriculture is common to all varṇas and agriculture, rearing cattle and service are not forbidden to any. The above discussion shows how agriculture was viewed at different times and by different writers from different points of view.

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

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\(^{275}\) Parāśara in Sāṅgītakāmadhvaja, III. 118.\(^ {34} \)

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oxen that are yoked to carts. These restrictions did not apply
to a ksatriya engaging in trade. Āp. Dh. S. I. 7. 20. 12-13^277 has a
similar list but adds among forbidden articles of sale 'weapons,
sticky things (ślesma, like lac), young stalks (tokma), fer-
mented liquids (kīṇva), the expectation of merit (sukṛtāsā)
and says that among cereals sesame and rice are on no account
to be sold. Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 77-78 condemns the sale of
sesame and rice by saying that he who sells them sells respec-
tively his pīṭras (dead ancestors) and his pṛṇas. This arose
probably from the close connection of sesame with śṛūḍdha and
tarpaṇa. 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 unclenched 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 pīṭras in the ordure of a dog'. But it appears
that Vasiśtha ^279 (II. 31), Manu (X. 90) allow the sale of sesame
if a man engages in agriculture and himself produces them
(but sale must be only for purposes of religious duties, according
to Manu). Yāj. (III. 39) and Nārada (ṛṇādāna 66) say that
sesame may be bartered for an equal measure of other corn to raise
means for religious purposes (and for medicine also according
to Nārada). Manu (X. 86-89), Yāj. (III. 36-38), Nārada (ṛṇādāna
61-63) give long lists of articles that Brāhmaṇas were forbidden
to sell and that include a few more than those specified above.
For example, Manu forbids the sale of bee's wax, kuśa, indigo,
while Yāj. adds soma, mud, blankets made of goat wool, hair
(of camari deer) and oilcakes (pinyāka) to things forbidden to

277. आपाचार्य श्वस्वावेत पवयाचार्यामुण्याति श्वस्वावेत। वज्रपयागर रसान्धरागर गण्यानर्ग
चरण गङ्गा वाणि देवश्रीविके तोमकरिके विषाणिकराणि घार्गु मोक्षाणुपु सुकुलवाणि। तिलक-
तुरांबांसेवेन धान्यस्य विकाशेन न विकाशमात्र। आपा. घ. ७. १०. ११-१३।

278. भोजनवन्यानुवाचर पवयाचार्यामुण्याति सिद्धि। दुविन्युर्गः दुविन्युर्गः दुविन्युर्गः सह
मस्याः। मदु X. ९१; पद्म विकाशम. I. १८० दुविन्युर्गः सह मस्याः।

279. कामां वा स्यां दुविन्युर्गः तिलावटितिकेस्वर। वसिष्ठ दी. ३१।
be sold. Śaṅkha-Likhita,\(^{280}\) Udyoga-parva 38. 5, Śāntiparva 78. 4-6, Hārītī (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.’ Nārada\(^{283}\) (ṛṇādāna 64-65) states ‘a brāhmaṇa may sell dried wood and grass, except fragrant articles, erakā (a kind of grass), rattan, cotton, roots, kuṣa grass; cereals that get split up of their own accord, badara and inguda among fruits, cords and threads of cotton provided they are not coloured’. Śaṅkha-Likhita also (as quoted by Aparārka p. 933) have the same rules as Nārada and further enjoin upon the brāhmaṇa not to higgle for the price but to have a fixed price.

Yāj. (III. 40) says that the sale of lac, salt and meat lead to a brāhmaṇa’s fall (i.e. he loses the right to perform the duties of 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 cāṇḍrāyana and other prāyaścittas for it. Hārītī (quoted by Aparārka p. 1113 and Mit. on Yāj. III. 265) prescribes various prāyaścittas for the sale of various forbidden articles. Laghu-Śatātāpaka prescribes (v. 87) cāṇḍrāyana for the sale of honey, meat, wine, soma, lac, salt.\(^{282}\) Nārada (ṛṇādāna 67) calls upon

280. न विक्रेतापृष्ठिक्रियापामी ॥ तिलेइत्विक्रियास्तित्वायानामसंयोजनां श्रवणमहर्षणां जिनसौम्यमहकल्यातिविभक्तियोऽपि ॥ पति भाषणां "श्रवणिलिखित विक्रेतार्यपात्यायाम ॥ अपरार्कः पु. 1113 एवः प्रूतिच. I. 180; अविद्वेष्य लेखणे पक्षसं दुःखितानि मयु तैः थुः च। तिता मांससफळमूलानि श्राकं रकम् बासं सर्वनामायुधवं रुद्रोगान्व ॥ योगोपाध्य 38. 5.

281. तुषकादानिलिखितं विक्रयम् । अपायदृढः हर्षनि । पशुपैकलाभुताः अतसा । लषणयूक्त: । एवः भाषणे लेखस्त्राजिनिकितः ॥ यो. प. व. II. 1. 81-82; sale of minerals would be opposed to Vasiṣṭha II. 24.

282. भाषणयत तु विक्रयं तुषकं दुःखाणि च। गम्भीरनिभावं तुलललिकुण्डाते (?) लेखणीकरवते। स्वयं शीर्ष च विविध लक्षानि बोधितः। रजु: कार्यानिलस्य अप्रयीत्वादितं धोत्यात् (अनावलस 64-65); तुषकादानिलिखितं गम्भीरनिभावं स्वयं शीर्ष बोधितः। श्रवणिलिखिता विक्रयम् ॥ अपरार्कः पु. 934; अपायदृढः हर्षनि । तुषकादानिलिखित विक्रयम् ॥ अपरार्कः पु. 934.

283. महामहापरासरं लक्षणं लघुश्रवणम् । एतद्विक्रयेष्ठिष्ठ विज्ञानाग्रावणे चरति ॥ हृदुष्कालम् 87.
the king to inflict a heavy fine upon a brahmana who engages in the sale of articles forbidden to be sold and strays from the path (proper for brahmans) in the absence of distress.

Ap. Dh. S. (I. 7. 20. 14-15) 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. (VII. 16-21) allows the exchange of rasas with rasas, of domestic animals with other domestic animals, of cooked food with an equal measure of uncooked food for immediate use, but forbids the barter of salt, cooked food and sesame with other articles. Manu (X. 94) allows the exchange of one rasa (liquid like molasses) with another (like ghee), of cooked food with uncooked food, of sesame with an equal quantity of other corn, but does not allow the barter of salt for any rasa. Vas. Dh. S. (II. 37-39) has rules similar to Manu and Ap.

Manu (X. 116) 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 brahmana or a kṣatriya when there is no distress (e.g., a brahmana cannot engage in service). Yaj. III. 42 enumerates seven of these and adds 'cart' (i.e., driving carts for hire), mountain (subsisting on the price of grass and fuel taken from hills), a country full of water, trees and shrubs, king (i.e., resorting to or begging from a king). Chāgaleya quoted in Gr. R. p. 449.

284. आच्छन्तावैभव्यो भिषो विभिन्नम्: अलेव वाजस्य मुद्याणां च ममदे रसानो च रसमेन्तानो च सन्ध्याया च विकालादु्। आप. ध. स. I. 7. 20. 14-15.

285. निःसमस्तुः रसानां ससी: प्रज्ञातः च। न लघुप्रकालाय:। तिलानां च। समेनानेन तु एकाः संमययः। गोतम VII. 16-21.

286. रसा रसमेतो हीनोऽ च विमातायः। न तेष तथेऽ रसी:। तिलानुपुलवाक्षः। विष्या मातुर्याया विनिताः। परिकटकः। सिद्ध II. 37-39.

287. विष्या शिल्य भृत्ति सेव गोद्रव्य प्रियाय:। श्रुतिनिश्चयं कुसिया च वुः जीव निषेधः॥ सूत्र X. 116; हुः। शिल्य भृतिविधा कुसियः। श्रुत्ते सिद्धैः। सेरावृतैः। तथ वेद्ये मैथापवी जीवनानि तु। प्र. III. 42.

288. श्रुतः शाक्तानि गायियो आत्मस्यवत्वन वनस्य। अरद्व परशोर राजा दृश्ये नान दृश्यः। दागेयशी दृश्ये। रसायने p. 449. The दुःिश्वता VI. 138 has the first half and reads the 2nd half as सत्वा: परशोर राजा एवं जीवानमां वनस्य। In some MSS. of the निमित्त this verse occurs in VI. 5 where the readings are आस्त्वऽदन वनस्य दृश्ये: परशोर राजा दृश्ये नान दृश्यः॥ आस्त्वऽदन may be the same as स्वऽदन (ध)
speaks of nine means of livelihood in a season of drought, viz. cart, plot of vegetables, cows, fishing, asyandana (main-
taining 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 friendli-
ness 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 brahmanas; booty in
war, taxes and fines in judicial trials in the case of ksatriyas;
agriculture, rearing cattle and sale of commodities in the case
of vaiṣyas. 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.
rta (i.e. subsisting on grains left in the fields), amṛta (what
comes without begging), mṛta (alms obtained by begging),
pramṛta (agriculture), satyāṁṛta (sale of commodities) and
forbids śvavṛtti (service, lit. living like a dog). Manu (IV. 9)
further says that some brahmanas 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 brahmanas in the pursuit of
wealth were many and varied, so much so that from very
ancient times the lists of brahmanas not eligible for invitation
at śrāddhas because they followed unworthy callings were very
formidable. Atri (Ānan. ed.) verses 373-383 names ten kinds of
brahmanas and briefly defines them, viz. deva-brahmana (who
Classification of brahmanas

Daily performs bath, samdhya, japa, homa, worship of gods and honouring of guests and vaisvadeva, munil-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 Śāṅkhya and Yoga), kṣatra-br. (who fights), vaisya-br. (who engages in agriculture, rearing cattle and trade), śūdra-br. (who sells lac, salt, dyes like kusumbha, milk, ghee, honey, meat), uṣāda-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 candāla-br. (who is a fool, devoid of prescribed rites, beyond the pale of all dharma and cruel).

Atri (384) rather humorously adds 'those who are devoid of Vedic lore, study the sāstras (like grammar, logic &c.), those devoid of sāstra 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 bhūgavatas (pose as great devotees of Śiva or Viṣṇu i.e. become what is called in modern Marathi 'buvā'). Devala quoted 289 by Aparārka (pp. 284-285) speaks of eight kinds of brāhmaṇas (of whom each succeeding one is superior to each preceding one) viz. mātra (one who is only born in a brāhmaṇa family but has not studied any part of the Veda nor performs the actions appropriate to brāhmaṇas), brāhmaṇa (who has studied a portion of the Veda), śrotiya (who has studied one vedic sākha with the six angas and performs the six duties of brāhmaṇas), anūcana (who knows the meaning of the Veda and the vedāṅgas, is of pure heart and has kindled the sacred fires), bhrūna (who besides being anūcana 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. वैदिकसाणद्वादश पानित साब्र दाश्रोणां हरिदासम पुराणपात्रा:। पुराणपात्रा: कविद्विन्यो
भवानि भ्रातस्तैभगवता भवति। अति 384।

290. These verses about the eight kinds of बाण्यां are quoted in the वामसनकार also (MS.). The वैदिकसारा तो ल. 1 also gives brief definitions of these eight kinds of बाण्यां 'संस्कृतायं बाण्यां बाण्याणायांतः
मात्र: पुनर्गति (पुन: मात्र: ।)। उपनिता: साब्रविवधपुरानाय बाण्यां। वेदमधोत्य शास्त्रसी
वाणियाणस्बस्तिः: पाकवेदज्ञ: ज्ञज्ञ: आचिच्छिः। स्वाभाविकार अविसर्वतिमेष्टेभिन्यन्यकृ
थान: सोमवेदज्ञ: कविः।। संस्कृता: तत्तत्वादि निम्नाम्यमाप्याविकलः। साहूहवाचवतपो
शोभायात्:। शारणपरायणो विनितोच्छविरिति
संस्कारविवेचाधूवायविद्विंशति विचारते।'
under control), rṣi (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.). Śatātapa\textsuperscript{291} 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 yajamānaṣ, 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 sūdras. For example, Baud.\textsuperscript{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 sūdras. Vas.\textsuperscript{293} Dh. S. (III. 1–2) says that brāhmaṇas who are not śrotṛiyas (learned in the Veda), who do not teach the veda or who do not kindle the sacred fires become reduced to the status of sūdras and quotes a Mānava sloka (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 sūdra together with his family.’ Manu (VIII. 102 = Baud. Dh. S. I.

\textsuperscript{291} अयाज्जानाग्निः पद सोका शाश्वे शातालपेषीवितु। आयो राजा भास्येश्वरः ज्ञितीयः कपिले। तुतियो बहुद्वयं: स्वच चतुर्यो ग्रामपालकः।। पञ्चमस्तु भूतस्त्रृयो ग्रामपालसमारय सरस्य च। अनामातुः तु यः पुरूण सत्तिष्ठयो सैन पश्चिमासन। नेपालस्य ह्रि: संघवो शदोस-माण्या स्वस्तो। \textsuperscript{292} अयतं प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रा. प्रातं \textsuperscript{293} सर्वं मातं संस्कृं देवन्यो वै व्यापसे। कामं तत्क भास्येको राजा शुच- कर्मवाभ्यो योजयेत।। \textsuperscript{294} को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. को. का
5. 95) asks the king to treat as südras brāhmaṇas who engage in rearing cattle, in the sale of commodities, who are artisans and actors, who are mere servants and money-lenders. Vide Manu X. 92 quoted above (p. 127). Parāśara (VIII. 24) says 294 that a brāhmaṇa who does not repeat the Gāyatrī mantra is more impure than even a südra and that brāhmaṇas who do not offer oblations to sacred fires, who are bereft of śāmīhyā adoration and who do not study the Veda are all südras 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 brahma-carins (vedic students) and ascetics (yatis), which will be dealt with at length later on. Begging was not allowed to others except under considerable restrictions. The king of Kekaya 296 is made to boast in the Mahābhārata (Śānti 77. 22) that no one who is not a brahma-carin begs in his kingdom. Gifts of food were to be made daily while performing the five mahāyajnas (this will be treated under vaiśvādeva). 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 such 297
begging. Vas. Dh. S. XII. 2-3 says that 'a man oppressed by hunger may beg for a little viz. a cultivated or uncultivated plot, a cow, a sheep or ewe, and at last gold, corn or cooked food; but a snātaka should not faint through hunger; this is the instruction'. Vide Manu X. 114 for practically the same words and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 3. 79-80. Baudh Dh. S. II. 1. 64 includes begging by one who has finished his course of studentship 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. Aṅgirās quoted in Gr. R. (p. 450) allows begging to the diseased, the indigent, to one who is torn away from his family and who is on a journey. Śaṅkha-Likhita as quoted in Gr.R. (p. 457) say 'when a man begs he should state the purpose (such as marriage, completion of sacrifice) of his begging; he should not beg of a woman or of those who are minors or unable to conduct their affairs, nor when the donor is not in a proper place or at a proper time. He should apply the alms to the purpose for which he begged. He should give that portion of the alms which remains unused to priests or any other excellent person'. Vas. Dh. S. (III. 4) and Parāśara 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 brāhmaṇins) 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. व्यावित्तम् प्रदेशस्य कुद्वेषायमप्रत्ययः च | अध्यात्मा मर्याज्यस्य मित्रायम्यां समीपः | अन्त्यां | in यूह. r. p. 450.

299. भिक्षुमनो या विनियत्तान्तर्चुवातः | ...... न वशी नामात्मयवविचारः | अध्यायां रत्निन्धनानादृ अन्त्यद्विप्रयात्म भिक्षे | यद्वाच निभात तम्भवात्म कुरूतां | शेष्यस्यविधामी निवेद्यवेदः | पो वातः तापुत्राश्मकेवभूतः | भवेनरोवित | in यूह. r. p. 457.

800. अतः नान्यायमानं यत्रं भैरवः विज्ञा | त ब्राह्म वृजपदेश्यां चोर्यमन्यम्यं | हि स: | पलित III. 4 and पराशार: I. 60.
Tai. Br. III. 7. 3 says 'One should sacrifice in the right hand of a brāhmana; the brāhmana 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-sāstra works. Most exaggerated and hyperbolical descriptions of the greatness of brāhmaṇas are sown broadcast over all the smṛtis and the purāṇas. It is not possible to set out even a small fraction of them. But a few passages may usefully be cited here by way of samples. The Viṣṇu Dh. S.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 'whatever wealth exists on this earth—all that belongs to the brāhmaṇa; the brāhmaṇa deserves everything on account of his superiority due to his descent (from the mouth of the Creator.).' Manu IX. 313-321 contain a hyperbolical eulogy of the power of brāhmaṇas, two of which may be set out 'who would prosper if he oppresses brāhmaṇas that, when angered, might create other worlds and other guardians of the worlds and that might deprive the deities of their position as deities' (315); 'a brāhmaṇa, whether learned or not, is a great deity' (verse 317). Manu XI. 84 is 'a brāhmaṇa by the very fact of his birth is an object of honour even to the deities.' Parāśara (VI. 52-53) holds 'whatever defects there may be in vrataś, 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.'302 The Mahābhārata indulges in very

301. वेषिः परोक्षेषिः प्रत्यक्षेषिः ब्राह्मणः। ब्राह्मणोऽपि वर्त्ते। ब्राह्मणाः प्यत्र-वेषिः किंतु निदंतं किवता। ब्राह्मणाभिभिः यथर्य स निद्धय जायते कश्चित। विष्णुपरमेयः 19. 20-22. With the first sutra 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 śudra 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. ब्रतस्वप्तस्वप्तमेव विकृतमेव विकृतमेव। वचनं ब्राह्मणं सर्व भवति निदंत्वमेव ब्राह्मणेष्वप्तप-विकृतः। विकृतमेव वचनं सर्व भवति निदंत्वमेव ब्राह्मणेष्वप्तस्वप्तमेव। पराशरः VI. 52-53. शास्त्रात्म (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.’ Sānti (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. अतिरिक्तः संप्रेषः राजा तिमो भवति कोयित: स युधः संघुतानां ब्राह्मणः परिकृति:। आदिपर्व 28. 3-4; vide आदिः 81. 23 and 25 and सत्संगपुराण 30. 23 and 25 for a similar idea.

³⁰⁵. ब्राह्मणो रिः परं तेजः ब्राह्मणो रिः परं तपः। ब्राह्मणानां नमस्कारः चयर्थः इति विराज्जे। वनपर्व 303. 16.

³⁰⁶. अध्यात्मिकः कुरूपेऽऽवतः चाचाचाचावतः। यस्मिच्छेऽः स राजा स्थापो नेत्रोः स पराभवेत। अद्वैतसंगपर्व 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 brähmāna 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 brähmanas. 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 so even now) to the skies. Manu (VII. 4-11) propounds the theory that the king has in him the parts of such gods as Indra and that a king is a great deity in human form. The theory of varṇas as conceived by Manu and other smṛti-kāraṇas 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 brähmāna 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 brähmanas for their greed, selfishness and constant praises of gifts to themselves. But they forget to take account of the circumstances under which the brähmanas were forced to sing the praises of gifts to them. The ideal before brähmanas 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 वेदों वेद नरस्मृति निधि ॥ मनु VII. 8.
H. D. 18
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 brāhmaṇas never arrogated to themselves the
authority to depose kings and to hand over vast territories for
ever to whomsoever they liked, as Pope Alexander VI by his
Bull of 1493 made over the New World to Isabella of Castille
and Ferdinand of Aragon (vide Dean Inge’s ‘Christian Ethics’
1930 p. 160 where this astounding Bull is set out).

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

(1) The brāhmaṇa was to be guru (object of reverence) to all 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 varṇas is distinguished by its origin and by the special features of the sacraments (each of them undergoes)’ and quotes Rg. X. 90. 12 in support. Manu (I. 31 and 94) says that the Creator produced the four varṇas respectively from his mouth, arms, thighs and feet, that (I. 93) the brāhmaṇa is by right the master of this whole world on account of his birth from the best limb (i.e. the mouth) of the Creator, on account of his priority (in birth to the kṣatriya and others) and on account of possessing Vedic lore. Manu (X.3) uses almost the same words as Vasistha ‘the brāhmaṇa is the master of the varṇas on account of the peculiar excellence

308. चतुरो वर्णानि ब्राह्मणसत्विवैविद्यमानाः । तेष्यं पूर्वं पूर्वं ज्ञातं अविद्य अपि
पं सु। I. 1. 1. 5; महत्तिविवेदेऽत् चावतुर्वर्णः संस्कृतिविवेदेऽत् ब्राह्मणाः सबौतवातिदार्याः
राजस्यतः इत्यथा नाभिदीर्येऽभवति । वसिष्ठ 1V. 1-2; जातीनाम ब्राह्मणः अविद्य ।
भूमि 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 (sāṃskāras) 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 Apanṭamba (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 ksatriya 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 Kāṭhakasūṁhitā (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 ksatriyas is under the control (or direction) of brāhmaṇas that kingdom becomes prosperous, that kingdom is full of heroes &c. This idea is somewhat similar to the teaching of Plato who held that philosophers that had undergone a special training were to rule and were to be politicians, that the government of the best (aristocracy) was the ideal system. The problem is how to find out the best. Ancient India solved it by leaving the decision of knotty points to the learned brāhmaṇas and the execution of the decisions arrived at by them to the king and the ksatriyas.

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

309. वृद्धयत्र ब्राह्मणः वृद्धयत्र श्रव्यान: ।

310. ब्राह्मणो ये मनःवद्युद्वया ।

311. तथेत वे ब्राह्मणः कचं अवस्थे तस्याद्रि समुद्रे तरिकववाहास्वस्तीरि जाते।

312. राजा सर्वसेवे ब्राह्मणवृद्धः

313. स्त्रीवद्यानां ब्राह्मणानां राजा।

[References to ancient Indian texts are recorded at the end of the passage.]
‘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 ksatriyas were to drink only a substitute for Soma). Vide Ait. Br. (chap. 35 khaṇḍa 4). In the Mahābhārata, however, many kings are described as Somapās. So the practice of not allowing the ksatriyas to drink soma was not universally accepted. Further it was probably not a privilege at all, but only indicates that Soma sacrifices had been mostly neglected by all except brāhmaṇas.

(4) ‘The king should exonerate (the brāhmaṇa) in the six matters, viz. (a brāhmaṇa) should not be beaten (whipped), he should not have fetters put on him, he should not be mulcted in fines of money, he should not be driven out (of the village or country), he should not be censured, he should not be abandoned’—Gaut. VIII.12-13. The Mit. on 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 (= Matsayapurāṇa 227. 163-164), Viṣṇu Dh. S. V. 4-7 prescribe the

314. यथा पद्धतिः परिहाराः इति साधवर्तमानसंबन्धाशु व्रतस्वरूपस्वतं साधनिकारित्वादापि—परिहारश्चेति (मो. 8. 12-13) तद्विषमस एव वादेश्वरो भवति—विचित्रस्वरूपस्वतं विचित्रस्वरूपिः (मोतम 8. 4-11) सत्त्वातिथित्वुपालित्वं न भाष्यामानविचित्रम्। परिहारश्चेति on बट. II. 4; न शास्त्रीयो भाष्याभ्युध्यं। मोतम 12. 42; अद्वितीयो वो भाष्यम्: समपराचेतु | भाष्यामान भाष्याभ्युध्यमणामसल्लस्यसर्गापापेऽ मूलस्वरूपस्वतं स्मार्यावासम गदारुस्वरूपेऽविचित्रपरिवर्धनम्। मो. ध. न. 1. 10. 18-19; the verse in the सुकुमारकिक (IX) ‘अर्थं हि पालकं विरोधं न च कथा पन्तवपवति। राज्यवस्तुं निर्वाच्यं विभवविशेषते। सह’” pointedly refers to मो. 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 Yaj. 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). Yaj. (II. 270), Nārada (sāhasa, verse 10) and Śāṅkha₃¹₅ prescribe branding and banishment as punishment for brāhmaṇas (particularly in the case of theft). The brāhmaṇa was never above being fined. Manu (VIII. 123) prescribes fine and banishment for a perjured brāhmaṇa witness, while Manu VIII. 378 prescribes heavy fines for a brāhmaṇa guilty of rape or adultery. The Mit. on Yaj. II. 302 quotes a verse of Manu (not found in the extant Manusūrti) 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). Kaut. also (IV. 8) forbids corporal punishment for brāhmaṇas in all offences but prescribes branding on the forehead in the same way as Manu (IX. 237) and also banishment and labour on mines. But Kaut. 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 Yaj. II. 281) prescribes death sentence even for a brāhmaṇa when the latter is guilty of the destruction of a foetus, of theft, of

₃₁₅. चरणां चरणां धनायुप,त्वथावथकिया निवासनाहकरणं बाह्रमारसं। शास्त्रं
quoted by the निर्देशान् on यज. II. 270.

₃₁₆. ब्राह्मणस्य पुनः 'न सारीरं ब्राह्मणं बुपः' इति निवेदयाद्वयानं शिरोपद्यावनित्वं
कर्तं पंद्रं। ब्राह्मणस्य वधे शैवक्षु पुनार्जिवायासनातुः। ततादे चामिस्थाताः। धर्माणं वर्धेन
इति। अवमस्माताः। मित्रां संघो यज. II. 302; the latter half is नासवं (साहस 10),
the first half being जितसी तुढ़क दशस्य निविषयं पुनः।

₃₁₇. सत्यपरायणविधिनयो ब्राह्मणं। तस्यविभावान्तः। ततादे ब्राह्मणविभावान्तः।
सद्य तथा। तस्य सा ज्ञानं। ब्राह्मणं सापक्षमणिकुपविभावान्तः। कु पार्श्वविश्वये
राजा पास्येदेवश्रोते। यदभिव्रः। कठ्ठिन्यं अर्थाशाखा IV. 8

₃₁₈. लघु च काव्यारा;। राज्ञाय पतने संतो ब्राह्मणं शस्यपातने। अवज्ञा चोबिष्ये
इत्य इन्द्रयो ब्राह्मणयो वह।। काभ। quoted by धिम्बस्य on यज. II. 281.
striking a brahmana woman with a weapon and of killing an innocent woman. The Mit. on Yaj. III. 257 thinks it possible that kings sentenced brahmanas to death in spite of the prohibition of corporal punishment and we have a classical illustration in the death sentence passed on the brahmana Carudatta by king Pālaka in the Mṛcchakatika (IX). The foregoing discussion shows that the only special privilege claimed for the brahmana 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 brahmanas of over two thousand years ago did not claim. For example, under Sec. 443 of the Criminal Procedure Code of India (as it existed before 1923) they could not be tried by any Indian Magistrate (however senior and experienced) and that in serious cases like murder, even a Sessions Judge who was himself an European British

subject could not sentence an European British subject to more than one year's imprisonment (Section 449). Any European or American could claim to be tried by a mixed jury of which not less than one half had to be Europeans or Americans, while an Indian offender could not claim the privilege in his own country that not less than one half of the jury that tried him must be Indians. In England even now a peer indicted for treason or felony must be tried by his peers and not by the tribunals that try ordinary men (vide Halsbury's Laws of England, 2nd Ed. vol. 25 p. 46). The brāhmaṇas had to submit to trial in the ordinary courts and the smṛtis do not generally provide for trial of brāhmaṇas in special ecclesiastical courts of their own class. The only approach to this western doctrine of benefit of clergy is to be found in the Āp. Dh. S.,220 where it is said that the teacher and others who have authority over a brāhmaṇa guilty of transgressions should prescribe pṛayaścittas for him: if he does not abide by their orders, he should be taken to the king who should hand him over to his own purohita; the latter was to prescribe pṛayaścittas (penances for atonement) for brāhmaṇa offenders. If the latter did not carry out the penances then he was to break them by disciplines according to their ability except that he (the purohita) was not to prescribe corporal punishment and slavery for brāhmaṇa offenders.

(5) Most smṛtis lay down that a srotriya (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.221 Āp. Dh. S.222 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 sāstra should take the sixth part of all wealth except from brāhmaṇas"; the Viṣṇu Dh. S. III. 26 says 'a king should

320. तर्स चैव चार्यान्तिपिपार्थ राजाः गमयेत्। राजा पूरोहितं धर्मार्थेवकतर्यस्। स ब्राह्मणालेखिक्यात्। बलांविशेषोप्य वर्धात्स्यवर्जी नियमोपपिपलयेत्। & आप. प. छ. II. 5. 10 14-18.

321. अध्यात्मिकेन्द्रियानामः। मधयं माति राजस्य पवृण्यवृहस्यव्र ब्राह्मणस्य च विस्तात्। जतायप X11. 6. 2. 18.

322. अकर् अन्त्यितः। आप. प. छ. II. 10 26. 10; राजा हु धर्मार्थालेक्यात् पवें धनस्य हरेः। अपवय ब्राह्मणस्य। बलिदiping I. 42–43; ब्राह्मणेष्यः करादानं न कुरितः। तेहि राजीधमकर्षः। विषयपरमेश्वर III. 26-27.
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not recover taxes from brāhmaṇas'. Kauṭ. (II. 1) requires the king to make gifts of brahmadeya lands to śrūvikas (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. (I. 44-46) explains ' (freedom from taxation is there) because he (the king) secures the sixth part of the īṣṭāpūrta (the merit due to sacrifices and performing charitable works of public utility) and it is declared (in a Brāhmaṇa text) that the brāhmaṇa enriches the Veda, he relieves (others) from calamities and therefore the brāhmaṇa is not a source of subsistence (i.e. should not be taxed by the king) since Soma is his king; and it is further declared that bliss awaits after death (the king who does not tax brāhmaṇas). ' The Viṣṇu Dh. S. III. 27 says ' they render unto him the tax of religious merit '. Manu VII. 136 says ' by the religious merit which the 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 Kālidāsa 225 ' 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.) 226 exempts from taxation the king's servants, helpless

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223. कथितासपाष्य-परोहिष्ठ-आभितिर्यो ब्रह्मदेवयन्त्रज्ञकरणप्रभाविन्यमन्दापकान्ति प्रय- प्रेष्ठत। कौत्तिक II. 1.
224. इत्यपूर्वश्च तु रहस्यं भज्जवतीत ह। ब्राह्मणे वेदमार्करोति ब्राह्मणाद्यापयुद्दन्ति सत्त्वं ब्राह्मणं नात्र। सामेः स्त्राः भज्जवतीत ह। प्रश्व बागृष्टविकिरतिः ह विज्ञाप्ते। वसिद्ध I. 44-46; compare the passage from the Śatapatha quoted above in note 313.
225. पदुत्सिद्धिः शर्मयं दुर्पाण्यं शर्मं तस्मिदं। तपः ब्रम्हमक्षणं दुर्पाण्यकाः वि न्त:॥ वाकृसम 11. 13
226. आकारः आभित्ति राजयुगानायपकान्तिकालुक्तः। वसिद्ध 19. 23.
persons, ascetics, minors, senile men (above 70), young men, and women who are recently delivered. Manu VIII. 394 contains a similar provision. Brhat-Parāśara\(^{327}\) (chap. III, Jiv. part II p. 113) says 'a brāhmaṇa engaged in agriculture had to pay nothing to anybody'. It is extremely doubtful whether in actual practice kings respected all these rules. Note 275 shows that a brāhmaṇa engaging in agriculture had to pay \(\frac{1}{7}\)th of the produce just as others did. An inscription of Vikramāditya V. found near Gadag dated saka 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 śrotiyas and who do not kindle the sacred fires render taxes and forced labour (verse 5). Then certain brāhmaṇas are described as kṣatrasama and vaiśyasama. A king whose treasury is empty should levy taxes from all brāhmaṇas except those that are described as 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 कः विं कर्मचारिणीच्छया धराम। न विनित्तकर्म चित्तालस सर्वस्य \nमहुर्त्येऽ॥ \n\(328\). विचालकवर्णसंपर्कः सर्वत्र समस्तविनं। एते ब्राह्मसमा राजस्व ब्राह्मणः परित्रहीतविनं। \n\(\text{H. D. 19}\)
enumerate the other exactions of the same kind—the Tithes, Annates, Procurations, Subsidies and Dispensations.\footnote{229}

(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 (āsvāmivikraya 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 śrotriyas or brāhmaṇas. Vide Gautama\footnote{230} 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, Śaṁkha.\footnote{231}

(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 snataka, to the king; but a king was to give precedence to a śrotriya—Gaut. VI. 21-22. Ṛṣ. adds that one carrying\footnote{328} a burden should be given precedence and all who desire their own welfare should

\footnote{229} Vide Dean Inge in ‘Christian Ethics’ chap. IV pp. 160-161 for the enormous greed of the Romish Church.

\footnote{230} The word ‘गौतम’ is a synonym for ‘सूर्य’ in Sanskrit.

\footnote{231} Vide Gautama VI. 21-22; Ṛṣ. pṛthivya, Viṣṇu Dh. S. II. 11. 5. 5-6. This is almost the same as \footnote{232} the latter half of Vana-parva 133. 1 is the same as Ṛṣ. Dh. S. II. 11. 5-6. Vide \footnote{233} the text quoted by the ftn. on p. I. 117.
give precedence to fools, *patita*, the intoxicated and lunatics
and a person of a lower *varna* should give precedence to one of
a higher *varna*. The *Mahābhārata* ( *Vanaprava* 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
kārśāpanas 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 *brahmahatya* (killing a
brāhmaṇa) was looked upon as the greatest sin. The *Tai. S.*222
( *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 *brahmahatya* by killing Viśvarūpa and how all beings ran
him down as 'brāhmaṇa'. In the *Sat. Br.* XIII. 3. 1. 1 we
read ( *S. B. E.* vol. 44 p. 328) 'thereby the gods redeem all sin,
yea, even the slaying of a brāhmaṇa they thereby redeem' and
'whosoever kills a human brāhmaṇa here he forsooth is deemed
guilty, how much more so who strikes him (Soma), for Soma is
god' ( *S. B. E.* vol. 26 p. 243). The *Chāndogya Up.* V. 10.9 quotes

333. अगि चैतन ब्रह्महत्यामर्न तर्ति तरति ब्रह्महत्यां पोषामिैै
चरते हे स. *V.* 3. 12. 1-2. The words सर्वं ...... चरते are quoted by Gaut.
19. 9. and *Vas.* 22. 6.
a verse declaring brähmana murder as one of the five mortal sins (mahāpātakas). Gaut. (21. 1) places the murderer of a brähmana at the head of his list of patitas (persons guilty of mortal sins). Vas. Dh. S. (I. 20) uses the word bhrūnahatya. Manu XI. 54, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 35. 1, Yāj. III. 227 enumerate five mahāpātakas of which brähmana-murder is one. Manu VIII. 381 declares that there is no worse sin in the world than brähmana-murder.

A question that very much exercised the minds of all smṛtikārās and writers of digests was whether a brähmana 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 hīṃsā (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 (prāyaścītta) that will wipe off the sin of intentionally killing a brähmana. But Manu himself (VIII. 350–351 = Viṣṇu Dh. S. V. 189–190 = Matsyapurāṇa 227. 115–117 = Vṛddha-Ḥarīta IX. 349–350) says 'one may surely kill without hesitation a man who comes down upon one as an atatāyin (a desperate character or violent man), whether he be a teacher, a child or an old man or a learned brähmana. In killing an atatāyin, 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 atatāyin 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 atatāyin. 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 sākha 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 brāhmahā, while Vas. Dh. S. 20. 23 gives two meanings to it.


336. 'Atatāyin' literally means 'one who goes with his bow strung (i. e. ready to kill or fight). Siva is called atatāyin in Yāj. S. 16. 18 and Kṣṭhaka-samhitā 17. 12.
an ātātāyin comɛs (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 ātātāyin,
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 ātātāyin 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 ātātāyin 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 Mit. (on Yaj. II. 21)
and by Aparārka (p. 1043) "says 'there is no sin in killing
an ātātāyin except a cow or a brāhmaṇa'.339 This implies that
a brāhmaṇa even if an ātātāyin 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 ātātāyin; Bhrigu allows killing when the
offender is of a lower caste than that of brāhmaṇa'. Brhaspati341
also says that he who would not kill a brāhmaṇa ātātāyin

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. मशय शर्मायान्तलमृप वेदायत्र रः ।
जियासंतजज्ञासीयाज तेन भवद्र नभेशु ॥
शास्तिः 34. 17.
339. नातातियिष्ठे दोपोप्यय प्रेमाभाज्यात् ।
हमन्तु मितार. on या. II. 21.
340. आतातियिष्ठि चोलकुटिः तत:-साध्यायात्माः ।
पत्सत्र तृ नेव स्वासाये हीने
वधुतः ॥ कात्यायनेन स्मृतिः (स्मृतहार p. 315)
341. आतातियिन्धकादै इतसाभायारस्य: ॥
ये न हम्पाधिभार्य सोऽक्षे नमहः
हमेव । हुहस्ति quoted in स्मृतिः (ष्ठ. 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 Yaj. III. 222) remarks that he is guilty of brāhmaṇa-murder who kills a brāhmaṇa except in battle or except when the latter is an ātātāyin, or who kills a brāhmaṇa (not an ātātāyin nor fighting) on his own account without being employed by another or who brings about the death of such a brāhmaṇa by hiring another to perpetrate the murder for money. He further adds that the man who kills a brāhmaṇa at the instigation of another for money is not guilty of the sin of brāhmaṇa-murder, but it is the instigator who is so guilty on the analogy of the rule that the merit or fruit of a sacrifice belongs to him on whose behalf the ṛtviks perform it. The Mit.\(^{342}\) on Yaj. (II. 21) says that the real purport of Manu VIII. 350–351 is not to ordain that a brāhmaṇa must be killed if he is an ātātāyin, but those two verses are only an arthavāda (laudatory or recommendatory dicta), the real meaning being that even a guru and a brāhmaṇa who are most highly honoured and who are not fit to be killed at all, may have to be killed if ātātāyins (then what of others?). The final conclusion of the Mit. is that if a brāhmaṇa who is an ātātāyin is being opposed in self-defence without any desire to kill him and if he dies through mistake or inattention, then the killer incurs no punishment at the hand of the king and has to undergo a slight práyaścitta i.e. there is really a prohibition to kill an ātātāyin brāhmaṇa and verses like Manu VIII. 351 refer to an ātātāyin who is not a brāhmaṇa. Medhātithī appears to have held the same view (on Manu VIII. 350–351). Kullūka explains Manu VIII. 350 as meaning that 'a guru or a brāhmaṇa or others coming as ātātāyins may be killed when it is impossible to save oneself even by fleeing from them'. Aparārka is of opinion\(^{344}\)

\(^{342}\) आतातायिसमायस्यस्तिरितरेके यो ब्राह्मणमन्येनायमुकः स्वतन्त्रेयेः हर्षादः, अन्यं वा देशयुजाविना चायसुकृत्य वातपतिः स प्रेतेष्यः।।।।।।।।।।}
\(^{343}\) नातातायिचेय त्रेयो हनुम्भवति कर्मनेवतेतदिर ब्राह्मणादिस्यस्यस्यस्यसनिघिष्मेव।
\(^{344}\) तत्रयोपिनिवढ़य क व व वधास्तं न संभवति सन्धै तः धावातृकः। तत्र हु इश्वरावित्यस्माट्येकः सहस्यो निपायिन्तुं तत्र हु ततो वृषभमित्वमेव। अपरार्कः
that where an ātātāyin brāhmaṇa cannot be prevented from his wicked intent except by killing him, there only the śāstras allow the killing of a brāhmaṇa but where it is possible to ward him off by a mere blow (i.e. without actually killing him) there would be the sin of brāhmaṇa-murder if he were actually killed. The Sm.C. in a long note appears to hold that an ātātāyin brāhmaṇa rushing upon a man to kill him may be killed by the person attacked (there is no sin and no punishment nor penance for it), that a brāhmaṇa ātātāyin (who does not come to kill but) who only siezes one’s fields or wife should not be killed (but lesser harm may be done to him with impunity) and that kṣatriyas and others if ātātāyin may be killed outright. The Vyavahāra-Mayūkha 245 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 ātātāyin’ (is forbidden in Kali), an ātātāyin brāhmaṇa even when about to kill a person should not be killed by that person in the Kali age, that such a brāhmaṇa was allowed to be killed in former ages, that an ātātāyin brāhmaṇa other than one bent upon killing another was not be killed in all ages. The Vīrāmitrodaya (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. 246 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 (er find) the abode of pītris 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 ‘आत्तातित्तित्रिज्ञानयां धर्मोऽद्भृते दिन्तनम्’ इति कतो वर्गोयतस्य अततातित्तित्रितो निविनृतः हननं निविनृतम्। व्यवहारमूलक p. 242; for कालिवर्ज्य texts vide Appendix.

346. शोच्यथाते श्लेष्म वात्यायो निहत्यु सह्येर्वात्यायो तीव्रतः कर्कस्यार्थः प्रकाश पांढुसंख्येर्वर्तात् सत्त्वत: संस्त्यस्तात् पुत्तगोर्यो न प्रजानाश्रितिः। सत्त्वात् भाग्यायां नापुष्टेत न निविन्तने निविन्त कुपायत्। तेन से. II. 6. 10. 1–2.
similar dictum, viz. that threatening a brāhmaṇa with assault in wrath prevents entry into heaven for a hundred years (or leads to hell for a hundred years) &c. Jaimini III. 4. 17 considers the question whether the passage in the Tai. S. is kvatvartha or purusārtha.

(11) For certain offences a brāhmaṇa received lesser punishment than members of other classes. For example, Gaut. says if a kṣatriya reviled a brāhmaṇa the fine was one hundred (kārsāpanas), 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 Narada (vākparusya verses 15-16), Yāj. II. 206-207. But in the case of certain crimes the brāhmaṇa was to receive heavier punishment. For example, in the case of theft, if a śūdra thief was fined 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. (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. Narada (ṛṇādāna verse 153) lays down that śrotiyas, 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 Narada's view was that a śrotiya could never be cited as a witness by any litigant (even by a brāhmaṇa litigant). Gaut. impliedly shows that even a śrotiya could be cited as a witness by a brāhmaṇa. Manu VIII. 65, Viṣṇu Dh. S. VIII. 2 also forbid citing a śrotiya as a witness.

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347. अनिवक्तक्ष्योगर्थेऽवार्त्यत्वाद्ववृिस्यामवलवध्यते | निवधते सहस्रं | तीव्रितवर्त्तने नात्रतस्तरिकां पार्णं संप्रसत्िियात। गोिम 22. 20-22.

348. इति श्रवणीयः बाल्याद्वांकोवेः अघर्ष वैश्यः। बाल्याणश्च श्रवणीयः प्रीताय। सत्येऽपि पृष्ठीये | यो दुर्दैव बिचित्रत। गोिम 21. 6-10.

349. अदापापे क्षतवदिशिच्य दृष्ट्रय। विश्वायोर्नायतितथा मायिधिर्यु | विश्वायोर्नायतितथा मायिधिर्यु। गोिम 21. 12-14

350. बाल्याणश्च बाल्याणश्च प्रचायवच्चरोऽति प्रस्तुतिषिकृतं | गौ। XIII. 4.

351. अदापापार्थं दृष्ट्रयः च मक्षानं न्यायः। असाध्यवस स्च महाभाष्य भेदत्रृटः || नात्रः (एकाणास्य 158).
(13) Only certain brahmanas 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 brahmanas. For example, the Sautrāmaṇi sacrifice and the sacrifices called sattras could be performed only by brahmanas. But it has to be noted that the Rājasūya sacrifice could performed only by kṣatriyas and that according to Jaimini VI. 6. 24–26 even brahmanas of Bhṛgu, Śunaka and Vasiṣṭha gotras could not perform a sattrā.

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

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

352. सत्राणि ब्राह्मणानां सूत्रिदेशेऽसे || कार्यः ओऽ. I. 6. 13 ; so also Jaimini VI. 6. 16–23 for सत्र and VI. 6. 24–26 for the proposition that ब्राह्मणां of भु, चुनक and वासिद्र gotras were not entitled to perform सत्र.

353. सचिन्तने प्रमोद करणां सूत्रं सूचके तथा || वृश्चाहिष्ठिनिधिशिक्षितः झातापरो-वृजितं || अक्षिः सु मितार् || ओऽ. III. 22.

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

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

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

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

(1) He was not allowed to study the Veda. Many of the smṛtkāras and writers of digests quote several Vedic passages on this point. A śruti text reads '(The Creator) created the brāhmaṇa with Gayatrī (metre), the rājanya with Tristubh, the vaiśya with Jagati, but he did not create the śūdra with any metre; therefore the śūdra is known to be unfit for the sanskāra (of upanayana)'. The study of the Veda follows after Upanayana and the Veda speaks of the Upanayana of only three classes '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). This attitude need not cause wonder. The sacred Vedic literature was largely created and preserved entirely by the brāhmaṇas (the ksatriyas 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. गायत्री ब्राह्मणमूर्त्तिं विनिभ्यं जगन्यं जग्यं वैहद्यं न कैमचिन्ह्यवसम हृद्यिनृत्यस्रस्वमार्गं विमानवते। वसिच्व IV.3, quoted by अपराधक p. 23 who quotes वस 'न कैमविसम्बरुच्चिरुस्वतं मण्डलाते।'

357. वसवे ब्राह्मणस्मृतिः क्रीयामेव राजपक्ष राजियैद्विपिनितिः। This is the basis of Jaimini VI. 1. 33 and is relied on by Sabara. Vide Ap. Dh. S. I. 1.1.6.

358. अप्पि यम्बीवासुप्रसारात्मविया। इस्माहनमेतत्वकं राज्यविग्रहितिः। तलप्रयोगसारमे न नाप्येतयं क्षमानं। वसिच्व 18. 13. Vide गृह S. S. 16. 18-19, आप. घु. 1. 3. 9. 9 (समायनविचलितेः), गृह. I. 148, आविष्टं 64. 20.
There are however faint traces that in ancient times this prohibition of Veda study was not so absolute and universal as the smrtis make it. In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad IV. 1–2, we have the story of Jānaśruti Pautrayana and Raikva where the latter addresses Jānaśruti as śūdra and imparts to him the Saṁvarga (absorption) vidyā. It appears that Jānaśruti was a śūdra to whom the vidyā embodied in the Chāndogya (which is also Veda) was imparted. It is no doubt true that in the Vedāntasūtra (I. 3. 34) the word śūdra is explained not as referring to the class, but as meaning that sorrow (suc) arose in Jānaśruti on hearing the contemptuous talk of the flamingoes about himself and he was overcome (from dru) by that (i.e. śūdra is derived from suc and dru). But this far-fetched explanation had to be given because of the practice current in the times of the 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'.

Though the śūdra could not study the Veda, he was not debarring from hearing the itihāsas (like the Mahābhārata) and the Purāṇas. The Mahābhārata (Śānti 328. 49) expressly says that the four varnash should hear the Mahābhārata through a brāhmaṇa as reader. The Bhāgavatapurāṇa 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 Śūdrakamalakara (pp. 13-14) cites several passages from the purāṇas.
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to the effect that the śudra could not study the śṛṅis and pūrṇas by himself. Even Manu II. 16 seems to suggest that only the dvijātīs had the privilege to listen to the Manusmṛti (and not śudras). The only privilege conceded by the Śūdrakamalākāra to the śudra is that he can acquire knowledge by listening to the pūrṇas read by a brāhmaṇa (p. 17); the Kalpataur and other works allowed the śudra to read and repeat Pūrṇa mantras. Śaṅkaraśāra on Vedāntasūtra (I. 3. 38) quotes Śānti 328. 49 and says that the śudra has no adhikāra (eligibility) for brāhmavidyā based upon a study of the Veda, but that a śudra can attain spiritual development (just as Vidura and Dharmavāḍha mentioned in the Mahābhārata did) and that he may attain to mokṣa, the fruit of correct knowledge. In certain digests we find a śṛṃti quotation to the effect that śudras are Vājasaneyins. This is explained as meaning that the śudra should follow the procedure prescribed in the grhyasūtra of the Vājasaneyya Śākha and a brāhmaṇa should repeat the mantra for him. This is probably based on the Harivarṣa (Bhavisyat-parva, chap. III. 13) "all will expound brahma; all will be Vājasaneyins; when the yuga comes to a close śudras will make use of the word ‘bhūḥ’ in address" (sarve brahma vadiṣyanti sarve Vājasaneyinaḥ).

2. The śudras 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 śudra 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 sūmanas to be sung, about the food to be taken when observing vrata, etc. It is however interesting to note that at least one ancient teacher (Badari) was found who advocated that

365. तेन बाङ्गणेन तत्र मन्त्र: पटनीय हिति तांतर्यं।। तथ यदुवैशविको मन्त्रः।। तथा सुधित: आर्यक्मण सर्वं द्वृत्त वाजसनेनिनः।। अर्थामध्यस्य सर्वं कर्म यदुवैशविकः कार्येण॥ आर्यक्मणं द्वृत्त ज्ञातत्त्वं यदुवैशविकं सिद्धमिल्लादायिना।। युध्यसर्ववसः (प. 634)। The वर्षकिचित्तोधिनि (प. 575) quotes the words द्वृत्त वाजसनेनिनः as from कुम- पुराण; while द्वृत्तम्।। युध्यसर्ववसः।। युध्यसर्ववसः।।

366. यत्वेन्ति बाङ्गणोपदेशायर्थिति ग्रीयसे राजस्यः।। नानाधिक पैदा:।। एवं भर्ति बाङ्गणेण यत्वेन् राजस्यन्त असिक्षा पैदायः।। These are the Vedic texts relied upon by Jaimini (I. 3. 25–38) and Sabara.

367. भिषमाधिपति वाङ्कितिस्वास्तस्वाभिकारं स्पष्टः।। वै I. 3. 27.
even śudras could perform Vedic sacrifices. The Bhāratavāja Śrauta sūtra\textsuperscript{368} (V. 2. 8) states the opinion of some that the śudra 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 the\textsuperscript{369} Veda, who are impotent and śudras; but the commentary thereon states by way of pūrva-paksa that there are certain Vedic texts which lead to the inference that the Śudra had the adhikāra for Vedic rites e. g. in Sat. Br. I. 1. 4. 12 (S. B. E., vol. XII. p. 28) it is said with reference to the Hāvīśkṛt 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' (ādṛava) in the case of a vaiśya and a member of the military caste and 'run hither' (ādāhāva) in that of a śūdra." Similarly in the Somayāga in place of the payovrata (vow to drink milk only) māstu (whey) is prescribed for śūdra (indicating thereby that the śudra could perform Somayāga) and in Sat. 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 śūdra up to the knee'. The commentary on the Kātyāyana Śrauta I. 1. 6 says that the word śūdra here stands for rathakāra because (acc. to Yāj, I. 91) his mother's mother is a śūdra woman.

Though the śūdra was not authorized to perform Vedic rites, he was entitled to perform what is called pūrta-dharma\textsuperscript{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 Mahāyajnās

\textsuperscript{368} विदते सत्तस्वर्य चणक्यसरस्यापेशविप्रेयेकों न विदत सत्तस्वर्य । भारताजश्रोत्सव V. 2. 8. (Journal of Vedic studies, Lahore, vol I for Sep. 1934).

\textsuperscript{369} अवधीनारोपोनिषत्तृद्वद्विजाशु । कार्यार्थ्या चौ. I. 4. 5; com. आपारेति यूनवस्य मस्तु युनवस्यातिसे योग्यतस्यातने। आद्वद्वस्य युनवस्यातिसे पिनुमेषे।. The first is śatapatha I. 1. 4. 12 and the last is śatapatha XIII. 8. 3. 11.

\textsuperscript{370} ह्यापृथ्वी द्रव्यानां सामाजी यथा यथा सहनो । अभिकारां भवेच्छस्य: पूज्यमय्यः न वैति कोः अत्र वर्षे 40; तद्दशी वर्षे 6; अपराक प. 24 'वापत्रः प्रस्तावोऽद्भवार्येत । आपारेति यथा प्रशुद्धायः प्रवज्जनिष्ठ्येते।\ यथा यथा यथा यथा यथा यथा यथा यथा यथा. The first verse is quoted from the mahābhārat and the second from jātakapuruśa.
in the ordinary fire, he could perform śrāddha, he was to think of the devatās and utter loudly the word 'namah' which was to be the only mantra in his case (i.e., he was not to say 'Agnaye svāhā' but to think of Agni and say "namah"). Manu X. 127 prescribes that all religious rites for the śudra are without (Vedic) mantras. According to some the śudra 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 Medhātithi (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 śudra. All persons including the śudras and even cāndālas were authorized to repeat the Rāmamantra of 13 letters (Śrī Rāma jaya Rāma jaya jaya Rāma) and the Śiva mantra of five letters (namah Śivāya), while dvijāts could repeat the Śiva mantra of six letters (Om namah Śivā). Manu X. 127 says 'The śudra incurs no sin (by eating forbidden articles like onions and garlic), he is not fit for sāṃskāras, 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 śudra, nor give him leavings of food nor of sacrificial oblations, one

371. अवाहितक्रमल नमक्षरे मन्त्रः॥ पाकये: सर्वं यज्ञेयस्ये । ॥ नी. 10. 66-67 ; पवययनिधानं तु शुद्धमयादि विदिधयते । तय सन्तो नमक्षरे: च।स्विर्तं न हीयते ॥ पवययनिधु
V. 9; दुर्ल च दुर्लक्ष्मोपि पाकयेर्ज्ञेति चु। विदिधयते च च सर्वं शुद्ध: क्षिरित तेन वै।।विदिधयनिधु
III. 8. 33.; सवात्तारावदकार्यमन्त्र: च।इहे न वियते । तत्सन्तादि: पाकः
पवययनिधुसवात्तारावदकार्यभवेदमयययाति ॥ दालितविधु 60. 37-38; या. I. 121 'भा:प्रयाति: च।स्विर्तं
भावायुक्तमां मात्रक्रियात्ति:। नस्तकारणमन्त्रेण पंच यज्ञां हारयेपदति'॥ on which the sūtra gives the view of some that the namakṣara mantra is 'वेषताम्यः विशुद्ध
स्वात्ताराविषयं एव च। नात: सवात्तारायस्तम्य:मन्त्रेयमन्त्रः नम्न करोऽवातः।।' पेशवा. (on मुख III. 121
सवात्तारायस्तम्य:मन्त्रेयमन्त्रः पवययनिधुसवात्तारावदकार्यमयययातिते) remarks यथा च।हु-chain
नमक्षरसुप्रावदकार्याः अवाहिताः अवाहिताः॥ मन्त्रमय (पी. X. 66) मय मंत्रकारण: मन्त्रायुक्तमां: शुद्धस्य
मन्त्रमय मंत्रमय मंत्रमय मंत्रमय मंत्रमय मंत्रप्रयाति: ।।। The Viṣṇu Dh. S. 21. 20 says about sapind-करारणं स्राद्धा that it may be performed for śudras on the 12th day (from death) without mantras 'मन्त्रप्रयाति: च।हु-अवाहिताः॥
should not impart religious instruction to him nor ask him to perform vratas'. Laghuvisnu 372 (I. 15) contains the dictum that the śūdra is devoid of any saṁskāra. The Mit. on Yaj. 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 in attendance upon members of the three higher castes and establishes that śūdras can perform vratas (but without homa and 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 Śudrakamalākara (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 Śāṅkha (as quoted by Viśvarūpa on Yaj. I. 13) opines that saṁskāras 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 saṁskāras (viz. garbhadāna, pumāsavāna, śimantonnayana, jāta-karma, nāmakaraṇa, niṣkramaṇa, annaprāśana, caula, karnavedha and vivāha) can be performed in the case of śūdras, but without Vedic mantras. Haradatta (on Gautama X. 51) quotes a āgrhyakāra to the effect that even in the case of the śūdra the rites of niṣeka, pumāsavāna, śimantonnayana, jāta-karma, 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 saṁskāra, what he means is that no saṁskāra 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 Śudrakamalākara p. 47 for several views about the saṁskāras allowed to śūdras.

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

372. चुःच्छुतमो वर्णसंस्कारवर्जित: । उद्भवन्य हु संस्कारश्च द्विजवार्तमिदंभव: । सत्त्वशशु इ. 15.
higher castes, Gaut.\textsuperscript{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. Vas. 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 ksatriya, vaiśya or śūdra woman, who was not guarded, he was fined five hundred (Manu VIII. 385). Similarly in the case of Vākparuṣya (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 ksatriya 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

\textsuperscript{373} आर्यस्याभिमानये तिलकोऽजार स्वहरणं च। गौता चेत्त्वाभिधिकः। 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 the Mit. on Yaj. I. 3) says that when a brahmana is not available (as a judge) the king may appoint as judge a kṣatriya or a vaśya who is proficient in dharmaśāstra, but he should carefully avoid appointing a sūdra as judge.

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

(8) A brahmana could take food at the houses of members of the three classes who performed the duties prescribed for them by the sāstras (according to Gaut.), but he could not take food from a sūdra except when the sūdra 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 (= Visṇu Dh. S. 57, 16), Yaj. I. 166, Parāśara IX. 19. Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 16. 22 says 376 'that food which is brought by an impure sūdra should not be eaten by a brahmana; ' but Āpastamba allows sūdras to be cooks in brahmāna 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 sūdra to a brahmana and by IV. 223 he laid down that a learned brahmana should not take cooked food from a sūdra who did not perform śrāddha and other daily rites (mahāyajñas) but that he may take from such a sūdra uncooked grain for one night, if he cannot get food from anywhere else. Baud. Dh. S. (II. 2. 1) requires a brahmana to avoid the food of vṛsalas (sūdras). Gradually rules about taking food from sūdras became stricter. The Śāṅkhāsmiti (13. 4) remarks that brahmānas fattened on the food given by sūdras are Paṅktidāśaka. Parāśara 377 XI. 13 ordains that a brahmana may take from a sūdra ghee, oil, milk, molasses and food fried in oil or ghee, but should eat it on a river bank and not in the sūdra's house and the Par. M. adds

374. भाषणो यथ न स्वाच्छु क्षत्रियं तत् योजयेत् | वेदं वा धर्मसास्त्रं शूदं पालन बन्धितं || कार्ययायन (quoted by मिताव on pā. I. 3)

375. महतानिः स्वरक्षितविजयती भाषणो स्वाच्छितं ...पञ्चपाठांश्रेष्ठकुज्जउसमं कार्यप्रतिचयिता कोषयायता | गौतम 17. 1 and 6.

376. अपोजेतन तु शुद्धोषविक्रमोभवयम् | आप. घ. सू. I. 5. 16. 23; आपार्थित वा शुद्धाः स्वरक्षितविजयते | आप. घ. सू. II. 2. 3. 4.

377. पुत्रं तत्स तथा शूदं तेत्तेतदापाथितं | गणा नन्दस तत्र तेत बिमो शुद्धियाऽशुद्धमोजयम् || परार. XI. 13 and 'एतात्व शुद्धियाः क्रियापकोिजमयमशुद्धमत्र गार्भावत्यां पृर्वस्तिसमन्वेणे वेद्यितम् | आपार्थिव पावत। भिना मण्डयुर्वणो न भवति तावशुद्धशुद्धार्वांि भु तत्तोषविक्षिप्तत्' परार. मा. II. part I pp. 411-12.

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(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 sūdra who was a cowherd &c. only in the case of very extreme calamities. Aparārka also (p. 244 on Yaj. I. 168) says the same. In the kalivarjya (actions forbidden in the kali age) the old practice of eating the food of cowherds, barber &c. was forbidden. 378

(9) The sūdra 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 said 379 ‘a brāhmaṇa should be served by a sūdra from a distance like blazing fire; while he may be waited upon by a kṣatriya or vaśyā after touching him.’ Aparārka (p. 1196) quotes two smṛti texts ‘a brāhmaṇa on touching a sūdra or niśāda 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 sūdra and an antyāvasayin (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 sūdra cannot bathe then he may resort to sipping water, but if able he must take a bath or that on touching a sat-sūdra one may have recourse to ācamana and on touching an asat-sūdra one must take a bath. We find from the Grhyaśūtras 380 that in Madhuparka offered to a snātaka the feet of the guest (even if he was a brāhmaṇa) were washed by a sūdra male or female. So there could have been no ban against a sūdra touching a brāhmaṇa then. The Ap. Dh. S. (II. 3. 6. 9-10) says that two sūdras should wash the feet of a guest, according to some teachers (in the case of a household who has several dāsas), while Apastamba

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378. तुद्वेदुत्तमोपालकलामिरासिरमिरिसार्यं भाग्यासततसुधर्मसंदेश ।
379. तत्रवज्ञोपायोपदेशादिरिवर्धवर्गं संस्कृतं परिचितस्य वैदेशे
380. स्त्रियाणिमिति तदन योगश्रुतद्वाते श्रुद्ध। या पादो मक्खलपति सि मक्खल जीवनमिति सिद्धिमिति सिद्धिमिति
himself says that one sudra should wash the guest's feet and another should sprinkle him with water.\textsuperscript{381}

(10) As the sudra could not be initiated into Vedic study, the only āśrama out of the four that he was entitled to was that of the householder. In the Anuśāsanaparva (165. 10) we read\textsuperscript{388} 'I am a sudra and so I have no right to resort to the four āśramas.' In the Śāntiparva\textsuperscript{383} (63. 12-14) it is said, 'In the case of a sudra 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 sudra 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 sudra was esteemed rather low. Yaj. III. 236 and Manu XI. 66 include the killing of a woman, a sudra, a vaisya and a kṣatriya among upapātakas; but the praśaṇcittas and gifts prescribed for killing these show that the life of the sudra was not worth much. On killing a kṣatriya, the praśaṇcittta prescribed was brahmacarya for six years, gift of 1000 cows and a bull; for killing a vaisya, brahmacarya for three years and gift of 100 cows and a bull; for killing a sudra brahmacarya for one year, gift of 10 cows and a bull. Gaut. XXII. 14-16, Manu XI, 126-130, Yaj III. 266-267 say practically the same thing. Ap. Dh. S. (I. 9. 25, 14-I. 9. 26. 1) says that on killing a crow, a chameleon, a peacock, a cakravaka, flamingo, bhāsa, a frog, ichneumon, musk-rat, a dog, a cow and draught ox the praśaṇcitta is the same as that for killing a sudra. Manu (XI. 131) says 'on killing a cat, an ichneumon,
śāsa, a frog, a dog, iguana, owl and crow, the prāyaścitta is the same as that for killing a śudra.  

If the śudra laboured under certain grave disabilities, he had certain compensating advantages. He could follow almost any profession except the few specially reserved for brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas. Even as to the latter many śudras became kings and Kauṭ, in his Arthaśāstra (IX. 2) speaks of armies of śudras (vide note 266 above). The śudra 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 śudras 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.

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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, occupations to which Negroes had been habituated under the slave regime.' It is also within living memory that Mahatma Gandhi had to lead a movement of satyagraha in South Africa against the discriminating treatment of Indians and even now in Natal and other parts of British Africa there is legislation restricting Indians in the matter of residence and purchases of land.

In the early Vedic literature several of the names of castes that are spoken of in the smṛtis as antyajas occur. We have carmannama (a tanner of hides?) in the Rgveda (VIII. 5. 38), the Cāndāla and Paulkasa occur in the Vāj. S., the Vapa or Vaptā (barber) even in the Rg., the Vidalakāra or Bidalakāra (corresponding to the buruda 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

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 bhāhatsā (In Vaj. S. 30. 17) and Cāndāla to Vāyu (in the Puruṣamedha), the Paulkasa lived in such a way as to cause disgust and the Cāndāla 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 cāndālas is in the Chāndogya Up.266 V. 10. 7. 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 cāndāla.' This occurs in Pañcāgnividyā, the purpose of which is to teach vaivṛtta and disgust with the transmigratory world. This passage does not enjoin anything, if 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 cāndālas 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 cāndāla was looked upon as a śūdra, though lowest among the several śūdra subcastes. The cāndāla 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. 4 that 'three beasts are unclean in relation to a sacrifice viz. the vicious (filthy) boar, the ram and the dog.' Here it is clear that every boar is not unclean, but probably only that variety that subsists on the village offal. On the other hand the flesh of boars was said to cause great delight to the Pitr when offered in śrāddha (vide Manu III. 270 and Yaj. I. 259). Therefore this Upaniṣad passage does not say anything on the point whether the Cāndāla was in its day untouchable. This passage may be compared with another in which the śūdra is said to be a walking

266. तद् इव सम्प्रदायचित्र्य अन्यस्य ह पत्ते सम्प्रदायं श्रीमन्ताध्येयत्वं वाग्माध्येयसि वा काव्यिन्यययिः वा नैस्कर्मययिः सप्तु युस्मक्षुपाचरणं अवयस्य ह पत्ते क्रूपं श्रीमन्ताध्येयसि अवयस्य वा स्कृताययिः वा प्रत्याययिः साधनययिः ॥ हरान्द्रोऽयं V. 10. 7. The Vedāntasūtra III. 1. 8-11 deals with this passage.

267. तदोहि तथा त्यथा मन्तव्यं ॥ कुर्यादेहन पदां न्यातः । तेषां द्विधोऽथीतेऽवैधोऽवेद-स्तरं ज्ञातिः प्रातिकं तत्त्व कर्ता का तत्त्वापविचित्ते ॥ तत्तप ॥ XII.4. 1. 4.
cemetry. 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 candāla was untouchable in the remote ages. Another passage is relied upon by orthodox writers to support the theory that untouchability of candālas 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 Udghtha. In this vidyā occurs the passage

388 ‘this devatā (Prāṇa) throwing aside the sin that was death to these devatās (vāk etc.) sent it to the ends of these quarters and he put down the sin of these devatās there; therefore one should not go to people (outside the Āryan pale) nor to the ends (of the quarters) thinking ‘otherwise I may fall in with pāpman i. e. death’. In the first place there are no peoples expressly named here. 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 candālas who are not opposed to Vedic knowledge (but who have no adhikāra to learn it). Besides candālas might stay outside the village, but they do not stay at the end of the quarters (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 śūtras 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 47.18.389 When in modern times the so-called untouchables are referred

388. शा शा एव देवस्तानां देवस्तानां पापमाने शुद्धमुपर्य पञ्चासां विश्वामिस्तेदुम- पांचकार | तदात्मा पापमानो विश्वभावसांकृष्टं जगमिनियांत्यन्तियांसेतु पापमाने सुरु-सव-वा- यानीति श्रव. त्र. I. 3. 10.

389. The Mlecchas were known to the Sat. Br. (III. 2. 1. 24 ‘tasmaṇ na brāhmaṇo mlecchet’). Vide Ait. Br. 33. 6 ‘antān vah, prajābhakṣiṣṭa’ quoted above in note 118 for the meaning of ‘diśām antaḥ’.

390. चतुर्थं एकादशस्तिः होस्हो नातित ह पञ्चमः | मद 10. 4; स्वाभव चर्गाः चालापं पञ्चमो पाणियस्यस्य। एकादशस्ति 47. 18.
to as the *pañcamas*,\(^{391}\) that is something against the smṛti tradition. Pāṇ. II. 4. 10 and Patañjali\(^{392}\) say that a Samāhāra-duvandva compound can be formed from several subdivisions of śūdras that are not niravasita e. g. we can have the compound 'taksāyaskāram' meaning carpenters and blacksmiths, but not 'cāndāla-mṛtapam', because cāndālas and mṛtapas are niravasita śūdras (and so the compound will be 'cāndālamṛtapam'). Therefore it follows that Pāṇ. and Patañjali included cāndālas and mṛtapas among śūdras. When Āṅgiras (note 171 above) includes ksātra, sūta, vaidehika, māgadha and āyogava (that are pratiloma castes) among antyāvasāyas along with cāndāla and śvapaca, he makes it clear that he regarded cāndālas as included among śūdras, for Manu X. 41 declares that all pratiloma castes are similar to śūdras in their dharma and because the Śāntiparva 297.28\(^{393}\) expressly says that the vaidehika is called śūdra by learned dvijas. Gradually however, a distinction was made between śūdras and castes like cāndālas. 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 dharmas. But if they perform the proper ṭṛayaścitta 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 ‘Nāshadas, chandalas and paulkassas as the fifth varṇa’.

\(^{392}\) Vide note 200 above for the quotation from the Mahābhārata.

\(^{393}\) *sūdrasaṃvādaḥ* सूद्रसमवादः सहर्षः/पवलसः सुस्तः। सह X. 41; वैदेहिकः शुद्धश्वर- /दरहित ब्रिजः महरात्ज शुद्ध-पवलः। स्मार्तिचर्यः 297. 28.
(p. 923) and Sm. C.294 (I. p. 118) quote verses from the Śat-trimśan-mata and Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa that 'on touching Baudhas, Pāṣupatas, Jainas, Lokāyatikas, Kāpilas (Śamkhyaś) and brahmanas 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 Aparārka295 p. 923 quotes a verse of Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya that on touching cāndalas, pukkasas, mlecchas, Bhillas and Pārasikas and persons guilty of maḥāpātakas 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 brahmana 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.296 Fourthly, persons become untouchable when in certain conditions e. g. a person if he touches even his wife in her monthly period or during the first ten days after delivery or if he touches a person during the period of mourning on the death of some relative or a person who has carried a corpse to the cemetery and has not yet bathed, he then has to take a bath with his clothes on (vide Manu V. 85). Fifthly, certain races such as mlecchas and persons from certain countries and the countries themselves were regarded as impure (vide notes 40, 42, 49). Further the smṛtis say that persons following certain filthy, low and dis-approved avocations were untouchable e. g. Samvarta297 quoted

394. ... 
395. ... 
396. ... 
397. ...
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 cāndālas, 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 cāndālas and the word cāndāla has a technical meaning in these works as stated above (p. 81) under cāndāla. Gaut. (IV. 15 and 23) says that the cāndāla 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. 8-9 declares that on touching a cāndāla one should plunge into water, on talking to him one should converse with a brāhmaṇa (for purification), on seeing him one should look at the luminaries (either the Sun or moon or stars). We have seen above that there were three kinds of cāndālas and they were all so by virtue of the circumstances of their birth. Manu (X. 36, 51) makes only the andhra, meda, cāndāla 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. Harita quoted by Aparārka (p. 279) states ‘if a dvijāti’s limb other than the head is touched by a dyer, a shoemaker, a hunter, a fisherman, a washerman, a butcher, a dancer (nāta), a man of actor caste, oilman, vintner, hangman, village cock or dog, he becomes pure by washing that particular limb and by sipping water (i.e. he need not bathe)’. Here most of the seven antyajas are included and it is expressly said that their touch is not so impure as to require a bath. Angiras (verse 17) states that a dvija when he comes in contact with a washerman, a shoemaker, a dancer (nāta), a fisherman or a worker in bamboo becomes pure by merely ucamana (by

398. ... 399. Harita: ...
sipping water). The Nityācārapaddhati (p. 130) quotes a verse to the effect that even on coming in contact with cāndālas and pukkasas one need not bathe, if the latter stand near a temple of Viṣṇu and have come for the worship of Viṣṇu. Alberuni in his work on India (tr. by Sachau vol. I. chap. IX) refers to two classes of antyajas, the first of which had eight guilds (seven of which were practically the same as the seven in note 170 above, the eighth being the weaver) and a second group of four viz. Hadi, Doma, Chandala and 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. Medhātithi in his commentary on Manu X. 13 is positive that the only pratiloma who is untouchable is the cāndāla and no bath is necessary on coming in contact with the other pratilomas (viz. sūta, māgadha, śyogava, vaidehika and ksāṭ). Kullūka also says the same. Therefore it follows that in spite of the śruti texts (notes 170, 171, 173) including the pratilomas among antyajas along with the cāndālas, such authoritative and comparatively early commentators as Medhātithi (about 900 A. D.) were firmly of opinion that they were not untouchable.

Manu V. 85 and Āṅgiras 152 prescribe a bath for coming in bodily contact with a divākirti (a cāndāla), udakyā (a woman in her monthly period), patita (one outcasted for sin &c.), sūtikā (a woman after delivery), a corpse, one who has touched a corpse. It follows therefore that the only antyaja who was asprasya according to Manu was the cāndāla. But gradually the spirit of exclusiveness and ideas of ritual purity were carried to extremes and more and more castes became untouchable. Some very orthodox writers of śruti texts went so far as to hold that on touching even a śudra a dvijātī had to bathe. Among the
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 sense. It will have been seen from the quotations above that cāndālas, mlecchas and Pārāsikas are placed on the same level as regards being asprśyas. Atri says if a dvija comes in contact with a cāndāla, 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 cāndālas. 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 nata, 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 Medhatithi 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 sūtras that the shadow of even the cāndāla 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 (Mark. 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 cāndāla. Medhatithi on Manu V. 133 expressly says that 'shadow' means 'shadow of a cāndāla and the like.' Kullūka, however, adds on Manu IV. 130 that on account of the word 'ca' in that verse the shadow of cāndālas was included in the injunction of that verse. Therefore it is legitimate to infer that Manu and Yāj. did not prescribe that even the shadow of

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404. Vide काश्यापनस्तुलिसारोद्धार (ed. by me) verses 433, 783 that are quoted by the फिर. on या. II. 29 and by अग्रार्क p. 813.

405. धार्मिक पितार श्रेष्ठ श्रेष्ठ रज्ज्ववल्लभ । द्विगु न शुभ्रित शुञ्जलो पदि। सहुरोहि। अता परे न शुभ्रित त्वत्स्तवाले ख्यातमार्गे । अधि (आवश्यक ed.) verses 267-269.
a cāndāla was impure and caused pollution. Not only so, Aparāraka \(^{405}\) quotes a verse 'the shadow of a cāndāla or patita, if it falls on a man, is not impure'. But Aparāraka himself \(^{407}\) adds on this verse the comment that this favourable rule about the shadow of a cāndāla or patita is applicable only if he is at a greater distance from a man than the length of a cow’s tail. Bāna in his Kādambari (para 8) describes how the cāndāla girl entered the royal assembly-hall though she was untouchable and stood at some distance from the king. It appears that there was no difficulty about her entering the hall of audience or polluting the assembly by her shadow. Gradually some smṛtis prescribed a bath for a brāhmaṇa coming under the shadow of a cāndāla. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 30 quotes a verse of Vyāghrapāda that if a cāndāla or patita comes nearer to a person than the length of a cow’s tail, then the latter must take a bath and another verse of Bṛhaspati to the effect ‘a patita, a woman in her monthly period, a woman freshly delivered and a cāndāla should be kept respectively at a distance of one yuga, two, three and four’. As yuga is four cubits, this means that a cāndāla cannot approach within 16 cubits of a caste Hindu. \(^{408}\)

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

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\(^{405}\) चण्डालपतिताः श्यामुः दुः नो अभेत । भस्म शौचः चुवणी च सदृशः।

\(^{407}\) पालितचण्डालपतिताः श्यामुः दुः चुवणी च सदृशः।

\(^{408}\) यदू चाप्यम् यपाकर्मी माक्षर्य माधरोहिनी।

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

Certain provisions were made in the smṛtis by way of exceptions to the general rules about the untouchability of certain castes. Atri (verse 249) says 'there is no taint of untouchability when a person is touched by an untouchable in a temple, religious processions and marriages, in sacrifices, and in all festivals'. Śatātapa quoted in the Sm. C. declares that there is no doṣa (lapse) in touching (untouchables) in a village (i.e. on the public road), or in a religious procession or in an affray and the like, and also when the whole village is involved in a calamity. Bṛhaspati also remarks that there is no fault (and so no 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 učchista (i.e. risen from meals without washing their hands &c.). The Smṛtyarthaśāra quoted by Smrtyarthasastra will show.

410. ब्राह्मणावतारिष्टेः पञ्चापनकारेण च। उत्सवेऽः च संवें च स्वाभासितं निध्वते इव। अद्यतन 249। In the स्वाहितीपि I. pp. 121-122 this is quoted as from व्यन्धितचन्द्र (v. l. यन्धित प्रत्येक च न और स्वाभासितं)। The first word must be taken to be formed of three separate members as the quotation from the Smṛtyarthaśāra will show.

411. भास्मे तु यज्ञ संस्कृतयवायायं फलमाविवः। ग्रामस्त्रृंगणे भैर शूकिन्द्रे न निध्वते। शाश्वस्य स्वलितं। I. p. 119.

412. संसामे हस्तनागरे च राजात्रंकहरे च। उत्सवकुतृतिरं निध्वते ग्राम्भद्रोहमें। महाजनस्त्रीं महाजनस्त्रीं च। अन्ययंपते महापति स्वाभासितं हृदयं। पाण्डुर खापिन्द्रे स्वाभासितं निध्वते। लोपव विषयं पाण्डुः शूकिन्द्रसृष्टिपरं। स्वस्पर्शसारं। p. 79.
(p. 79) summarises the places where no blame in incurred on the ground of mixing with untouchables viz. in battle, on public roads leading to a market, in religious processions, in temples, in festivals, 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 dosa when cāndālas take water from a large tank (used by higher castes), but as regards small reservoirs the same rules apply to them that apply to the purification of wells touched by untouchables.

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

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 prāyaścittā.

The so-called untouchables were not entirely excluded from worship. When it is said (as in Yāj. I. 93 or Gaut. IV. 20) that the cāndāla is outside all dharma, the meaning is that he is outside such Vedic rites as upanayana, not that he cannot worship the Hindu deities nor that he is not bound by the moral code. He could worship images of the avatāras of Viṣṇu (vide note 364 above). The Nirnayasindhu quotes a passage of the Devipurāṇa that expressly authorizes antyajas to establish a temple of Bhairava. The Bāgavatapurāṇa X. 70. 43 says that even the

413. महतत्र हि तदाकाविषु चाण्डालादिसंस्कर्थपि नाति कथितं कस्थितं: । अल्पेऽहु इसुपर याय:।
414. कामचारणामहायाजीयि सुहन्त काव्यसंस्कर सूक्ष्म। । विषुसम्बुश्व व. 104।
415. महतादास्तु चस्महान। । गीतम IV, 20।
416. अपाधारकृति नानां धामस्वपुरुषंते सवासायिन: । तव महिमययोऽविकेतस्य निर्मलस्य:।
417. भवाय X, 70. 43। अवधारितानं उक्तं: । वैद्यक्षेत्रं दूरायुष्य: ।
418. निर्मलस्य सर्वस्य विश्व: । महिदाप्य: । लुस्वाचिनिन्ति: । नेतपौरि सचर्यर्धर्यज्ञानं तथा सत:।
419. स्मर्यायोगम् III (under Śmṛtyāyog) ।
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 Āḻvārs, Tiruppāṇa Āḻvār was a member of the depressed classes and Nammāḻvār 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. अत: श्रीधरश्री मतिलोकजानो च जैसरिकवव व्रतारिकाय इति सिद्धम्। पशु मौलसत्यजने मतिलोकम धर्महीना इति तस्यवनानादिविष्कार्यध्यानभिमावत्। मिताः on यतः 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.\(^{118}\) The High Courts in India have held that the untouchables are included among śudras for purposes of marriage. Vide Sohan Singh vs. Kabla Singh 10 Lahore 372, Mulhusami vs. Masilamani 33 Mad. 342.\(^{119}\)

\(^{118}\) Vide Census of India (1931), vol. I part 1, p. 494.

\(^{119}\) Several books and papers have been recently published on the question of untouchables in India. Vide "The Psychology of a suppressed people" (1937) by Rev. J. C. Heinrich; 'Untouchable Classes of Maharashtra' by M. G. Bhagat.
SLAVERY

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

It has been seen above (pp.26–27) that the word ‘dāsa’ in the Rg. generally stands for the opponents of the āryas. It is possible that when the dāsas were vanquished in battle and taken prisoners they were treated as slaves. In the Rgveda, however, there are not many passages where the word ‘dāsa’ can be said to have been used in the sense of slave. In Rg VIII. 56. 3 421 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. शतवर्ष ने गद्यरूपान्तः शतुम्पर्यायिनाः। शतद्वूर्ती अति चत्रः॥ श्र. VIII. 56. 3; यो मे लिपियसन्तृष्टि यह राज्यो अस्वभावः। अवस्यम्याय प्रकृति इदंकन्यर्यम्य अभितो जनमां॥ श्र. VIII. 5. 38; अद्वर्त्ते चैत्यक्षेतः पञ्चाशार्य नस्तुर्यूपार्यायः। श्र. VIII. 19. 36.

CHAPTER V
read 'thou madest a gift to me of one hundred donkeys, of one hundred fleece-bearing ewes and one hundred dāsas'. It appears that here dāsa means slaves or serfs. In Rg VIII. 5. 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 'Trasadāsyu, 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 mūrjāliya' &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 (dāsi) 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 (Katha 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 Brahmaidya 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. उदयभानाचिनिध्याय दास्ये मार्जरीम परिदृष्टात पवन नित्यसतिः मधु नायको नपू द्वे ब्रह्मां प्रसन्नादय। न्यै। सं। VII. 5. 10. 1. 423. आसमने या एव मात्रामात contemplate यो उभयाभावतियुक्ताभ्यार्थे सा पुरुषे व बैव्यानरं ब्राह्मकपारं निर्येषे कुम्भाचिनिध्याय। न्यै। सं। II. 2. 6. 3; सोहे समयसं विवेषात् वृद्धां नां वाणै स क्राणाय । बृह। उ। IV. 4. 23; गो अभाविन्ह महिमेत्याचक्षुः हस्तिहिरण्य दासभारं सेत्र्यायनानीति। छ्य। उ। VII. 24. 2.
Vide also Chān. Up. V. 13. 2 and Br. Up. VI. 2. 7 for references to dāsas. These passages show that in the Vedie period men and women had become the subjects of gifts and so were in the condition of slaves.

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

We have seen how the Grhyā Sūtras speak of dāsas being employed to wash the feet of honoured guests. It appears that the ideal placed before the masters was to treat the slave humanely. Āp. Dh. S. II. 4. 9. 11 says that one may indeed stint oneself, one’s wife or son (as to food) if guests come, but never a dāsa who does one’s menial work (or a dāsa and hired servants). In the Anuṣānasaparva 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 Virāta 18. 21 gifts of 30 dāsas to each of 88000 snātaka brāhmaṇas are spoken of. In Vanaparva 185. 34 Vainya is said to have given a thousand handsome dāsīs with ornaments on to Atri. Vide Dronaparva 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. शूद्रसः धर्माधार्ताः। जै. VI. 7. 6; ‘पूर्णस्य न कृपेत् हृदयात्वविदः! छुऱ्यः। धर्माधार्ताः। धर्माधार्तोपनसन्तस्वतीयः। एवमसैं तत्सैं वैवर्जयोपनसैं इति। शूद्रप्रकाशो धर्माधार्तो ब्रह्मणो धर्माधार्तो ब्रह्मणो धर्माधार्तो ब्रह्मणो \| संस्कृतस्य इति। सोत्त्फ्रस्य वैवर्जयानि नेत्रेभुव्यः। न द्वितिष्ठत्वस्य स प्रभावः।।

425. कामसाचारान्य भायाः पुनः योगत्सत्वस्य लोकं द्वितीयाः। \| आप. ध. छ। II. 4. 9. 11.

426. अन्योपवेच न विकेरः मन्येच्छी। क्षेत्रुणं। \| अहैवस्थूलहें। धर्मस्तव। धर्मो धर्मो धर्मं।। अहैवस्थूलहें।। 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 much 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 (MacC impulse, p. 71) states that none of the Indians employs slaves (vide Strabo XV. 1. 54). That slavery existed then admits of no doubt. The Emperor Asoka when proclaiming his Law of Piety enjoins in his 9th Rock Edict that the Law of Piety consists (among other things) in the kind (or proper) treatment of slaves (dásas) and hired servants. In the Arthasastra (III. 13) Kautilya gives very important provisions about slaves. He says that the mlechhas 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 vaisya 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), ātmavikrayin (who sells himself) udaradāsa (or garbhadāsa, one who is born to a dāst from a slave) or those so made for a debt (āhitika), or for a fine or court's decree (dandapranīta). 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. कोष्ठानाम् प्रजा विकेतुराधार या। न त्वेवार्यस्य ब्राह्मणां। कौविक्षी स्वाभावः। कौविक्षी 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 (abhyaṃśaśūra) and Kātyāyana among the smṛtikāras contain the most elaborate treatment on slavery. Nārada first says that a śūraḥaka (one who serves another) is of five kinds viz. a Vedic student, an antevāsin (an apprentice who is learning a craft), adhikarmakrt (a supervisor over workmen), bhrātra (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 Manu VIII. 416. This is the same as Upan. 33. 64 where the first half is अधिकारकृताः स्वातमस्वस्य विधिः कर्मकारः verse 41.
⁴³⁰ 6–7).
one inherited, one saved in a time of famine, one pledged by the master, one discharged from a large debt, one captured in a battle, one vanquished in a bet, one who accepts slavery by saying 'I am yours', an apostate from the order of asceticism, one who stipulates to be a slave (for a certain time), one who is a slave for food (as long as food is given to him), one who is tempted to become a slave out of love for a female slave, and one who sells himself. Nārada says that the first four of these are not freed from slavery except by the favour of the master (v. 29), while one who sells himself is the worst kind of slave and he also does not become free from slavery (v. 37). Nārada (v. 30) and Yāj. (II. 182) state a rule applicable to all slaves, viz. that when a slave saves a master from imminent danger to the latter's life the slave becomes a free man and (Nārada adds) that he gets a share in the inheritance as a son. One who is an apostate from the order of ascetics is a slave of the king till the former's death (Yāj. II. 183). One saved in a famine becomes free by giving a pair of cows, one pledged if the master who pledged him repays the debt, the slave in lieu of discharge of debt by paying off the debt with interest, one who accepted slavery or who was captured in battle or became so under a bet is freed by giving a substitute who is equal to him in work, one for a stipulated period by the lapse of the period, one who is a bhakta-daśa 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 i.e. the three varṇas 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. रक्षसस्यावस्यको दुरान्त दुःसत्ये दुःसत्यज्ञ:। त्रिस्वपुरं त्रिस्वप्ति दुःसत्यपिशयस्मिन्नपः। क्षत्रियमेव वास्यस्य विषयमेव वास्यम्। वर्षराक्षसोऽस्य अपराधः। कात्यायननिर्देशः। वाराहीनिर्देशः। वसेश्वर्यनिर्देशः।

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king. Kātyāyana emphasizes that a brāhmaṇa cannot be made a slave even to a brāhmaṇa, but if he himself chooses, he may do pure work for a brāhmaṇa endowed with character and Vedic learning, but no impure work. Kātyāyana (v. 721) says that when a brāhmaṇa becomes an apostate from the order of asceticism he should be banished from the kingdom and the kṣatriya 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.

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

Kauṭilya declared that the heirs to the wealth of a slave are his relatives and if none of them exist then the master, while Kātyāyana (v. 723) 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 Vyavahāramayūkha quotes a verse from the Kālikāpurāṇa about an adopted son, which is very interesting persons adopted and the like on whom the sarhskaras of cūḍa (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.
(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 (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 (1938). Mr. D. R. Banaji has published a very painstaking and interesting study on 'Slavery in British India' from 1772 to 1843 (2nd ed. 1937). The Carnegie Institution of Washington has published studies on several aspects such as 'Judicial Cases' (by Mrs. Catterall in 1926) and 'Documents of the history of the Slave Trade to America, 1930' by Prof. Elizabeth Donnan. Dr. H. J. Nieboer's 'Slavery as an Industrial System' (1910) is a well-documented study of slavery in various countries and at various times.
CHAPTER VI

ŚAṂSKĀRAS

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 rajasvala &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 Smṛtyarhasāra gives the view of some that in case an infant touches a cāndala 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 Harlita to the effect ‘up till investment with the girdle of muṇja grass (i.e., till upanayana) there is no action that is obligatory on him, as long as he is not born again for Vedic study he may be in his conduct like a śūdra’. This verse occurs also in Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 6 and Manu II. 171 and 172. Dakṣa I. 3-4 says ‘Till a boy is eight years old he is like one newly born and only indicates the caste in which he is born. As long as his upanayana is not performed the

438. आचार्यमाजात्माऽन् नामयता भवाति । आ परिवृत्तराजादिवेयः । पावताः च न विद्यः । मन्नारिष्टा । अपननयनादित्यपर । आप. ध. स. II. 6. 15. 17-20.

439. शास्त्रकोषायादेष्ट । न शास्त्रमिव निष्ठये कर्म किंचित्रप्रायश्चयविषयमात । भूषया सूक्ष्मसमीयेन यान्धर्येण न जाते । अति वसिष्ठ II. 6; धृध. ध. स. reads नात्स कर्म निष्ठयविषयमात। compare बिभुपर्यं 23. 40 पावृणांकोषायादेष्ट त्रिज्ञा शूक्ष्मसमीयेन भवाति।
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. But this does not hold good as to mahāpātaka. As to pāryaścitta when a child is guilty of the commission of a mahāpātaka, see under pāryaścitta later on and the Mit. on Yaj. III. 253. The smṛtis look upon upanayana as the second birth of a boy (the first being his physical birth). SafaJ&raa says that the three higher classes are called dvijātis (having two births), while the südra is only ekajātī.

440. जातमानां शिष्यशास्त्रादिवृद्धि समा वयः: स हि गर्भस्य ज्ञेयो जातिमात्रवर्धकः।
भजयामये तपायये वाच्यायये तपायते। अस्तित्वाते न वोप: व्यास साधारणीये।
स्त्री I. 3-4, quoted in अपारक (p. 28) and the second cited as from बिष्णुपुराण

441. सत्र ब्रह्मणो जन्म। तदस्मात आचार्य:। बेरायुषचनाद्वच। मो. I. 9-11.

442. ब्रजानन्दस्य जन्मस्वतिः दुन्दु:। गूढः प्राकृत्वं वर्ण एकाधाति:। मो. x. 1 and


443. स हि विद्यातत्त्वेन जन्मस्वतिः। तच्छिदु जन्म:। शरीरस्वते मातापितरी जन्मतः। आप.

ध. श्र. I. 1. 16-18.

444. जन्मम ब्राह्मणो जेवः संस्कारादि उपचः। विद्या पाति विद्यायां आचित्यम- भित्रव च। अस्त्र 141-142; ब्राह्मण reads जन्मस्वति। विद्या याति विद्यायां विद्यित: अविद्य उपचः।

quoted in सं. m. p. 404. विद्यार्थी वधानस्य शृङ्गारपिष्टे शास्त्रः।

भाष्यमयि तदस्मातस्मातान्वितिन्धरः। पराशार VIII. 19; quoted as Devala’s by अपारक (p. 25) and as of अंगिरस in Par. M. II. part I. p. 22,

संस्कारादि p. 887 स्वरुप सं. m. p. 136.
brought out by saṃskāras performed according to prescribed rites.'

Therefore it is now time to speak of saṃskāras.

The word saṃskāra hardly ever occurs in the ancient Vedic literature, but the root 'kṛ' with 'sam' and the past passive participle 'saṃskṛta' occur often enough. In Rg. V. 76. 2 the word saṃskṛta 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 saṃskṛtatra' and Rg. VIII. 33. 9 has 'raṇaya saṃskṛtah'. Ṣat.445 Br. I. 1. 4. 10 speaks of preparing (or purifying) offering (havīs) for the gods. So in Ṣat. Br. III. 2. 1. 22 'therefore a woman approaches a man who stands in a well-trimmed (saṃskṛta) house.' Vide Vaj. S. IV. 34 for a similar use of saṃskāra. 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 saṃskāra 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 saṃskāra is applied to prokaṇa (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 saṃskāra stands for upanayana. Śabara explains448 saṃskāra as that which being effected makes a certain thing or person fit for a certain purpose and the Tantra-vārtika says that saṃskāras are those actions and rites that

445. स हड़वे के यो हरि: संस्कृत समु ष संस्कृतः संस्कृतिरपेवस्वाहः जातपथ I. 1. 4. 10; तस्मादु भी पुराणं संस्कृतेन लिङ्गनमभेति, जातपथ III. 2. 1. 22.

446. तस्मादेव यथैण्य सन्तेष सन्तेष च वर्तर:। तपोरस्यतरं सन्तेष संस्कृतोतिः। बह्या वाचा होता। दान्वर्गय I. 16. 1–2. The Brahmā priest remains silent and watches the whole sacrifice to see if there be any mistake, which he corrects by भ्रायास्कित्त.

447. संस्कारस्य तद्वर्तवान्तियायथा दुरभृष्टथिति:। जै. VI. 1. 35.

448. संस्कारो नाम सं सत्यति सत्यम्याते पदार्थों सत्यति योग्य: कर्मचिवर्त्यथाः। संवर on जै. III. 1. 3 (p. 660); योग्यता बायुधानाः कियम् संस्कारस्य दुर्युप्लेने। तत्तत्वाव- तिक p. 1078; संस्कारो हि नाम युग्यायनेन वा स्वयं दोष्पर्ययनेन वा। संवर on वेग्यालय- भृष I. 1. 4.
Ch. VI] Samskaras

impart fitness and it further says "fitness is of two kinds; it arises by the removal of taints (sins) or by the generation of fresh qualities. Samskaras generate fresh qualities, while tapas brings about the removal of taints. He who performs such sacrifices as Jyotistoma and others has certain blemishes in him due to not doing in this life or a previous life duties laid down for him or doing what is forbidden. If they (blemishes) are not removed they obstruct the (acquisition of the) reward of the sacrifice even if it be entirely free from any defects whatever, as they (blemishes) produce (for the sacrificer) the experience of their own fruits that are opposed to the (fruit of the) sacrifice." The Viramitrodavya (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 grhyasūtras (it occurs in Vaik.), but it occurs in the Dharmasūtras (vide Gaut. VIII. 8, Āp. Dh. I. 1. 1. 9, Vas. IV. 1).

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

First as to the purpose of samskaras. 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) vrataś, homas (oblations in fire), by the vrata called traśividya, by worship (of gods, sages and manes), by generation of sons, by the performance of the five daily

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449. योग्यता च सर्वेक्ष्ण हिमाकारा द्विवापनयनेन कुणालारोपजननेन च अभिति। तन्त्र-भालिका p. 1115 on जै. III. 8. 9.

450. अष्टस्तुः on खातिरुपया II. 3, 33 'पूजे गर्भाधानाबुद्ध संस्कारः शरीर सत्कुर्वन्तः सप्ते अमुदाण्यः कर्मनेषु योग्यताविश्वयं कुर्वन्ति। कलालिकायो योग्यताविश्वये च।.'
sacrifices and by (solemn Vedic) sacrifices.' The view of Yaj. (I.13) is that 'thus (i.e. by the performance of samskaras) the taint arising from the seed and uterus (i.e. from the physical defects of parents) is removed.' These words of Manu and Yaj. are variously interpreted by the commentators. Medhatithi says 'seed and uterus are not the causes of sin and therefore all that is meant by enas (in Manu II. 27) is impurity.' Kulluka 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. on Yaj. I. 13 makes it clear that samskaras 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 samskaras are performed on a woman also for the purification of the body. Hārīta as quoted in the Samskāratattva says 'when a person has intercourse according to the procedure of garbhadhāna he establishes in the wife a foetus that becomes fit for the reception of the Veda, by the rite of puñṣavāna he makes the garbha become a male, by the ceremony of Śimantonnayana he removes from the foetus the taint derived from the parents and the accumulated taints (which are five) due to seed, blood and womb are removed by jātakarma, nāmakaraṇa, annaprāśana, cūḍākaraṇa and samāvartana. By these eight samskaras (from garbhadhāna) purity arises.' The exact significance of samskaras in the development of higher human personality was left rather vague in our authorities and their treatment of the purpose of samskaras is not very elaborate or exhaustive. The samskaras 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 samskaras we shall find that the purposes

451. भीजामेधस्वधर्म शुकोगोयितस्यस्य गार्ह्यातिसंसाकारितिनिर्माणः तथा न सांस्कारितोत्स्थवर्धाविता। निता. on पा. I. 18; एनोक्षामायत्सय शाः; पीतासनोद्वेषस्याधिनिधिः। अन्वरकाः।

452. तत्र हरितः। गर्भघनस्वनुपरवते ब्रह्ममं संवधालित। दुस्ववनानुपन्नकरीति लर्नकर्मवाचवत: पञ्चमुग्वधकर्मवाचवतां ज्ञातसर्वज्ञकर्मवाचवतां गर्भघनमेव तत्साधनसत्वर्धमेव स्वाभवः स्वाभवेषस्याधिक संस्कारानं भोज्याशान्त दूरते मनोरीति। संस्काराखण्डः (p. 857).
of samskaras 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 samskaras like namakarana,
annaprasana, and niskramana were more or less of a popular
nature. They afforded opportunities for the expression of love
and affection and for festivities. Other samskaras like
garbhadhana, puñāsavāna, smantonnayana 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 samskaras were divided by Harita into two kinds,
brāhma and daiva. The samskaras of garbhadhana 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 (samskaras). 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 samskaras. Gaut. (VIII. 14–24)
speaks of forty samskaras and eight virtues of the soul. The
forty samskaras are: garbhadhana, puñāsavāna, smantonnayana,
jātakarma, namakarana, annaprasana, caula, upanayana (8
in all); the first two of the Veda, snāna (or samāvartana),
vivāha, five daily mahāyajñas (for deva, pitr, manuṣya,

453. तथा च हरितम:। द्वितिय: संस्कारे भवति बाह्रो दैव।। गर्भधानाविवेर्ष्माताः महः।। परकार्य वेदोपस्मृतिः बैतले दैव।। ब्रह्मसंस्कारसंस्कृत वर्णीयः समानताः सहोर्वतो सातुर्यं गण्यति।। दैवोनस्ततः संस्कृतो वेदोन्तो समानताः सहोर्वताः सातुर्यं गण्यति।। हि स्मृतिः।।
स्मृतिः।। I. p. 13, परा. मात. I. part 2 p. 18, संस्कारसंहिता p. 135. The editor
of the परा. मात. says it is वैदिकसंहितः XI. 1–5 (from the MS he had
discovered).

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bhūta and brahma); seven pākayajñās (viz. aśṭakā, pārvanāsthālpāka, śrāddha, śrāvaṇī, āgrahāyaṇī, caitrī, āśva-
yuṣṭ); seven havir-yajñās (in which there is burnt offering but no soma) viz. Agnyādheya, Agnihotra, Darśapūrṇamāsa, Āgrayaṇa, Cāturmāsya, Nirūdhapāsūbandha and Sautrāmaṇī); seven soma sacrifices (Agništoma, Atyagništoma, Ukhyā, Śoḍaśin, Vājapeya, Ātirātra, Āptoryāma). Gautama uses the word saṁskāra in the most extended sense. Śaṅkha as quoted by the Sm. C. (I. p. 13) and the Subodhīnt on Mit. II. 4 follow Gautama. Valk. speaks of eighteen śārīra saṁskāras (in which he includes utthāṇa, pravāsāgamana, pindavardhana, which are seen nowhere else as saṁskāras) and twenty-two yajñās (i.e. five daily yajñās as one and seven pākayajñās, seven havir-yajñās, and seven soma yajñās). Most grhyasūtras, dharmasūtras and smṛtis do not enumerate so many. Āṅgiras (quoted in the Saṁskāra-
māyukha, Saṁskāra-prakāśa p. 135 and other digests) mentions twenty-five saṁskāras. They include all saṁskāras of Gautama from garbhadhāna to the five daily yajñās (which latter are reckoned as one saṁskāra by Āṅgiras) and after nāmakaraṇa niskramana is added. Besides, Viśnubali, Āgrayaṇa, Aṣṭakā, Śrāvaṇī, Āśvayuṣṭi, Mārgaśiśrī (same as Āgrahāyaṇī), Pārvana, Utsarga and Upākarma are enumerated as the remaining saṁskāras by Āṅgiras. Veda-Vyāsa I. 14-15 enumerates sixteen saṁskāras. Manu, Yaj., Viṣṇu Dh. S. do not give the number of saṁskāras but simply say that they are those from nīseka (garbhadhāna) to smāśāna (i.e. antyeṣṭi). This last one is not treated of in Gautama and several grhyasūtras. In most of the digests the principal saṁskāras are said to be sixteen; but there is some difference of opinion even as to these sixteen.455 For example, Jātukarnya as quoted in Śaṁ, Pr. (p. 135) enumerates the 16 as garbhadhāna, pumavasana, sāmanta, jātakarma, nāmakaraṇa, annasrāsana, cauli, maunīj

454. According to some the seven pākayajñās are: aupaśanahoma, vaiśvadeva, pārvana (sthiulpāka), aṣṭakā, āgrahaṇa (pratihāra), sarpa and īśānabali. Vide Sm. C. I. p. 13. The Baud. gr. I. 1. gives the seven pākayajñās as huta, prahuta, ahuta, śulaga, balihāraṇa, pratyavarohaṇa and aṣṭakā homa. Vide S. B. E. Vol. 30 p. 358 for several differing enumerations of pākayajñās.

455. तत्र संस्कारा: । गर्भाधानम् - (विष्णुधर्माचरणम्) हप्ताक प्रधानम्: संस्कारा: । स्रव्य-विवेकारं प्राप्तम्. The 16 usually enumerated in the digests are gṛhyāṇa, śaṁvapana, śrāvana, śrāvaṇī, āgrahāyaṇī, yajñā, nāmakaraṇa, annasrāsana, cauli, maunīj, vīṣṇu-bhāṣana.
(upanayana), vratas (four), godāna, samāvartana, vivāha and antyeṣṭi. These slightly differ from the sixteen of Veda-Vyāsa.

The grhyasūtras deal with sāṃskāras in two different sequences. Many of them begin with vivāha (marriage) and then proceed up to samāvartana. Some like the Hiranyakesīgṛhya, Bharadvāja-gṛhya and Mānavagṛhya begin with upanayana. Some sāṃskāras like Kārṇavedha and Vidyārmbha are conspicuous by their absence in the grhyasūtras, but are added by later smṛtis and purāṇas. The following is the list of all the sāṃskāras usually so called in most of the smṛtis works together with a few remarks against each as to the work or works in which each is mentioned or described. The sāṃskāras are arranged in the sequence of the times at which in a man's life they are performed beginning from garbhadhāna:

Rtu-saṅgamana—mentioned in Vaik. I. 1 as distinct from garbhadhāna; it calls it niṣeaka also (VI. 2) and describes it in III. 9 and garbhadhāna in III. 10. The Vaik. commences the sāṃskāras with niṣeaka.

Garbhadhāna: Niṣeka: Caturthikarma 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 garbhadhāna. In the Śāṅkhāyana gṛhya (I. 18-19), Pār. gr. I. 11, and Āp. gr. (8. 10-11) the rite called caturthikarma or caturthi-homa takes the place of the rite called garbhadhāna elsewhere and there is no separate description of garbhadhāna in these and some similar

456. For detailed treatment of some of the sāṃskāras, vide Dr. (Mrs.) Kamalabai Deshpande’s work ‘the Child in ancient India’ (with copious references to the grhya sūtras); Mrs. Stevenson’s ‘the Rites of the twice-born’ (1920), which exhaustively reviews in the minutest details the rites of brāhmaṇas (particularly in Kathiawar and 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), Vidyārāṇya’s ‘on daily practices’ in the 20th volume of ‘the Sacred Books of the Hindus’ may also be consulted.

457. चारी संस्कारं निधित्सायािधि: I वैद्यानस VI. 2; अद्य निधिसिद्धस्तर्यां, ब्राह्मवाचस्य:। वैद्यानस I. 1.
grhyasūtras. The Baud. gr. (IV. 6. 1), the Kāthakagrhyas (30. 8), Gaut. (VIII. 14), Yāj. I. 11 employ the word garbhādhana. According to Vaik. (III. 10) the garbhādhana rite follows niṣeka or ṛtu-saṅgamana (union of married pair after menstruation) and consists in ensuring conception.

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

Garbhaharaksana:—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 simanta.


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

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

Nāmakarana:—mentioned in all smṛtis.

Niṣkramaṇa or Upaniṣkramaṇa or Ṇḍityadārśana or Nirṇayaṇa:—Yāj. I. 11 speaks of it as Niṣkramaṇa, Pār. gr. (I. 17) as Niṣkramanīkā, Manu II. 34 speaks of it as Niṣkramaṇa. The Kauśikasūtra 58. 18 calls it Nirṇayana; while Baud. gr. (II. 2) employs the word upaniṣkramaṇa; Māṇava gr. (I. 19. 1), Viṣṇu Dh. S. (27. 10), Śaṅkha (in verse, II. 5) employ appropriately the name Ṇḍityadārśana. 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.)

Annapraśana:—mentioned by almost every smṛti.

Varaṇavarṇa or Abdapūrti:—mentioned in Gobhila, Śāṅ. Pār., Baud.
VI.

\[ \text{Vidyārambha:} \text{ not mentioned in any smṛti but only in Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa quoted by Aparārka (p. 30) and Sm. C. (I. p. 26).} \]

\[ \text{Upanayana:} \text{ mentioned by all. It is called vratādeśa in Veda-Vyāsa I. 14.} \]

\[ \text{Vratas (four):} \text{ mentioned by most of the grhyasūtras.} \]

\[ \text{Kesānta or Godāna:} \text{ Mentioned by almost all.} \]

\[ \text{Samāvartana or Snāna:} \text{ there is great divergence about these two. Manu (III. 4) seems to keep snāna (ceremonial bath after the period of studentship is over) as distinct from samāvartana. Gaut., Āp. gr. V. 12-13, Hīr. gr. I. 9. 1, Yāj. I. 51, Pār. gr. (II. 6-7) employ the word snāna for both the ceremonial bath and the rites of return from the teacher's house on finishing one's studies, while Āśv. gr. (III. 8. 1), Baud. gr. (II. 6. 1), Śān. gr. III. 1, Āp. Dh. S. (I. 2. 7. 15 and 31) employ the word Samāvartana.} \]

\[ \text{Vivāha:} \text{ Mentioned by all as a samāskāra.} \]

\[ \text{Mahāayajnas:} \text{ five daily yajñas; mentioned by Gaut., Āṅgiras and others.} \]

\[ \text{Utsarga:} \text{ (seasonal giving up of Veda studies) is mentioned as a samāskāra in Vaiṅk (I. 1) and by Āṅgiras.} \]

\[ \text{Upākarma:} \text{ (yearly commencement of Veda study) mentioned as a samāskāra by Vaiṅk. (I. 1) and by Āṅgiras.} \]

\[ \text{Antyeṣṭi:} \text{ mentioned by Manu II. 16 and Yāj I. 10.} \]

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

The samāskāras from garbhādhāna to upanayana alone were absolutely necessary in the case of all twice-born persons;
the samskaras of snāna and vivāha were not obligatory, as a
man was allowed to become a samnyāsin (ascetic) immediately
after finishing the period of studenthood (according to the Jābālo-
panicad). The Samskaraprakāsa 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 samskaras
cannot be performed for a klība (impotent) child.

Another question was as to what samskaras could be per-
formed for the śūdra. The view of Vedavyāsa that he could
have ten samskaras performed (but without Vedic mantras) has
been stated above (p. 159). The Baijavāpa grhya says that
seven samskaras are allowed to the śūdra viz. from garbhādhāna
(or niṣeka) to caula. The view of Aparārka appears to be that
the eight samskaras from garbhādhāna to caula (in Yaj. I.11–12)
were meant for all varnas (including the śūdra). According
to the Madanaratna, Rūpanārayaṇa and the bhaṣya of Harihara
as quoted in the Nirnayasindhu, the śūdras were entitled to
perform six samskaras viz. jātakarma, nāmakaraṇa, nīskra-
maṇa, annaprāsana, cūḍa and vivāha and the five daily mahā-
yajñas. The Śūdrakṛtya-tattva of Raghunandana (p. 634)
quotes a verse from the Varahapurāṇa ‘this very procedure
(about śraddha) 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 ‘namāḥ’. The
Nirnayasindhu mentions with approval the same view of
Śūlapāṇi that in all religious ceremonies for śūdras the man-
tras are to be taken from the purāṇas and that they are to be
repeated by the brāhmaṇa priest. The Brahmapurāṇa quoted

459. बैज्जवपश्चेष्ये | द्वितयप्राव निविवक्तार्णीमात्रान्तरमार्गाम मानोऽचलालयमक्रमाणि यथाकालप्रविधानीति | बीरस्तिस्वतूर (सं. म.) p. 133.

460. तत्त्वावर्त्तेवपरिभाषयं न ज्ञेयात्मानविषयम् | तथा सत्त्वपर्यन्त विधाय वाच्यम् | सप्तादि | अवशेषं p. 25.

461. तत्त्वावर्त्तेवपरिभाषयं बालान्ति मस्त्रा: पायसः | ‘अमोनेब विचि: मोक्ष: द्वितयप् मन्त्राः विशेषान् शुद्धेयं’ | इति वराहपुराणानि | द्वितयपुराण p. 634.

462. अत्सत्वाद द्वितयप मन्त्रो विशेष शुद्धेयं हि हिंदुकुस्मरक्व नुष्प परिवर्त्या सर्वार्थोऽव्यतिरेकाया
तेन द्वितयपूर्वक सर्वम् विशेष विशेष तत्र: पायसः: नित्यिः: सोविः पौरवी एवेहि तेव्रापावि: | इति निर्ययसिद्धम्
III. पूर्वार्थे ॥

463. बलोऽव ‘विवाहायात्सत्सारती द्वितयप नमस्तः स्वा’ इत्युच्च: | अत सत्त्वपर्यन्तो गतः विशेषात् अव्यतिरेकाया
निर्ययसिद्धम् III. पूर्वार्थे ॥
in the Sm. C. (I. p. 24) and other digests states that no other sanskāras than vivāha is allowed to the śūdra. On this the Nirṇayasindhu remarks that these conflicting views are to be reconciled by holding that the liberal ones apply to good (sat) śūdras and the stricter ones to low (asat) śūdras or that the rules are different in different countries.

It is to be noted that in modern times most of the sanskāras (except garbhadāhana, upanayana and vivāha) have fallen into oblivion and are hardly ever performed even by brāhmaṇas in the manner and at the times prescribed by the smṛtis. Owing to the rapid rise in the marriageable age of brāhmaṇa girls, even the sanskāra of garbhadāhana is falling into abeyance. Nāmakarana, annaprāśana are performed in a popular way but without Vedic mantras or without calling a priest to officiate. In most cases caula is performed on the day of the upanayana and samāvartana is also performed a few days after upanayana. Jātakarma and annaprāśana are performed on the same day in some parts (e. g. in Bengal). It appears that this state of things has continued for centuries. The Smṛtyarthasāra 464 (p. 3) says 'if the sanskāras (except upanayana) are not performed at the prescribed times, the Vyāhrtihoma should be offered and then the sanskāras should be performed (though late). For each sanskāra that is not performed the penance called pāḍakrochra should be performed (if the non-performance is due to some difficulty or distress), and for non-performance of caula the penance is ardha-krochra. If the sanskāras were knowingly omitted or if there was no distress then the penance is double 465 of this.' The Nirṇayasindhu 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 sanskāras passed over should be performed all at one time,

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


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 prajāpatya penance is equal to three Pādakṛcchras. In place of prajāpatya the person guilty of the lapse may make the gift of a cow or (in the absence of a cow) may give one nīśka (320 guṇājas) of gold or one half or one-fourth of it; one who is very poor may give one-eighth of a silver nīśka or corn of that value. There being these easy substitutes (pratyāmnūya as they were called) people gradually left off performing the several sāṃskāras 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 grhyasūtras 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 (upanayanan brāhmaṇasya aṣṭame) remarks "the teacher (Gautama) expounding upanayana first and passing over the sāṃskāras like garbhadhana that precede upanayana in time conveys that upanayana is the principal sāṃskāra. Therefore even if the sāṃskāras like garbhadhana did not take place owing to adverseness of fate, upanayana can be performed, but it follows that if upanayana be not performed there is no adhikāra (eligibility) for marriage which follows only after upanayana." In modern times in undergoing prāyāścittā for non-performance of the sāṃskāras up to caula two have to be paid to the priest (annas four for each of the sāṃskāras not performed up to caula and annas eight for caula).

467. Vide Sutrāniti p. 752 for कुञ्जरस्मयमानान्तः and Sāṃskārtikaśāstra pp. 141-142 for various sāṃskāras. The modern sāṃskāpa at the time of upanayana for late performance or non-performance of sāṃskāras is: अन्योपसाधनाम: मम कुञ्जर्यस्मयमानान्त: मधुमेकत्वम् नाम गृहस्तीकरणम् गौत्रीकरणम् गौत्रवृत्तिकरणम् समाजयास्तिकरणम् कारतात्तितितिलिङ्गम् (or तितिलिङ्गम्) स्त्रियायपरिवारविधी महिलायाने पायु-कुञ्जरस्मयमानान्तः यथा अर्थकृतः यथाप्रकृतियोऽयति गौमुखार्जनलिङ्गसमाध्यमः पञ्चलाभार्जने।
The sāṃskāras 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 sāṃskāra will be described from a few representative grhya and dharma sūtras such as the Āsv. 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 sāṃskāras viz. upanayana and marriage which are in vogue even now.

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

469. Besides the grhya sūtras, the dharma sūtras, Manu, Yajnavalkya and other smṛtis, the principal digests on sāṃskāra relied upon here are the Sāṃskāratattva of Raghunandana, the Sāṃskāramayukta of Nīlakaṇṭha, the Sāṃskāra-prakāśa of Mitramiśra, the Sāṃskārakarustubha of Anantadeva and the Sāṃskāraratnamālā of Gopinātha. 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 dharma (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 sākhās 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 Savitṛ the true creator, svāhā! Having sacrificed he takes out the rest of the rice, 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 Rk. I am the sky, thou art the earth. Come, let us strive together that a male child may be begotten' (VI. 4. 21–22 cannot be literally translated for reasons of decency.). Briefly the husband has intercourse with her and repeats certain mantras 'may Viṣṇu make ready your private parts, may Viṣṇa frame your beauty, may Prājapati sprinkle and may Dhātā implant an embryo into you; Oh Śinivāli! Oh Pṛthuṣṭukā! implant embryo (in her), may the two Asvins 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 Garbhālamhana (conceiving a child), Puṃsāvāna (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 samśkāra by Hir. and other ghṛhya sūtras occur).

The rite called caturthikārma is described in the Śaṅkhāyana 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 'amohāsmi' occurs in the Atharvaveda XIV. 71, that a similar passage (where instead of 'स त्वम' there is 'सा त्वम') occurs in Ait. Br. VIII. 27 and that in the Chāndogya Up. I. 6. 1 स is explained as earth and 'ama' as fire. The mantra 'may Viṣṇu...embryo into you' is Rg. X. 184. 1 = Atharvaveda V. 25. 5, and the mantra 'oh Śinivāli...an embryo,' is Rg. X. 184. 2 = Atharva V. 25. 3 (where 'Sarasvati' is read for 'pṛthuṣṭuke'. The Nirukta (XI. 32. on Rg. II. 32. 6 where we have an invocation to Śinivāli in the words 'give us progeny', प्रजा विविद्धि न:) explains 'pṛthuṣṭuke' as 'pṛthuṣṭake' (having large buttocks or large mass of hair). The words 'garbham dādhatu' 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.
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nights after marriage having elapsed, on the fourth the husband makes into fire eight offerings of cooked food to Agni, Vāyu, Sūrya (the mantra being the same for all three except the name of the deity), Aryaman, Varuṇa, Pūṣan (mantras being the same for these three), Prajāpati (the mantra is Rg. X. 121. 10), to (Agni) Śvistakrt. Then he pounds the root of Adhyandā plant and sprinkles it into the wife's nostril with two verses (Rg. X. 85. 21-22) with svāhā at the end of each. He should then touch her, when about to cohabit, with the words 'the mouth of the Gandharva Viśvāvasu art thou'. Then he should murmur 'into the breath I put the sperm, Oh! so and so' (the name of the wife) or he repeats the verse 'as the earth has fire inside &c. (quoted above from Br. Up. VI. 4. 22) or several other verses in this strain 'may a male embryo enter thy womb as an arrow into the quiver; may a man be born here, a son, after ten months'.

The Par. gr. (I. 11, S. B. E. vol. 29, pp. 288-290) also has a similar procedure. Āp. gr. (8. 10-11, S. B. E. vol. 30, pp. 267-268), Gobhila II. 5 (S. B. E. vol. 30, pp. 51-52) give briefly a similar procedure, but refer to mantras given in the Mantrapātha (e. g. Āp. M. P. I. 10. 1 to I. 11. 11). To modern minds it appears strange that intercourse should have been surrounded by so much of mysticism and religion in the ancient sūtras. But in ancient times every act was sought to be invested with a religious halo; so much so that according to Hir. Āgr. I. 7. 25. 3. (S. B. E. vol. 30, p. 200) Ātreyā held that mantras were to be repeated at each cohabitation throughout life, while Bādarāyana prescribed that this was necessary only at the first cohabitation and after each monthly course.

The Hir. gr. (I. 7, 23. 11 to 7, 25, S. B. E. vol. 30 pp. 197-200) gives a very elaborate rite, but on the same lines as the above grhīyasūtras. 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 Viṣṇu (III. 9) calls this ceremony ṛtusaṁgamana and is similar to Āp. gr. and Hir. gr. It will be seen that the

471. The mantra 'आ ते वीणं गम्भे एव युगल वण त्रयुद्विगिय। आ च दीर्घना जायतो तु गजसे वस्त्रालय:॥' is अधर्मेव तीर्थयोगि III. 23. 2. This occurs also in विनय-कौलियुगि I. 7. 25. 1.

472. भार्तार्जुनः I. 20 ascribes these views respectively to अस्माराध्य and आलेखान. 'सत्योपयोगानि मन्त्रविध्यं भवस्तव्यासमर्गं र्वत्सायी यज्ञोस्याग्निष्कर्षणं केलेन।'
caturthikarma is treated by the grhya writers as part of the marriage rites and the rite was performed irrespective of the question whether it was the first appearance of menses or whether the wife had just before the marriage come out of her monthly illness. This indicates that it was taken for granted that the wife had generally attained the age of puberty at the time of marriage. As the marriageable age of girls came down it appears that the rite of caturthikarma was discontinued and the rite was performed long after the ritual of marriage and appropriately named garbhādhāna.

The smṛtis and nibandhas add many details some of which will have to be noticed. Manu (III. 46) and Yaj. I. 79 say that the natural period (for conception) is sixteen nights from the appearance of menses. Āp. gr. 9. 1 says 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. Hārita also says the same. These two appear to allow garbhādhāna on the fourth night, but Manu (III. 47), Yaj. (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. Manu (IV. 128) and Yaj. 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 Yaj. I. 80 (that the Mula 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 Nirnayasindhu and Dharmasindhu elaborate discussions are held about the months, tithis, week-

473. चतुर्थिकर्म प्रयास क्षीत्रतथसत्तात्र्र दुर्भा मन्त्रजीविभाष्यसहुगानन्तनेत्रपदविसाइत । अय. रू. सं. 9. 1, S. B. E. vol 30 p. 268.

474. चतुर्थिकर्म प्रयास क्षीत्रतथसत्तात्र्र दुर्भा मन्त्रजीविभाष्यसहुगानन्तनेत्रपदविसाइत । अय. रू. सं. 9. 1, S. B. E. vol 30 p. 268.
days, nakṣatras, colour of clothes, that were deemed to be inauspicious for the first appearance of menses and about the sāṁtis (propitiatory rites) for averting their evil effects. Āp. gr., Manu (I. 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 ungents, should not converse with a woman, or a pūdra, 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. Saṅkha-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 sāṁskāra 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 sāṁskāra of the garbha and not of the woman. Viśvarūpa 477 on Yāj. I. 11 expressly asserts that all sāṁskāras except Simantonnayana have to be performed again and again (as they are the sāṁskāras of the garbha), while Simantonnayana being a sāṁskāra of the woman has to be performed only once and this opinion was in consonance with the usage in his days. Laghu-Āśvalāyana (IV. 17) also holds the same view. Medhātithi 478 on Manu II. 16 says that the garbhādhāna rite with mantras was performed after marriage only once at the time of the first cohabitation according to some, while according to

475. भगवंद्य स्नातान यजुला बाध्यते भयार्थायाम... ...भगवं भयार्थायाम... (प्रकर. p. 241) and विज. I. 9.

476. मित्र सत्याविविधेन श्रीमाताएव तवदित्त जनयति यथा श्रीरुपेनी श्रीरुपस्य स्वप्रभवं. नेत्रेन नेत्र एव ज्ञाते। श्रुतिकृतिः quoted in शुल्लिचः (यजव. p. 241) and विज. I. 9.

477. मेधात्थिः चापसमस्मात्रात्। वरसते। तत्ष्य श्रीसत्कारवात्। ...म्यायाने र्यागःविविधारे। शिक्षानि इत्यवस्तव। ...ये च समावाराध्यः। वषोषय कह मग. द. 11.

478. गायेनानि च विनात्सस्वानि विज्ञानानि विन्यासिस्वं काव्यस्थिति ममप्रस्तेषु-तिक्षिति वरसायामवर्णहकारस्यः। मेक्ष. on मद्ध म. 1.16.
others it was to be performed after every menstruation till conception. Later works like the Mit. (on Yaj. I.11), the Sm. C., the Saṃskāratattva (p. 909) hold that garbhādhāna, puṁsavaṇa and simantonnayana are saṃskāras 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 puṁsavaṇa is repeated at each conception. He relies on Pār. gr. I. 15; and the Saṃskāra-mayukha and the Saṃskāraprakāśa (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 rajavāla (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 Saṃskārakaustubha (p. 59) relying on Grhya-pariṣṭava 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 'Viṣṇur-yonim' (Rg. X. 184. 1-3), three with 'nejamesa' (Ap. L. r. I. 12. 7-9) and one with Rg. X. 121. 10 (prajāpate na).

All saṃskāras other than garbhādhāna can be performed by any agnate in the absence of the husband (vide Saṃskāraprakāśa 480 p. 165).
As homa is necessary in numerous ceremonies and rites, the grhyasūtras give a description of a model homa. Therefore here also it would be well to set out the description from the Āśvalāyana grhyasūtra (I. 3, S. B. E. vol 29 pp. 162-163), a few important points of difference being added from other grhyasūtras and other works.

"Now wherever (a person) intends to offer a sacrifice he should besmear (with cowdung) a sthanālīla (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 sthanālīla 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 sthanālīla) with water, establish the (sacred) fire (on the sthanālīla), put (two or three samidhs) on the fire; then he should perform parisamāhāna (i.e. wiping or sweeping the ground round the fire), then paristaranā (i.e. strewing darbha grass round) to the east, to the south, to the west, to the north (in order); in this way (all acts like parisamāhāna, paristaranā &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 ajya is done. (3) Having 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 ajya (from the west) towards the east with (the words) 'by the urging of Savitṛ I purify thee with this uninjured pavitra, with the rays of the Vasu (i.e. rich or good) sun', once with this mantra, twice silently. (4) The strewing of kuśa grass (paristaranā) round the fire may or may not be done in the ajya homas (i.e. sacrifices in which clarified butter alone is to be offered into the fire). (5) So also the two ajya portions (may optionally be offered) in the Pākayajnas. (6) And (the

482. खच जनानासिद्धमसायथ स्थान तथा चारीवस्त्रैः विषालिङ्गो रेखा तिष्ठितास्मयामहात्मयाः सम्भवस्मयपति। आभ. य. च. II. 1. 1. 13.
483. तुण्यालाभारावाण्यांभागी जस्तु पाहुःप्रयत्नस्य स्वायः तीसाय त्वाहृतिः। उत्तमात्रेयं व्यक्तिर्भूमं विभयार्थवित्तममात्र। आभ. य. I. 10. 13-15. The ajya to Agni is offered to the north of the fire and that to Soma to the south of it.
employment in all Pākayajñās) 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. At the end there is an offering to Agni Śvistakṛt (vide Appendix under note 481 for the mantra).

In the Śānkhaśāna 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 Āśvalaśāna). Further it (I. 8. 6-7) says that the seat of the brahmā priest is to the south of the sthandila and he is honoured with flowers. Śānkhaśāna adds (I. 8. 8.) the detail that the prāṇīta waters are carried forward on the north side and (I. 8. 9-11) that paristaraṇa follows after the carrying forward of the prāṇīta 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 prāṇīta water and the rest of the water in the sruva is called the proksanī water with which the havis, the idhma (fuel) and barhis (kuśās) are sprinkled. Śānkhaśāna 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 Khādира 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 sthandila 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. 138). The sthandila 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 ज्ञानरितियत्व and न्यातमक vide respectively आदिन. gr. I. 12. 7 and IV. 9. The deities when none are specified or indicated are different according to other sūtras e.g. अर्थार्थवाच states them to be अर्थ, लोम, प्रजापति, लिन्धे व्यज्ञा, and अर्थ न्यिष्क्रिय (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 sthāndila is to be a square, each side of which is given variously as being an arrow (18 aṅgulas in length, or 32 finger breadths (according to Vāj.), or one aratni (=21 aṅgulas according to Baud. gṛ. parībhāṣā I. 5. 3). The Āp. gṛ. describes at length the procedure common to all homas.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>East</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>barhis idbma</td>
<td>3 6 5 4 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ājyapātra prapaya-napātra</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sruva proksana-pātra</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sacrificer facing the east.**

ABCD is the sthāndila 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 carusthāli and proksanapātra, darvi and sruva, camasa and ājyapātra, idhma and barhis.

485. मात्रीः यतीः प्रायस्तवस्य प्रायश्चित्तमस्य समे ता येसे प्रायश्चित्वस्य ...। हिरण्य. र री. 1. 9. अपरां ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं ग्रं The 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 carusthāli and proksanapātra, darvi and sruva, camasa and ājyapātra, idhma and barhis. In the Adityapurāṇa a passage where an aratni is said to be equal to 21 aṅgulas. In the height of a man is given as five aratnis.
History of Dharmaidrastra

(according to Āsvalāyana-ग्र्य-परीशिष्टः 14) and Kumārila-kārikā I. 2. 20.)

The above is the figure of the sthañdila and the lines there- on in all gṛhya rites according to Baudhāyana-ग्र्य-सांग्रह-परीशिष्टः (Z. D. M. G. vol. 35 p. 540) I. 52-58. The distance between the lines running towards the east is six अंगुलास and it will be noted that all the lines are only five (and नव्यात्री). The brahma is the only priest (out of the four, the praṃṛtvikā) in sacrifices that are offered in one fire (न the sru-ग्र्य fire) and are called pākayajñās and the poruṣā (sacrificer) is himself the hotṛ priest. The order of the several parts in the homa is as follows: upalepana (smearing with cowdung), arranging of sthañdila with sand or earth; drawing lines on the sthañdila with a samidh (fuel stick), keeping the samidh on the lines with its end towards the east, sprinkling sthañdila with water on its north or east, keeping the samidh (with which lines were drawn) outside the sthañdila towards the north-east, then ācāmana (by the sacrificer), then placing fire (either produced by attrition or brought from the house of a śrotriya or the ordinary one) on the sthañdila facing the performer, placing two or three samidhs on the fire, keeping ready of idhma (15 samidhs) and a bunch of darbha grass. Then parisamābhana (wiping the ground round the fire from north-east with the hand that has water in it), then paristaraṇa (strewing darbha grass round the altar first to the east, then to the south, then to the west and lastly to the north), then silent paryukṣaṇa (sprinkling of water thrice round the fire, each

486. श्रेष्ठक पत्रिका। पाकवर्ण स्वर्य होता भवति। गोभिलश्रृः I. 1. 8-9 पाकवर्ण दृष्टाभ्यास: शः कर्णाकामी। शास्त्रश्रृः I. 1. 20.

487. This is based on Nṛśyapa's com. on Ṛṣ. gr. I. 3. 1-3.
time taking water in the hand separately), then apah-praṇa-
yana (carrying forward the water to the north of the fire) in a
vessel of bell-metal or earthenware, then ājyotpavana (purifica-
tion 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
Svistakṛt. 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 paristaraṇa 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 paviṇas 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 praṇītāpātra is placed to
the west of the fire, the two paviṇas (kuśa blades used as strainers
are placed inside it and water is poured into the praṇītāpātra 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 śrac and śraca, and throwing of the
rope that tied together idhma into the fire at the end of the oblation
to Svistakṛt.

489. In offering an oblation to Dāśr one would say ‘अध्य वाच वाच्य
नो विपिनव गीवक्तिनि: स नः पूर्वः चावनद्वः व्याह! धात्र हि न मस’. The
four oblations with the vyāhṛtis would be स: व्याह! धात्र व्याह! व्याह! धात्र
dvārakṣa: व्याह! धात्र. 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 Ṛg. śr. sūtra II. 12. 7 and II. 14. 1 and Nārāyaṇa on Āśv.
gr. I. 10. 13. For Ṛjyabhūga see note 483.
according to some teachers with a combination (of the ōk verses and vyāhrtis), while according to others there are no such special oblations.

In modern times, after the sthāndila is sprinkled with water, fire is established on it under various names depending on the rite to be performed e.g. in upanayana and marriage respectively the fire is called 'Samudbhava' and 'Yojaka'. Then fuel sticks already sprinkled with holy water are placed on the fire and it is fanned into a flame and prayer is offered to it in the words 'agni Vaiśvānara Śāndilya meṣadhvaja mama sammukho varado bhava'. Then follow parisamāhāna 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 sāmkāras one has to feed brāhmaṇas learned in the Vedas. All rites begin with ācamana by the performer, prānāyāma by him, reference to the deśa (place) and kāla (time) and a saṁkalpa (a declaration of what rite he is performing and for what purpose). After these, according to medieval works, follow in all auspicious rites the worship of Gaṇapati, puṇyāhavācana, the worship of Mātrā (mother goddessess) and Nāndīrāddha. According to some there is only one saṁkalpa for all these; according to others there is a separate saṁkalpa for each of puṇyāhavācana, mātrkāpūjana and Nāndīrāddha. In all auspicious rites the performer takes a bath first, ties his topknot, has a piece of ground cowdunged and lines with coloured materials are drawn on a portion of the ground, two auspicious kalahas (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 ōks 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 Áśv. gr. 1. 3. 8 set out above at p. 208).
492. Vide सं. २. म. pp. 58–59 where these names of the fires in the several sāmkāras and rites are set out. The Dānakriyākaumudi (pp. 205–206) quotes from Kapila Pañcarātra over 80 names of the fires kindled in the several rites and ceremonies.
493. छाँडिक्रिया कामुदी स्त्रेष्ठ्येंशु भोजेष्वत् | अधिष्ठ च. २. II. 6. 15. 9; पयाव कार्यापणः | गर्भधारानिविर्येंशु मायापाद भोजेष्वः | अपराधः p. 82.
wooden low stools or planks are arranged to the west of the spot so decorated, the performer sits on one plank facing the east, his wife sits to his right and if the ceremony is meant for his son, the latter sits to the right of the wife; the brāhmaṇas are seated a little away to the right of the wife, facing the north and the performer sips water (takes ācamana). Except where a religious rite is to be performed on a fixed day (e.g., anniversary śrāddha &c.) all sāmśkāras and other auspicious rites are to be performed at certain auspicious times only.

Ganapatipūjana:—This consists in inviting the presence of the elephant-faced god Gāneśa on a betelnut placed in a handful of husked rice. The word Ganapati is used in the Rgveda 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 Gāneśa is addressed to Brahmanaspati. Indra is addressed as Gaṇapati in Rg. X. 112. 9. In the Tai. S. IV. 1. 2 and Vāj. S. paśus (and the horse specially) are said to be the Gaṇapatya of Rudra. The Ait. Br. IV. 4 expressly says that the mantra ‘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 Gāneśa as described in the medieval works, viz. the head of an elephant, pot belly, mouse as vahana (conveyance) are entirely wanting in the Vedic literature. In Vāj. S. III. 57 the mouse is said to be the paśu (animal to be offered to) of Rudra. In the Tai. Ār. (X. 15) there is a verse ‘We contemplate Vakratunda, therefore may the tusked (god) impel us’. In the Gṛhya and Dharma sūtras there is no reference to the worship of Gāneśa 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 Vighna, Vināyaka, Vīra, Sthūla, Varada, Hastimukha,
Vakratunda, Ekadanta and Lambodara. But this part of the Baud. Dh. S. is of doubtful authenticity. All the above are the appellations of Vinayaka (vide Baud. grhya-śeṣasūtra III. 10. 6.). In the Mānava grhya II. 14 it is said that the Vinayakas are four viz. Śālakataṅkata, Kūśmāndarājaputra, Usmita and Devayajana. They are evil spirits and people when seized by them have bad dreams and see in them inauspicious sights such as shaved persons, persons with matted hair or wearing yellowish garments, camels, hogs, asses, cāndālas. When seized by them, princes, though capable, do not get their kingdoms; maidens, though endowed with all accomplishments, cannot secure husbands; married women have no children or even virtuous wives lose their children in infancy; husbandmen lose their crops &c. The Mānavagṛhya then prescribed propitiatory rites to remove the effects of Vinayaka seizure. The Baijāvāpagṛhya (quoted by Aparārka p. 563 on Yāj. I. 275) says that there are four Vinayakas, Mita, Sammita, Śālakataṅkata and Kūśmāndarājaputra and describes seizure by them and its effects in the same way as the Mānavagṛhya. These two show the first stage in the development of the cult of Vinayaka. Vinayakas are at this stage malevolent spirits who cause dangers and obstacles of various kinds. In this cult various elements from the terrific aspects of Rudra were probably first drawn upon and amalgamated with other elements drawn from aboriginal cults. The next stage is indicated by the Yāj. smṛti (I. 271-294). Here Vinayaka (I. 271) is said to be one appointed by Brahmā and Rudra to the over-lordship of the Gaṇas, he is represented not only as causing obstacles, but also as bringing success in the actions and rites undertaken by men. Yāj. enumerates the results of the seizure by Vinayaka in the same way as the Mānavagṛhya. Yāj. I. 285 says that Mita, Sammita, Śālakataṅkata and Kūśmāndarājaputra are the four names of the one Vinayaka and that Ambikā is the mother of Vinayaka. It is noteworthy that Yāj. does not

498. चतुरास्व द्वारा विनायक भविष्यति। निर्मला संभिलण्ड शालकथनकुस्मान भुमामण्डराजपुत्रा राजसुतेति। धैर्यवर्धन ऋषि q. in अराक्षे p. 563.

499. Though Vidvartī and Aparārka take these to be four, it is curious that the Mit. makes them to be six (viz. Śāla and Kaṭaṅkata as distinct and so also Kūsmāṇḍa and Rājaputra). It is remarkable that Kṣira on Amarakośa expressly says that Heramba is a Deśya word. This adds some weight to the theory that Gaṇeda was taken over into the Vedic pantheon from some exotic tribe and affiliated to Rudra (Śiva).
employ any one of the well-known epithets of Vināyaka, viz. Ekadanta, Heramba, Gajānana, Lambodara &c. The Baud. gr. śeṣasūtra III. 10 prescribes a somewhat different procedure for propitiating Vināyaka and styles him ‘the lord of bhūtas’, and also ‘hastimukha’ and ‘vighnēśvara’ and prescribes the offerings of āpūpa and modaka to him. Thus Baudhāyana is nearer to the medieval conception of Gaṇeṣa than even Yajñavalkya. The Ādiśarva makes Gaṇeṣa 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 Mānavagṛhīya. 500

The Gobhiśasūrī (in verse) I. 13 prescribes that at the beginning of all rites, the Māṭras together with Gaṇāḍhīpa (the lord of Gaṇas) should be worshipped. The well-known characteristics of Gaṇeṣa and his worship had become fixed before the 5th or 6th century of the Christian era. Kālidāsa does not refer to Gaṇeṣa. The Gāthāsaptasātī has references to Gaṇeṣa. In that work (IV. 72) an image of Gaṇeṣa 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 Gaṇeṣa referable to about 500 A. D. Vide Dr. Bhandarkar in ‘Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism’ p. 147. Bāna in his Harṣacarīta (IV Ucchvāsa verse 2) speaks of the large tusk of Gaṇāḍhīpa and in describing Bhairavācārya (Harṣacarīta 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 Mahāvīrācarīta (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 Mahābhūtāghaṭa, in which it is said that Vināyaka should be shown as riding a mouse. The Kṛtyaratnakara p. 271 quotes a passage from the Bhavisyapurāṇa for the worship of Gaṇeṣa on the 4th day of Bhādrapada. Vide Agnipurāṇa chap. 71 and 313

500. न पुजा विध्वसनमाध्यमा मधम् कुला । बनपर्व 65. 23; ईश्वर: सर्वेश्वरकाम गणेशब्रह्मचित्रम् । अजुलासन 150. 25.
In modern times a verse 501 is repeated in which the shrines of the eight Vināyakas in the Deccan are enumerated.

Among the earliest epigraphic references to Gaṇapati is the one in the Nidhanpur plate of Bhāskarvarman (middle of 7th century). Vide E. I. Vol. XII. p. 73.508

The Gaṇapatipūjā consists in the performer repeating the mantra Rg. II. 23. 1 (‘gaṇānām tvā Gaṇapati’) as a prayer and then bowing to Gaṇeṣa with the words ‘Om Mahāgaṇapataye namo namah nirvighnam kuru’ (salutations to the great Gaṇapati, make (this rite) free from obstacles’.

*Punyahavācana:*—Although many elaborate descriptions of this are given in later digests like the Saṃskāraratnamālā, this was originally in ancient times a very simple and brief rite. The Ap. 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 ‘punyāham’, ‘svasti’, and ‘rddhim’. The performer of a religious rite honours the assembled brāhmaṇas with gandha (sandalwood paste), flowers and tāmbula (betel leaves) and requests with folded hands ‘may you declare the day to be auspicious for such and such a ceremony which I, by name so and so, am about to perform’ and then the brāhmaṇas

501. स्वास्ति भीमणामाको मोरेश्वर सिद्धवं ढाळानो सृष्टि वर्तमानं महो जोरिवे। स्वास्ति: स्तुः राजने गणपतिभविष्यमणिस्थेरे न्यायपादी सिद्धवत्मः। न्यायपादे कुर्योत्त्वम् महोत्त्वः। तद्धीर् म निर्देशं नेपालयो निर्देशं निर्देशं।

502. गणपतिवाचनो तथा नावपतिवाचनो द्रव्यपद्धातिजनकस्य। गणपतिवाचनो सुगणपतिज्ञातास्य। कृत्यायामेव तत्तपम। E. I. XII. p. 73. व्रान्त means gift as well ichor.

503. In स्वास्ति staunch the performer says ‘अयुक्तसम: मम कार्यमानविहित: हर्षदाय कर्मणे वस्ति भवति बुद्धत:’ and the brāhmaṇas reply ‘आः वस्ति’; the performer says ‘अयुक्तसम: मम कार्यमानविहित: हर्षदाय कर्मण: पुण्याय भवति बुद्धत:’, the brāhmaṇas reply ‘आः पुण्याहृत:’, the performer says ‘अयुक्तसम: ... कर्मण: भविन्ति भवति बुद्धत:’, and the brāhmaṇas respond ‘आः सच्चायाम: or ‘आः कर्म: आच्छाद्य: (or सच्चायाम:)’, पृष्ठावशेषस्य सर्वे ब्रह्मायणिक विधिप्रदे। सदैव व निरोधयोगकृपाजीविधिप्रदे। एवम् quoted in संस्कारारत्नालिका p. 29.
respond by saying 'Om, may it be auspicious'. Each of these three sentences (with svasti, puṇyāham and rddhim) 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 ksatriya or a vaisya.

*Mātrkāpūrana*:—The Mātrās (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 Mrchodakatika (I) Cārudatta asks his friend Maitreyā to offer bali to the Mātrās. The Gobhila-smṛti (in verse I. 11–12) names 14 mātrās viz. Gaurī, Padmā, Śacī, Medhā, Śāvitrī, Vijayā, Jayā, Devasenā, Svadā, Svāhā, Dhṛtī, Puṣṭi, Tuṣṭi and one's own deity (abhīṣṭa-devatā). In the Mārkaṇḍeya (chap. 88. 11–20 and 38) seven mātrās have been named as Mātrgana. The Matsyapurāṇa (chap. 179. 9–32) names over a hundred mother goddesses (like Māheśvarī, Brahmi, Kaumārī, Caṃūṇḍā), while in chap. 261 (24–36), there is a description of the images of some of the mātrās like Brahmāṇī &c. The Brhat-Samhitā of Varāhamihira (chap. 58, 56) refers to the images of the mother goddesses. Bāna in his Ka damsbarī frequently refers to the mātrās, to their worship and to dilapidated temples of these goddesses. The Kṛtyaratnakāra quotes a passage from the Bhavisya-purāṇa at p. 261 about the images of the seven mātrās and pp. 305 and 307 quote the Devīpurāṇa about the worship of mātrās and the flowers dear to them. The worship of mātrās 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 mātrās' (I. A. vol. VI. p. 73 in 535 śakte 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 mātrās (I. A. vol. VI. p. 25). Similarly a

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504. These verses are quoted in the सत्त्वति (आदि p. 503) and अपरार्ध p. 517. The seven in the मण्डलेय are ब्रह्माणी, माहेश्वरी, कौमारी, वाराही, नारायणी, श्रीमानी, ऐश्वरी.

505. 'अभिस्वायतिमहर्षज्ञमातृमिस्ववर्णायज्ञमातृस्ववर्णायज्ञमातृस्ववर्णाय' (सत्त्वति) in para 64, पुराण of कालाकारी; 'अन्नवर्ण च केशधारी स्त्राण्मतमातृमिस्ववर्णायज्ञमातृस्ववर्णाय' para 130 कालाकारी (पुराण); 'अस्त्वन्तुधर्मवेदप्रभुवद्यवस्थानकालहरितकालेक्षणम् (अर्थविविधविविधिक) para 216 कालाकारी (पुराण).

506. 'स्वायकमातृमिस्ववर्णायज्ञमातृस्ववर्णाय' I. A. vol. VI. p. 25. Fleet's translation 'who meditate on the assemblage of the mothers of Svāmī Kārtikeya' is not accurate.

H. D. 28
temple to the Mātrās is said to have been erected by Mañjakṣa, 
the minister of Viśvavarma in 480 of the Mālava Era i. e. 
423-24 A. D. (Gupta Inscriptions p. 74).

Whence the cult of mātrās, which was not described in the 
Grhyasūtras, was derived it is difficult to say. Sir John Mar-
shall in his famous work on Mohenjo-Daro (vol. I. p. VII and 
pp. 49-52 and plates XII, XCV 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. 4 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.

Puṁsavana:—This rite is so called because in virtue of it a 
male is born. The word ‘puṁsavana’ occurs in the Atharva-
veda VI. 11. 1 where it appears to be used literally (in the 
sense of ‘giving birth to a male child’) ‘The Āśvattha tree is 
on top of the Śaṁś tree, there the birth of a male has been 
effectcd’. The Āśv. gr. I. 13. 2–7 describes the rite as follows: 
‘he should in the third month of pregnancy, under the constel-
lation Ṭīṣya (i. e. Puṣya) give (thrice) to eat to the wife, 
after she has fasted, (on the preceding Purarvasu constellation) 
in the curds of a cow which has a calf of the same colour (with 
the cow) two beans and one grain of barley for each handful 
of curds. On his asking (the woman) ‘what dost thou drink? 
what dost thou drink?’, she should thrice reply ‘puṁsavana’, 
(generation of a male), ‘puṁsavana’. In this way (he) 
should make her take three handfuls (of curds with two beans 
and barley ).’

There is some difference of view as to details. The Āp. gr., 
Hir. gr. and Bhāradvāja gr. place puṁsavana after śmanton-

507. जानान पन्न माट्र के धामकासत भिँये। क्र. IX. 102. 4.

508. द्वारकेश्वराय मन्त्राय पन्न कर्मण निर्मिति गार्भाणी द्वारकेश्वर 
संडक सवन। द्वारकेश्वराय वण निर्मिति ध्वस्तवर्ष 
समस्मेव सुते तद्वितुमेव। 

509. नान्दीश्रास्त्र आदायस्य द्वारकेश्वर द्वारकेश्वरी। 

510. Vide Appendix for text.
nayana and Ap. says it may be performed when pregnancy becomes apparent. Instead of two beans and a barley 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 Ap. M. P. (II.11.14). Sañ. gr. (I. 20, S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 46) says that the rite may be performed on Tisya or Śrāvana, while the Bhāradvāja gr. (I. 22) says that it may be performed on Tisya or Hasta or Anurādhā or Uttara or Proṣṭhapadā; Pāraskara and Baijavāpa say it should be performed when the moon is in conjunction with a male naksatra. 511 Pār. gr. I. 14 and Jātukarṇya (San. Pr. p. 167) and Baijavāpa (*ibid.*) say that the rite should be performed in the 2nd or 3rd month of pregnancy, Āśv., Hir., Sañ., Gobhila, Khāḍira prescribe the third month. Yāj. I. 11, Pār. gr. (I. 14), Viṣṇu Dh. S. 27. 2 and Brhaspati (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 sthālipāka intended for Prajāpati up to the offering of the two ṛṣya-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 Ap. gr. 14. 10 न्यायोपुस्ताः वा मथुरवधीविक वा शास्त्र ततः संबृज्ञ छृज्ञामानुसृयः वेक्षालकः. III. 11 also has ‘अष्टेश्वरस्यासातीतायाऽपमोदिताः सर्पमामित्वासाधुपादुण्डायं तथा इत्येवाद्वाले मानवायां महत्तिमध्य स्यातान्.’

512. According to a verse quoted in Sm.C. the male nakṣatras are Hasta, Mula, Śrāvāna, Pūnarvasu, Mrgśiras and Puṣya; the Saṃskāra-mayyukha adds that the Nārādyā mentions Rohini, Piṛvāḥḥadrapadā and Uttarābbadrapadā also as male nakṣatras and that Vasiṣṭha regards Svāti, Anurādhā and Ādinī also as male nakṣatras. *Mānuśa on श्रवण, य. I. 1. 5* says ‘अष्टेश्वरस्यासातीतायाऽपमोदिताः सर्पमामित्वासाधुपादुण्डायं तथा इत्येवाद्वाले मानवायां महत्तिमध्य स्यातान्.’
of śिष्टस is to perform it in the 8th month and Brahmabala (another com.) says that the usage is to perform it in the 7th or 8th month of pregnancy. Most of the grhyasūtras refer to the pounding of the shoot 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 Vaj. S. XIII. 4 (Rg. X. 121. 1) and XXXI. 17.; Khādira gr. (S. B. E. vol. 29. p. 394) mentions Mantra-Brāhmaṇa I. 4. 8, the Kāṭhaka gr. quotes Kāṭhaka Śāṁhitā. The several sūtras of the Black Yajurveda show the greatest divergence among themselves.

It would be clear that the pumsāvana 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 Śaṁskāra-ratnamālā prescribe a homa for pumsāvana 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 Śmantonnayana also.

**Anavalobhana or Garbharakṣaṇa:**—This rite was apparently part of Pumsāvana. Āśv. gr., as already said, separately mentions pumsāvana and anavalobhana as referred to in the Upaniṣad. The Baijavāpa gr. (quoted in the Śaṁskāra-prakāsha p.171) says ‘He performs the pumsāvana 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 Śaṁskāramayūkha 514 says that the two are to be performed in the 2nd or 3rd month

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513. According to the Kāṭhaka gr. the pounding is to be done by a virgin or a brahmascārin or by a chaste brāhmaṇa woman.

514. वैष्णवपुष्पः अथ इत्यवननलोभने करोति सार्वी द्वितीये या दूसरीये या । ब्रह्म ष इत्यवननलहि व सदृढ़त्तरं कार्यं । ... ... ब्रह्मपित क अवशयते गम्यते अन्वयो गम्यते कालेन ज्ञातं यदू नामप्रयो तरं नामप्रयव भावर्ष्याः। संस्कारत्वृष्ण।
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 lūp with ava). Āsv. 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 Jīvaputra 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 dūrvārāsa 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 Āsv.

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 Śmṛtyarthaśāra it is to be performed in the fourth month. According to Laghu-Āśvalāyana IV. 1-2 anavalobhana and smontonnayana were to be performed in the 4th, 6th or 8th month of pregnancy and verses 6-7 give the same details as in Āsv. gr.

The Śāṅ. gr. (I. 21. 1-3, S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 47) speaks of a ceremony called Garbharaṅkṣaṇa (protection of the foetus):

“In the fourth month the garbharaṅkṣaṇa; offering six oblations into fire from a mess of cooked food with the six verses of the hymn ‘brahmaṁāṇiḥ’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.”

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⁵¹⁵. Nārāyana 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 Jīvaputra. They are: आ वे गभो यौनिकेतु पुस्ताः भाग्र द्रवैसुचिद्य / आ वीरौ जापान्त ऐसते वृक्ष मास्य / अर्चिन्दु पवित्रः वेदवाग्निः संथीय पज्ञसः हर्जयास्मातः तत्र यस्य राजः पवित्रः ऐसते बृहि परिबंधकं न राजनः / इति. The first is practically the same as अष्टेषद्वितीय III. 23. 2; the 2nd is अष्टे. म. पा. I. 4. 7.

⁵¹⁶. न व्यापेय व्यवेिन तत्कर्मांवकल्पनां त्रिशीक्षकारिकाः.

⁵¹⁷. The Anukramanī 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 (सक्रमाणं).
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 puṇśavana it is to be performed only once.


This word literally means 'parting of the hair (of a woman) upwards.' Yāj. (I. 11), Veda-Vyāsa (I. 18) call this sarūṅskāra simply 'simanta', while Gobhila (II. 7. 1), Mānava gr. (I. 12. 2), Kāṭhaka gr. (31. 1) call it simantakarāṇa. Āp. gr. and Bhāradvāja gr. (I. 21) describe it before puṇśavana. The Āśv. gr. (I. 14. 1–9) describes it as follows: "In the fourth month of pregnancy the Simantonnayana (should be performed). In the fortnight of the waxing moon, when the moon may be in conjunction with a nakṣatra that is (regarded as) male (or the name of which is of the masculine gender, according to Nārāyana); 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 Dātṛ 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 'nejamesa' (a khilasīkta 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 spots518 (or rings) and with three bunches of kusa 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.

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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).' 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. mantrāpātha thirteen verses are devoted to this saṃskāra in all, some of which occur in the Rg., the Atharvavedā 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 Saṃskārapraṇakāśa (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 grhya sūtras about the several details of this saṃskāra 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 grhya sūtra. A few important divergences are pointed out below. This saṃskāra was to be performed in the 3rd month according to Kathaka 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 Khādēra, in 6th or 8th according to Paraskara, Yāj. (I. 11), Viśṇu Dh. S. (27. 3), Śaṅkha; in the 7th according to Śaṅ. gr. (I. 22. 1), in the 8th according to Vaik. and Veda-Vyāsa (I. 18). Śaṅkha as quoted in the Śrīṭicandrikā (I. p. 17) says that it should be performed on the foetus beginning to move and up to the time of delivery. Āśv., Śaṅ, and Hir. require that the moon must be in conjunction with a male nakṣatra. Hir. gr. alone prescribes that the saṃskāra 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
Sāṅkhāyana prescribes only six (by omitting the verses Rg. II. 32. 4-5). Gobhila, Khādīra, Bāhāradvāja, Pāraskara and Sāṅkhāyana 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' (Bāhāradvāja 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 Śaṅ, specifying that it was to be Udumbara fruit), a porcupine quill with three white spots and three bunches of kuṣa grass. Pāraskara and Gobhila add the use of a Viratara stick and a full spindle. Some like Āsv. 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. Śaṅ, 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. Śaṅ and Pār. say that the ballad sung must be in praise of the (ruling) king or any one else who is very valiant. Āsv., Hir., Baud., Bāhāradvāja 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 Āsv., Pār., Bāhāradvāja 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. गायत्रिमि चीणामाधिनी संस्कृति | उत्तरयो: पूर्व साल्वानां ब्राह्मणानामिति | आप. र. चू. 14. 4-5; the verses from the मर्म्यार (II. 11. 12-13) are चीणामाधिनी ने। राजिते साल्वानिसिद्धात्मक | विस्तरणका अस्सनासारिणीच समजून तया। सोस एव नों | वार्त्तका अस्सनासारिणीसों तया। भारवास्काल्य (1. 2) न है।
Aśv. and Śān. expressly state that a bull is the fee in this sāṃskāra 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 vyāhṛtis (bhūḥ, bhuvah, svah) and give up his silence.

The Mānavagṛhya (I.12.2) speaks of parting of hair in the marriage rite also. Laghu-Āśvalāyāna (IV. verses 8-16) gives a faithful summary of the Aśv. gr.

(Continued from last page)

only the 2nd verse but reads the last pāda as सत्रीपण यस्यने तथ; while Hir. reads यस्यने for यस्यने in the verse as read by Bhāradvāja. Pār. reads 'सोम एव नो राजेन्मा मालुपदः प्रजाः। अविविलक्ष आरसिम्तीरु तुथमसाविदवि।'. Here अविविलक्ष के qualifies सीरे (loc.) or it may be the vocative addressed to the river whose name is taken. It may be inferred with some force that Āp. mantrapātha and Hir. gr were composed in the Salva country on the banks of the Jumna and the Bhāradvāja gr on the Ganges. Haradatta explaining Āp. gr. says that the country of Salva is on the Jumna and that Vaidyās are in abundance there. The country of Salva was included in the Kaccāda (Pāpini V. 2. 133, and Mahābhāṣya, vol. II. p. 300). Pāpini mentions Salva in IV. 1. 173, IV. 2. 135 and teaches the formation of Yangandhara in IV. 2. 130 and of Yangandhari in IV. 1. 173. In the Vanapravā 14. 1-5 it is said that the king of Salva whose capital was at Saubha attacked Dvāракa. Salyaparva (20.1) calls the Salva king lord of mleccha tribes and speaks of him as fighting for Duryodhana and as killed by Sūrya. A Kāśītā quoted by the Kāṣṭā makes Yangandhara a division of Salva 'उदुम्भरशास्तिलखण्ड मद्वकार्य युगस्यः। छलिका हरसमाधू सान्यावस्तरस्तः।' ।

520. The words of the Aap. यू. 14. 7-8 are विषय वियन्तशान्य वाचमण्डययाभानानन्देष्व। उज्ज्वेदु नश्येदु पाणिपत्यानां व विशेषार्थिनिरुक्तय वस्मान्यार्थ व्याहृतीष्य जगिनवा वाचम स्विंजेत। 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 (karti) is the husband; even in the 7th sūtra grammar requires that if the karti of tying the garland (‘ābādhyā’) is the husband then the karti of ‘visrjey’ also must be the husband. Sudarsana notes (in his com.) that some read the sūtras as ‘वाचमण्डययाभानानन्देष्व वियन्तशान्य नश्येदु पाणिपत्यानां विशेषार्थिनिरुक्तय जगिनवा वाचम स्विंजेत।’ (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.
Apaśṭamba, Baud., Bhāradvāja and Par. 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 garbhadhāna.

Viṣṇu was of opinion that simannotānayana is a saṁskāra of the woman, but that according to some it is a saṁskāra of the foetus and so was to be repeated at each conception. On account of the great divergence of details one may conjecture that this saṁskāra was not very ancient in the times of the Gṛhyasūtras.

It appears however that gradually this picturesque rite receded in the 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 Āthaṅgulem) which retains some vestiges of the ancient rite (such as the garland of udumbara fruit).

Viṣṇubali:—According to Viṣṇu 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 tīthi of the bright fortnight and when the moon was in the Śrāvaṇa, Rohini or Pusya constellation. The same work quotes verses of Āśvalā-yana 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 Nāndīsraddha 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 sthandila 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. 1–3, 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। सीमान्त्सङ्गवेण वर्ग सत्त स्त्रिसंस्कार हृद्धैस। काशिक्षाष्णय सत्तसारेण गर्भ गर्भे मयुज्ये। सुस्वितं (I. p. 17). This verse is read by अनन्तविष्णु (Anan. ed. I. 10) as सीम सीम ... वर्ग सत्त श्री ... हृद्धैस। गर्भस्य इत्य सत्तसाराय

गर्भे मयुज्ये।
Nārāyaṇāya and the husband and wife should partake separately of two balls of the same rice. Then the offering to Agni Śvitaṅkṛt should be made, dakṣinā should be distributed and brahmaṇas should be fed. The Vaik. (III. 13) describes Viṣṇubali differently. The gods with Agni as the first are invoked unto the northern praṇidhi vessel and then at the end Puruṣa is invoked four times with 'om bhūḥ', 'om bhuvah', 'om suvaḥ', 'om bhūr-bhuvah-suvaḥ', then to the east of the fire he invokes Viṣṇu on seats of darbha grass with the names, Keśava, Nārāyaṇa, Mādhava, Viṣṇu, Madhusūdana, Trivikrama, Vāmana, Śrīdharma, Hṛṣīkeśa, Padmanābha, Dāmodara; then he bathes Viṣṇu, with mantras 'Āpah' (Tait. S. IV. 1. 5. 11 = Rg. X. 9. 1-3), 'Hiranyavarṇaḥ' (Tait. S. V. 6. 1) and the chapter beginning 'pavamānah' (Tait. Br. I. 4. 3); 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 'aṭo devā' (Rg. I. 22. 16-21), 'Viṣṇor-nu kam' (Rg. I 154. 1-7 = Tait. S.I. 2. 13), 'tad-aṣya priyam' (Tait. Br. II. 4. 6 = Rg. I 154. 5), 'pra tadviṣṇuḥ' (Tait. Br. II. 4. 3 = Rg. I. 154. 2), 'paro mātrayā' (Tait. Br. II. 8. 3), 'vicakrame trir-devaḥ' (Tait. Br. II. 8. 3). Then he announces as offering a mess of rice cooked in milk on which āṣya has been poured to the god and sacrifices it to him with the twelve names repeating the twelve mantras (Rg. I. 22. 16-21, and Rg. I. 154. 1-6). Having praised the god with mantras from the four vedas he should prostrate himself before the god after taking twelve names with the word 'namah' at the end of each (i.e. by saying 'Keśavāya namah' &c.). What remains of the rice cooked in milk is eaten by the wife.

Sosyantikarma:—Vide Āpa. gr. 14. 13-15; Hir. gr. II. 2. 8-II. 3. 1, Bhāradvāja gr. I. 2°, Gobhila gr. II. 7. 13-14, Khādira 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
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After-birth' (same as Rg. V. 78. 7 except the last padā). This is a pen 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 Tūryanti 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), 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 three verses (Āp. mantra-pāṭha II. 11. 19-20).

Hir. i to Āp., but omits all verses except one (v. 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 Khādira are very brief and say that a homa with two oblations of clarified butter is to be performed with the verses of the Mantra-brāhmaṇa I. 5. 6-7. Pāraskara also speaks of the sprinkling of the woman with two verses of Vaiś. 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 Kāthaka gr. (33. 1) remarks that this rite is not really a sāṁskāra and Devapāla says that this is a rite which has a seen result (while sāṁskāras are deemed to have an unseen result).

Jātalakarma:—This appears to have been a rite of hoary antiquity. In the Tai. S. 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 आभिष्टत् द्रविधभिन्नसामि द्रविधस्याय चुलवे. आप. म. पा. II. 11. 15.
524. Āp. M. P. II. 11. 20 is the same as Atharva. I. 11. 4.
son is born (to a man) ....... That son, for whom when born they perform this 'îstî', does become pure, glorious, substantial in (abundant) food, full of vigour and possessed of cattle'. This shows that Vaiśvānareśṭi was performed on the birth of a son. Jaimini (IV. 3.38) holds a discussion on this passage and establishes the conclusion that this îstî is for the benefit of the son and not of the father and the bhāṣya of Śabara gives the further propositions that this îstî 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 brahmanaś 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 passage 526 "when a boy is born they first make him lick clarified butter, and they make him take the breast (of the mother) after that."

At the end of the Br. Up. (VI. 4. 24–28) there is an elaborate description of the jātakarma. "When (a son) is born, having kindled the fire, having placed the son on one's lap, having poured curds mixed with ghee in a bell-metal vessel he offers oblations of the curds mixed with ghee with the mantras 'may I maintain a thousand, prospering in my house; may there be no break with regard to progeny and cattle; svāhā! I offer to these in my mind my prāṇas, svāhā! Whatever I have done in excess in my work or whatever I may have left deficient in this (rite), may the wise (Agni) (called) Svīṣṭākṛt 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 the bhūḥ, I place in the bhuvah, I place in the svaḥ, I place in

526. शस्माकुमारं जासं दुहं वै बाह्ये मनिद्यपति दलं वा अनुधापपति। बुह. उ. प. 1. 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. Bhūḥ, bhuvah and svaḥ represent the three Vedas or earth, air and heaven.
thee bhūr-bhuvah svah, I place in thee all'. Then he gives him (the boy that is born) a name with the words 'thou art the Veda'. That becomes his secret name. Then he hands the boy over to his mother and gives him the breast of the mother with the mantra (Rg. I. 164. 49) 'Oh, Sarasvati! make that breast ready for being sucked, which lies on thy body, which engenders happiness, by which thou nourishest all blessings, which bestows gems, that wins wealth and is a generous donor'. Then he solemnly addresses the mother of the child with the following mantras 'Oh maitrāvaruṇī! Oh strong one! thou art īśā, she (the mother) has given birth to a valiant (boy); mayst thou be endowed with valiant sons, since thou hast made us possessed of a valiant son. They say to him (the newly born son) 'thou indeed excellest thy father, excellest thy grandfather; he may attain the highest station by his prosperity, glory and spiritual eminence, who is born as a son of such a brāhmaṇa that knows this'.

It will be clear from the above passages of the Br. Up. that the jātakarma rite contained the following parts: (1) homa of curds with ghṛta to the accompaniment of mantras; (2) repeating in the child's right ear the word 'speech' thrice; (3) making the child lick curds, honey and ghṛta by means of a golden ladle (or ring); (4) addressing the child with a name which was to be his secret name (nāmakarana); (5) putting the child to the breast; (6) addressing the mother with mantras. The 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 grhyasūtras 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 grhyasūtras 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 grhyasūtras. Some description, however, of the details from important grhyasūtras is given below:

528. Maitrāvaruṇa is Vasistha and sq Maitrāvaruṇī may be Arundhati. इस्ता means 'earth' or 'food'. One rather expects अजीतनः for अजीतनः.

D.
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. Gobbila (II. 7. 17) and Kādira 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 ghṛta, (Veda) which is produced by the god Savir (who urges on) the bountiful; may you have long life and may you live in this world for a hundred red autumns being protected by the gods’. Bringing near the child’s two ears (his mouth) the father mutters medhājanana Medhājanana ‘may god Savir bestow on thee intelligence; may the goddess Sarasvati bestow on thee intelligence and may the two gods Aśvins wearing wreaths of lotus give to thee intelligence’. He touches the (son’s) two shoulders (with the mantra) ‘be a stone, be an axe, be indestructible gold; thou art indeed Veda, called son; so live a hundred autumns’ and (with the mantra) ‘Oh Indra, bestow the best wealth’ (Rg. II. 21. 6) and ‘Oh Maghavan (bountiful Indra)’ Oh (Indra) partaker of rṣiṣa! 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 Nāmakarana.

529. The verse is so called because it was deemed to produce intelligence.

530. Nārayana (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. भविष्य is Soma from which the essence is taken away (i.e. dregs of Soma). The com. Nārayana 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 अमः अम should be uttered when touching the right shoulder, while the two ‘इन्द्र भेद्यकृ’ and ‘अस्मि यथापि’ should be uttered while touching the left; (3) the three mantras should be repeated together and the shoulders touched simultaneously. Nārayana prefers this last because the bhāṣyakāra 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., Āsv. omits express mention of homa, of putting the child to the breast (stanaṇa), the address to the mother (mātrabhimantraṇa), and the breathing over the child by five brahmanas or the father. The Śān. gr. (I. 24. 1-12) also omits homa, the stanaṇa and mātrabhimantraṇa, but refers to the father breathing over the new born child thrice. Instead of ghrta and honey served with a golden spoon, Śān. prescribes mixing of curds, honey, ghrta 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 Āsv. and Śān. both prescribe giving a secret name to the child on the day of birth and do not prescribe a separate Nāma-karaṇa 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 Khādira gr. II. 2. 28-31 say that a secret name for the child that is to be born is to be uttered in the Sōṣyānti-karma. So Āsv. probably carries on that tradition.

We shall now take the several components of the rite and show how they are dealt with by the several grhyasūtras.

Homa:—This is prescribed by the Br. Up., the Mānavā, the Kāthaka gr. at the time of birth. The Āsv. gr. parisṛṣṭa (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 ghrta and then the offering be made to Agni. It is prescribed before birth (in the Sōṣyānti-karma) by Gobhila and Khādira. It is prescribed after the whole rite by Baud. gr. II. 1. 13. It is omitted by Āsv. and Śān. The Pār. gr. (I. 16), Hir. gr., Bhāradvāja gr. (I. 26) say that the Aupāsana (i.e., gṛhya) fire is taken away and a sūtikāgni set up (which is also called Uttapaniya) near the door of the lying-in chamber. The Vaik. (III. 15) calls it jātakāgni (and also Uttapaniya). These say that in this fire white mustard seed with small grains of rice are offered at the time of birth and at the morning and evening twilights for ten days after birth with certain mantras. Āp. prescribes that

Śātikāgni is prepared by placing the broken piece of a jar on the kitchen fireplace and heating it with the dried dung of a bull,

'पुष्पवङ्ग कपाळारोप्य हुष्णेषुकुलिण्यतिकाबित्र सायन्यंकमुखधारणानि स्वत्वमेवक्रमधुपायुषुध्वारिनि' 

कालक 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 mumbling in the right ear of the boy the word 'vāk' thrice and making the boy lick from a golden spoon or ring curds, honey and ghṛta. The first of these viz. mumbling in the right ear of the boy some words or a mantra is called medhājanana in Āsv. and Śān. (I. 24. 9 which prescribes 'vāk'); while most of the other sūtras viz. Valk., 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 caḥ' as in Vaikhānasā, or 'medhām te devaḥ' as in Āp.). The Baud. gr. (II. 1. 7) prescribes the giving of curds, honey and ghṛta ten times with each of the ten mantras (Tai. Br. II. 5. 1) of the anuvāka beginning with 'prāṇo rakṣati viśvam-ejat.' The Vaik. expressly says that the Vacā plant, Pathyā plant, gold, honey and clarified butter become medhājanana. Manu II. 29 seizes upon the making the child eat gold (dust), honey and clarified butter to the accompaniment of mantras as the central part of the rite. Later works like the Sāmskāramūkha regard this eating of honey and ghṛta as the principal part of jātakarma.584

(3) **Ayusya:**—Some of the sūtras speak of a rite called ayusya in the jātakarma. This consists in mumbling over the navel (as in Pār.) or in the right ear of the boy some mantra or mantras invoking the bestowal of long life on the boy. Āsv. (vide p. 231) has such an invocation in conjunction with the eating of honey and ghṛta. Bhāradvāja also does the same. Mānavā gr. prescribes the anuvāka 'Agne āyur-asi' (Kāṭhaka Sam. XI. 7) for 21 oblations (this anuvāka is full of the word 'āyusmat').

(4) **Aṁśabhimārśana** (touching the child on the shoulder or shoulders). Vide Āsv. above. Ap. begins his treatment with the direction that the father touches the boy with the Vatsapra anuvāka. Pār., Bhāradvāja speak of touching the boy twice, once with Vatsapra anuvāka (Vāj. S. XII. 18-29 or Tai. S. IV.

533. वच्चा पद्या हिरण्य समु हसरिति नेथाजनानाथि मन्वति च=चेतनसारसारि तुति तुति। 15. Amara gives उमसम्बा and इरीखी as synonyms of वच्चा and पद्या respectively.

584. आत्मकर्मी स्थानसाहार्ष्यां त। कुमारे जाते उत्सवेताहास्सारिष्ठुनि विरंझिकार्थि हिरण्येष प्राहायेतु। संस्कारसमास्त्र ।

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2.2), and again with 'be a stone, be an axe' (in Pār. and with the mantra 'may he grow' in Bhār.). Some sūtras like Śān. omit this.

(5) Mātṛabhimantrāna:—(addressing the mother). The mother is addressed by the father with the verse 'Thou art Iīa &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 stana-pradāna:—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) Deśābhimantrāna535 (or-marṣāna):—touching the ground where the son is born and addressing the earth (with one or two mantras). Pār., Bhār., Āp., Hir. do this.

(9) Naṃakarana:—(giving a name to the child). The Br. Up., Āsv., Śān., Gobhila, Khādīra and several others speak of giving a name to the boy on the day of birth. Āsv. (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. भारदात (I. 25) has यथा शेरे तत्तिलिसृष्टि। बेद ते पूर्ति हुदून दिवि ज्ञत्रमसि विस्मय। बेदुद्वित्तस गोता भाङ पौष्पम संदुष्य। इतिः। पारसः किं र्तस स रविन्ध्रेद्स्य जन्म भवति तत्तिलिस्तिपदेः। बेदु......स्मसि। बेदां सा तस्मा तद्विप्रायवेदम सर्वसं। इतिः जीवन शर्क। शार्क श्रुण्यमां सा गुरुः। इति।
(10) *Keeping off evil spirits:*—Though Āsv. and Śān. are entirely silent on this point several sūtras devote large space to this topic and are full of *mantras* which are more are less magic. Āp. prescribes the offering of mustard seed and rice chaff in fire three times with each of eight mantras (Āp. mantra-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!'\(^{536}\)

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\(^{536}\) हारवेश पुत्रवासवपुत्रपाप्याधिकाराधिनामिवेश: फलिकमणिमिन्त्व वर्ष- 
पापमात्रावाचिवि। ज्ञष्ठाकां उष्पः शोभिके उष्पायः। मतिगृहो व्रृणिस्वर्णवेनी 
मयवतिविद: सहायः। आदिलक्षणिमिव: किंतुतः उष्पायः पुत्रपापिशिविद: 
कुम्भेशु पत्रपापिशिविद: सर्वपापवस्थापनो नस्यताविदिव: स्वाहिति। पारस्कर I. 16. These two 
occurs in Hir. and the first in वारङ्गङ्गा also.

\(^{537}\)  कुमारे जाते हारवेशपुत्रां राहुः तस्मिन्निर्णयं न्यायितविः। अङ्गमः भवः हुश्चरर- 
सक्तर अरोपित सर्पपरिः ‘अङ्गहुविज्ञात’ इति कुमारेनका ब्रह्म पारस्कर। वैशाखः III. 14. 
The verse is अङ्गहुविज्ञातस्मिन्निर्णयोहुविज्ञाति. अङ्गमः वे पुज्यादेशिः स जीव 
शरीरं शतसमयं। अङ्गमः अङ्गमुक्षसी अङ्गमुक्षसी। अङ्गमः अङ्गमुक्षसी। 
The verse in Adv. 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 ‘सिरासा’ which Sudarsana explains as ‘near the head of the child’. The verse in Pār.;

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\(^n\) आपः चुंबयते जायते यथा चुंबयते जायते। एवमयः पुत्रवास वस्तुं जायते। एवमयः पुत्रवासवाः 
समस्तिकाः जायते। आपः स्वमः समस्तितकाः जायते। आपः स्वमः समस्तितकाः जायते।" 
\( \text{अप: म. प. II. 13. 6 and विप्रर्य.} \) have a similar verse,
watch while (people are asleep). None of the sūtras (except Vaikhānas) 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., Śaṅ. 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.\[533\]

The Sm. C. (I. p. 19)\[539\] cites Hārīta, Śaṅkha, Jaimini to the effect that till the navel cord is cut there is no impurity, that the samskāra 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 grhya 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 nāndiśrāddha (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, puṇyāha-vācana 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 grhyasūtra and by the time the ceremony was over, the helpless child that had already little vitality was dead owing to exposure and cold.

539. शास्त्रीयम्। 'प्रकृतामिश्रतेऽस्त्र संस्कारं पुष्पार्द्धकृपत्यं चिन्तामणाशच।' इति। 'यथा। 'संप्रदायिकं नायर्यमभिस्वरूप्यमिन्द्रियं न वृक्षस्य-वृक्षतित्वं यथा।' स्थविरवं। I. pp. 19 and 20.
Medieval writers of digests give extensive descriptions of śānti rites performed to counteract the inauspicious effects of birth on the 14th tithi of the dark half of a month or on the amāvāsyā or on Mūla, Āśleṣā and Jyeṣṭhā nakṣatraṣ and certain astrological conjunctions like Vyatipāta, Vaidhṛti, Saṁkrānti (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 Purānas, since the only verses quoted on this point in the Nirṇayasindhu, the Sāṁskāramayūkhā and other works are the Mārkandeyapurāṇa, Vyāsa and Nārada. On these days the father or other male relative bathes in the first part of the night, then invokes Gaṇeṣa, and certain minor deities called Janmadā on handfuls of rice and also Saṅthidevi and Bhagavatī (i.e. Durgā) and worships them with sixteen upacaras. Then tambula and daksīṇā 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 Mārkandeyapurāṇa 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.

Uṭṭhāṇa:—(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 jātakagnī (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 aupāsana (grhya fire), offers oblations to Dhātṛ and others (as in I.16), five oblations to Varuṇa (I.17), the mūlahaṃsa (I.18) and feeds the brāhmaṇas. Saṅ. gr. (I.25) is more elaborate. It prescribes that a mess of cooked food is prepared in the sūtikāgni

540 Vide Sūkasāravijñāna pp 846-47, Sāṅskāramayūkhā pp. 201-203. 'सर्वदा गहनाताम परिवारो विविधां ' जाते राजस्विणी तत्त्वप्रस्तुती समाहितकर्म ! इति। अथे उ होमपूर्वकार्नेन तदसैं श्रुतिल् स्वलिन्यक्षात्।' नित्याचारपद्धति.
and oblations are made to the **lithi** of the child's birth, and to three naksatras 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 Bharadvaja (I. 26) also refer to *utthāna*. Both say that the sūtikāgni is taken away and the Aupāsana fire is brought in and oblations of ghṛfta (12 or 8) are offered in that fire with the mantras beginning with 'ḥātā dadātu no rayim'.


There is great divergence of view as to the time when the child was named. Several times are suggested in the ancient literature and in the sūtras and smṛtis.

(a) We have already seen (p. 232) that a child was addressed by a name, according to Gobhila and Khādīra, even in the Sosyantīkarma.

(b) According to the Br. Up., Āsv. and Śaṅ., Kāṭhaka 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

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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. *सत्यावर्धन जातिः नाम दुर्योगावर्धनमेवतः सत्यनिर्धिययिः द्वितीयमयः (शास्त्र VI. 1. 3. 9).

542. *हृद्यः सम्स्रास्मिदं पुरस्य सत्यते जातिः सत्यावर्धन सत्यावर्धनस्य नाम कुशते कुशस्य पञ्चमेवः (शास्त्र II. 1. 3. 9).

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(c) Āp., Baud., Bhār., and Pār. prescribe the 10th day after birth for namakarana. The Mahābhāṣya quotes a passage\(^443\) 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 Nāmakaraṇa 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 nāmakaraṇa, 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 tīthi, muhūrta and naksatra thereafter.

(f) Gobhila (II. 8. 8, S. B. E. vol. 30. p. 57) and Khādīra\(^444\) 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 gṛhyaparīśāṣṭa to the effect that it may be performed after the 10th night is passed or after 100 nights or a year and the Bhavisyat-purāṇa to the effect that it may be performed after 10 or 12 nights or on the 18th day or after a month. It is worthy of note that Bāha 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 Śukanāṣa named his son Vaśampāyana next day.\(^445\)

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). Medhatīthi does not\(^446\) like the addition of 'past' (attīyāṁ) after 'daśāmyāṁ' in Manu II. 30 and says just as jāta-karakā can be performed even when there is impurity due to birth, so nāmakaraṇa may be performed on the 10th and that the only essential thing is that it is not to

\(^{443}\) Mahābhāṣya vol. I. p. 4.

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be performed before the 10th or 12th. Aparārka says that there is an option and one may follow one's own ghyasūtra. It appears that the nāmakarana of Hariścandra, son of Jayatcandra, king of Kanoj, took place three weeks after jatakarma (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 sutras is gone through, but women assemble and after consulting the male members of the family beforehand announce the name and place the child in the cradle.

In Rg. VIII. 80. 9 we read 'when you give us a fourth name connected with (the performance of) a sacrifice, we long for it; immediately afterwards, you, our master, take us' (forward to glory). This shows that a man could have a fourth name even in the times of Rg. and the fourth was a name due to the performance of a yajña. 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 Sat. Br. speaks of a second or even a third name for a person given to him by his parents. The same Brāhmaṇa recommends 'Therefore a brāhmaṇa


548. तत्समाद नाम यज्ञव दश्न वर्षानुजामिथि। आविभाषितति ओढळे। क्र. VIII. 80.9; जानांति से प्रकृति नामानुजापणातै नाचिश्रय सत्ति। क्र. X. 54.4; दुष्पल पुजया विद्वेदार्थं भाषाय नाम तुदियेवादाय रोचके विचारे। क्र. IX. 75. 2. The विरूणाःप्रकरणम् speaks of three names नक्षत्रानाम, शाश्वासिन्नाम and a third one like संसारानाम. The सर्भाराणy also says that a man bears the name आश्रिताप्राप्ता when he performs आश्रितालोकस्ततत्त्त्वस्य भविष्या। कातिल योऽदय पुजया जलिता। क्र. यथायिणाऽमेरेदेव भविष्यम्। सुधाराणy vol. II. p. 168 on पा. III. 4. 1.

549. तस्माद नामाणात्यायांमात्रं द्वितीयं नाम सृष्टिः सत्ति ओष्ठ ओष्ठ विद्वेदाः द्वारं तदान्व मात्रे। सत्ति पा. III. 6. 24. Vide ग्राममृताप्रैल. I. 3. 9 for the recital of the three names of a sacrificer (वच्चिन्नाय says they were अन्तितानाय, शाश्वार्थिन्नाय and नक्षत्रानाय).
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 Phālgūnīs being presided over by Indra they are really Arjunyāh, but are called Phālgunyāh 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 Vaj. S. 17. 89 there is a reference to the secret name of āhavanīya. 552 The Tai. S. gives expression to the request that the fire should bear the name of one who keeps sacred fires, while the person praying was away on a journey. 553

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), Paurukutsa (son of Purukutsa), Gaṅgikṣita (descendant of Gaṅgikṣita). In the Ait. Br. (33. 5) Śunahśeṣa is spoken of as Ajīgarta (son of Ajīga) and also as Āṅgirasa (a gotra name), while king Hariścandra is mentioned (Ait. Br. 33. 1) as Vaidhasa (son of Vedhas) and Aṅgāvāka (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 Ārűneya (son of Ārûpi) is styled Gautama (a gotra name). In the Kaṭhapanisad

550. ishops. 3. 1. 3. This is quoted in Hir. gr., Bhār. gr. I. 26 and other grhyā sutras.

551. ishops. 3. 1. 3. This is differently read in other sūtras, e. g. Bhār. I. 26.

552. ishops. 3. 1. 3. This verse is quoted in nāmakarana by several sūtras, e. g. Bhār. I. 26.

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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), Hiraṇyastūpa Āṅgirasa (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 Caiḍya (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. Dhrīghatama Māmateya (Rg. I. 158. 6), Kutsa Arjuneya (son of Arjunī, Rg. IV. 26. 1, VII. 19. 2, VIII. 1. 11), Kakśivat Auśīja (son of a woman called Uśīk, Rg. I. 18. 1, Vāj. S. III. 28), Prahlāda Kāyādhava (son of Kayādhū, Tai. Br. I. 5. 10), Mahidāsa Aītareya (son of Itrā, Chān. Up. III. 16. 7). In the vāṃśa added at the end of the Br. Up. there are about forty sages with matronymic names. The practice of mentioning a man by reference to his mother's name or to his mother's father's gotra was continued till later times, as will be shown later on. The most usual method, however, of referring to a person in the Rg. and also in other Vedic works was to state his name along with another derived from his father's name. For example, Ambarīṣa, Rjrāśva, Sahadeva and Surādhās are all called Vārsāgīra (son of Vṛṣāgīr, Rg. I. 100. 17); king Sudās is called Paijavana (son of Pījavana, Rg. VII. 18. 22), Devāpi is Arśīṣena (son of Rṣīṣena, Rg. X. 98. 5-6), Samyu Bārhaspatya (Tai. S. II. 6. 10), Bhṛgu Vārūni (Ait. Br. 13. 10 and Tai. Up. III. 1), Bharata Dauṣṣanti (Satapatha XIII. 5. 4. 11, Ait. Br. 39. 9), Nābhānadiṣṭha Mānava (Ait. Br. 22. 9).

The principal rules about names may now be set out from the gṛhyaśūtras. 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. शास्त्रिक ७ on पाणिनि VI. 1.37 explains the words कारीक्त्व व आङ्किता: (स. I. 18. 1). Vide शास्त्राय वोल III. p. 33.
but (in all cases) with an even number of syllables in the case of males and with an uneven number of syllables in the case of women. And let him find out (for the boy) a name to be employed at respectful salutations (at Upanayana &c.); that name (the boy's) mother and father alone should know till his upanayana. The Śān. gr. (S. B. E. vol. 29. p. 50) omits the rule about the name ending in a visarga and allows an option of six syllables and adds that the name should be formed by a kṛt affix (from a root) and not by a taddhita; that this name should be known only to his parents and that on the tenth day after birth the father should give the child a name for ordinary use which should be pleasing to brāhmaṇas. It should be noticed that 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 grhya 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, Medhyā广泛的, Brahmadatta &c.), though names of three syllables (like Kavasa, Cyavana, Bharata) and of five syllables are the last three letters of the five words (cūrṇaḥ). The first rule is that the first syllable is not a tāḍāya (vide p. 73) and a dhumā means 'not borne by his foe.'
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(like Nābhānedistha, Hiranyastūpa) are not wanting. Baijavāpa\(^{556}\) grhya allowed the name to be of one, two, three, four or any number of syllables. Šān., 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 semivowel. This is stated also in the ancient quotation from Yājñikas in the Mahābhāṣya.

3 Some sūtras prescribe that the name should end in a visarga preceded\(^{557}\) by a long vowel (e. g. Ap., 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, Dīrghatamas, Prthuśravas (that occur in the Rgveda) and such names as Vatsaprī (Tai, S. V. 2. 1. 6).

4 Ap. 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, Šān., Baijavāpa, Vārāha) say that the name should be formed from a root by a krt affix and should not be a taddhita (i. e. formed from a noun by an affix).

6 Ap. 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 (Prāśna Up. I. 1).

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556. [Note: Reference to a page number or source is missing.]

557. [Note: Reference to a page number or source is missing.]
(7) Baud. gr. prescribes that the name may be derived from a sage or a deity or an ancestor. The Mānava grhyas, 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 Bṛgu (in Tai, Up. III. 1) who is said to have learnt from his father called Varuna and in the Praśna Up. (I. 1) there is Sauryāyaṇi Gārgya whose name is derived from Śūrya. But in the Vedic Literature persons have names derived from the names of gods, such as Indrota (Indra-futa, 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), Brahmudattaka (or Bhāmuka) and others set out in the Mahābhāṣya (vol. II. p. 425) exemplify the rule of the Mānava-grhyas. 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 gr. (I. 18) expressly says that the father's own name should not be given. This practice was observed in ancient times and continues even today, when the child is often given his grandfather's name. Vide I. A. vol. VI. p. 73 where we see that Pulakesi II was grandson of Pulakesi I.

558. भ्रणप्रत्यः स्वतांत्रवृंित्स द। यथेव च पूर्बश्रवणं नाममाति शुच। । ये.शु. II.1.28-29; परंतर्प नामाये द्वितांताः नव्यमन्तर्य द्वितांताय नमो तयित्तवृहः। मानवश्रवणी। I. 18.
559. In the E. I. vol. 14 p. 342 (of sake 1470) strangely enough the engraver's name is the same as his father's.
(9) The grhyasūtras (except Pāñcarātra and Māṇava) are agreed that a secret name is to be given to the boy by the parents, in the Sosyantikārma according to Gobhila and Khādira, at birth according to some (like Āśv. and Kāṭhaka) and according to others (like Āpi, Baud., Bhār.) at the time of Nāmakārana on 10th or 12th day. We saw above that Sān. and Kāṭhaka give elaborate rules about the secret name, which rules are those of the Vyāvahārika name according to Āśv. and many other sūtrakāras. Gobhila and Khādira give no rules about the secret name. Āpi., Hīr. and Vaik. only say that the secret name should be derived from the naksatra of birth, but give no further rules. Bhāradvāja speaks of the giving of two names in Nāmakārana, one being derived by applying the intricate rules described above and the other being a naksatra name; but it is not quite clear which was to be the secret name; it is probable, however, that the naksatra name was to be the secret one. According to 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, Khādira, Vārāha (5) and Māṇava speak of an abhivādaniya name. Gobhila prescribes that this name was to be given to the boy at the time of upanayana by the ācārya and was to be derived from the naksatra of birth or from the presiding deity of that naksatra. Gobhila further adds that according to some teachers the abhivādaniya name was derived from

560. According to the Kāṭhaka grhya (34. 1-3 and 36) only one is given (on the day of birth) and the same is used in Nāmakārana (36. 3), but it mentions that it was the view of some that another name was to be given in Nāmakārana.

561. नक्षत्रनाम ह्विीयं यथाव्यत्तत्त्वः यथाव्यत्तत्त्वेऽत्मामनत्यथेऽपि। भास्मायणः

I. 26.

562. भोभितं प्रमितान्त्र्वाभ्रविर appear to suggest three names, one that was secret given in सोमसन् (भोभिताः II. 7. 15-16), the 2nd in nāmakārana (भोभिताः II. 8. 14-16 derived by means of the intricate rules specified above) and a third in Upanayana called अभिवादनिया (भोभिताः II. 10. 21-25). According to them a name like सोमसन् would be the fourth name. In वैस्मायण I. 7 it is said that in the पुरुषवाचन the following names of the वल्लभाण ज्योति should be taken one after another viz. नक्षत्राणम, गोजानम, प्रतुनाम, भाम्भराना and स्मान (ending in सम्सन if he is a मालद्वी). को नामात्मिती वाल्लभाण मुष्टति तस्याया। भविष्यादिनि नाम काव्यिन्य स्वेतात्मेऽन्य नक्षत्राणाय च। गोजानमस्यम् को नामात्मितीति। भविष्यादिनि नाम मुष्टान्या। वाल्लभाणः II. 4. 12.
the gotra of the boy (as e.g. Gārgya, Śāndilya, Gautama &c.). This practice is based on the usage we find in the Upaniṣads, where Satyakāma when about to go to a teacher for Vedic study asks his mother what his gotra was (Chān. Up. IV. 4. 1) and where the teacher also asks him what his gotra was. In the Kaṭhopaniṣad Naciketas is styled Gautama and in Chān. V. 3. 7 Āvataketu is addressed as Gautama by Pravāhana Jśivāli when the latter expounded Sārnivarga-vidyā to the former. But if the abhivādaṇiya was a gotra name there could have been no secrecy. From Gobhila it appears that the ācārya told the boy his abhivādaṇiya name, but the Khādira suggests that the boy already knew it (from his father or mother) and informed the teacher. The nakṣatraṇāma was of importance in the performance of Vedic sacrifices. The Vedāṅgajyotisa 563 (of the Rg) in verses 25–28 enumerates 28 nakṣatras (adding Abhijit after Uttarāsādha 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. Nakṣatraṇāma, bhūtā etatā mahāyajñakarmāṇi. Yajñanāyak śaḥṣrānām nakṣatraṁ śvetam. II

Vedāṅgajyotisa verse 28. In the Vedic Literature and in the Vedāṅga Jyotisa the nakṣatras are enumerated from Kṛtikā to Āpabharani and not from Āsvini to Revati 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. Ācārya-ātiṣā, rohiniṇī—

... Some give Ārundhum as the deity of Nakṣatras 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 Asadhī Sauṣromateya (son of Asādha and Suṣromatā). Here Asādha is probably connected with the nakṣatra Asādha. 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 Śravistha, Phālguna, Anurādhā, Śvāti, Tisya, Punarvasu, Hasta, Asādha and Bahulā (Kṛttikā) without adding any termination signifying 'born on' (e.g. we have the names Śravisthā, Phālgunā &c.). In VII. 3. 18 he derives the name Prosthapadā from Prosthapadā. In the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman (150 A.D.) the brother-in-law of Candragupta Maurya is said to have been a vaisya named Pusyagupta (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 nakṣatrasraya). The Mahābhāṣya (vol. I. p. 231) speaks of boys named Tisya and Punarvasu and cites Citrā, Revati, Rohini 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 Pusyamitra, the founder of the Śunga 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 parivrājaka Poṭṭhapāda in Dīgha I. p. 187 and III. p. 1 (from the nakṣatra Prosthapadā), Asāda, Phaguna, Svātiguta, Pusarakhita and in the Sānci 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 śaṅkara says (II. 2. 32) 'सेवककम्बमिलसति। नामपरिधाने अभिवर्तसिद्धिः। फलं' and देवासार on काण्डकुश 36. 4 says 'मयोजने परेणविचारे किष्माणेकुशाराजनकम्'. 
names like Puṣyavāmī, Rohīntsvāmī (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 (Āgni 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 āvatāras (like Rāma).

There is another way of deriving names from nakṣatras set forth in medieval works on Dharmāśāstra 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 la for the pādas of Āsvini) from which names are derived for persons born in those pādas (e.g. Čudāmanī, Čedīsa, Čoḷesa and Laksmanā for the four pādas of Āsvini). These names are secret and are even now muttered into the ear of the brahmacārī in Upanayaṇa and are known as the name in the daily samdhya prayer.

Modern works like the Saṃskāraprakāśa (p. 237) say that four kinds of names may be given viz. devatānāma, māsanāma, nakṣatranāma and vyāvahārīkānāma. The first shows that the bearer is the devotee of that devatā. The Nirṇayasindhu 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 Cāitrā. 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 Brhatsamhitā of

565. Vide Saṃskāras-Nāmakaraya p. 859 where all the letters for the 27 nakṣatras are set out from a work called योगिकामात्र and on pp. 860-861 of the former the 112 names (for the 4 pādas of 28 nakṣatras) are exemplified. Even so late a work as the Purāṇisūrya (composed in 1790 A.D.) disapproves of these names as not based on any Vedic authorities. The verse quoted occurs in the Śaunaka Kārikā (Ma, in Bombay University Library) as one of Garga. The Laghu-Āṣvalyana-smṛti (Anand, ed.) VI. 2 speaks of māsanāma beginning from Mārgaśīrṣa.
Varahamihira the twelve names of Viṣṇu are associated with the twelve months.\textsuperscript{567}

As to the names of girls, some special rules were laid down. Many grhyasūtras say that the names of girls should contain an uneven number of syllables and the Mānava gr. (I. 18) expressly says that the names of girls should be of three syllables. Pār. and Vārāhagṛhya further say that the names of girls should end in ‘ā’, Gobhila and Mānava say they should end in ‘dā’ (as in Satyāda, Vasudā, Yasodā, Narmadā), Śaṅkhā-Likhita dharmasūtra and Bājāvāpa require that it should end in ‘ī’, while the Baud.\textsuperscript{568} gr. śeṣa-sūtra says that it should end in a long vowel. The Vārāhagṛhya adds an intricate rule that the name of a girl should have an ‘ā’ vowel in it and should not be after a river, a nakṣatras 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 Buddhakṣitā).\textsuperscript{569} Manu II. 33 prescribes that the names of women should end in a long vowel, should be easy to pronounce, should not suggest any harsh acts, should be perspicuous, should be pleasing to the ear, auspicious and should convey some blessing and in III. 9 Manu and Āp. gr. III. 13 say that one should not marry a girl named after nakṣatras, trees, rivers. In modern times girls frequently bear the names of the great rivers of India (Sindhu, Jāhnavī, Yamunā, Tāpī, Narmadā, Godā, Kṛṣṇā, Kāverī &c.).

It is remarkable that Manu altogether omits the involved rules given by the grhya sūtras about naming a boy and prescribes (II. 31–32) two simple rules viz. that the names of all the members of the four varṇas should suggest respectively auspiciousness, vigour, wealth and lowness (or contempt) and that the names of bāhīmanas and the other varṇas should have an addition (upapada) suggestive of śarman (happiness), rakṣā

\textsuperscript{567} The 12 names are केशव, नारायण, माधव, मीकिन्त, विष्णु, मधुद्वन, तिनिकस, नामन, शीवर, दुष्येवल, प्रतापम, भुवनेर.

\textsuperscript{568} Vide अप्राकृत p. 27 for quotations from श्रीलिखित and वैज्ञान. नामैव कन्या अक्षरविधानमकारात गद्यग्र्हासंस्कृतकर्म न तीर्थकर्म धर्मस्वरूपांवस्तुप्रतिरंजनं वर्णर्थम्। नारायणम् 2.

\textsuperscript{569} These directions of the Vārhā gr. were not observed in ancient times. The Mahābhāṣya (vol. II. p. 307) mentions women named Citrā, Revati, Āvini, also a woman named Devadattā (vol. I. p. 184) and पवनं (vol. III. p. 156) and also ब्रजविभा (or ब्रजका), ब्रजविभा (or ब्रजका) in vol. III. p. 325.
It is significant that none of the gṛhya-sūtras except Pāraskara makes any reference to these additions (śarman and the like) to the names of brāhmaṇas and others. Therefore this was comparatively a later development, though such additions must have been in vogue at least two centuries before the Christian era. The Mahābhāṣya (vol. III. p. 416) cites Indravarman and Indrapālita as the names of a rājanya and a vaiśya. Yama quoted by Aparāṅka (p. 27) says that the names of brāhmaṇas should have the addition of śarma or deva, of ksatriyas varma or trāta, of vaiyās bhūti or datta, and of śūdras dāsa. Similar rules are given in the Purāṇas. These rules were sometime observed, but were often broken from very ancient times as inscriptions show. A striking example of the observance of these rules is contained in the Talgunḍa Inscription of Kakusthavarman of the Kadamba family (E. I. vol. VIII. p. 24) where the founder who was a brāhmaṇa is styled Mayūrāśarman, but his descendants who were kings had names ending in varman (which was appropriate to ksatriyas). 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 Saṭṭhīdatta, his son Varāhādāsa, his son Rāvikīrti (so the upapadas ‘datta’ and ‘dāsa’ appropriate to vaiyās and śūdras respectively were added to brāhmaṇa names). In the Neulpur plate of Śubhakara of Orissa (8th century A. D., E. I. vol. XV. p. 4) we have several bhaṭṭas whose names end in vardhana, datta and svāmin. In the Nidhanpura plate of Bhāskararvarman (E. I. vol. XIX p. 115) among the numerous donees (who must have been all brāhmaṇas) there are some who are named Śrāddhadāsa, Karkadatta and Merudatta. In the Inscriptions of the Śaka king Dāmijāda

570. gṛhya-sūtras 570 makes any reference to these additions (śarman and the like) to the names of brāhmaṇas and others. This was comparatively a later development, though such additions must have been in vogue at least two centuries before the Christian era. The Mahābhāṣya (vol. III. p. 416) cites Indravarman and Indrapālita as the names of a rājanya and a vaiśya. Yama quoted by Aparāṅka (p. 27) says that the names of brāhmaṇas should have the addition of śarma or deva, of ksatriyas varma or trāta, of vaiyās bhūti or datta, and of śūdras dāsa. Similar rules are given in the Purāṇas. These rules were sometime observed, but were often broken from very ancient times as inscriptions show. A striking example of the observance of these rules is contained in the Talgunḍa Inscription of Kakusthavarman of the Kadamba family (E. I. vol. VIII. p. 24) where the founder who was a brāhmaṇa is styled Mayūrāśarman, but his descendants who were kings had names ending in varman (which was appropriate to ksatriyas). 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 Saṭṭhīdatta, his son Varāhādāsa, his son Rāvikīrti (so the upapadas ‘datta’ and ‘dāsa’ appropriate to vaiyās and śūdras respectively were added to brāhmaṇa names). In the Neulpur plate of Śubhakara of Orissa (8th century A. D., E. I. vol. XV. p. 4) we have several bhaṭṭas whose names end in vardhana, datta and svāmin. In the Nidhanpura plate of Bhāskararvarman (E. I. vol. XIX p. 115) among the numerous donees (who must have been all brāhmaṇas) there are some who are named Śrāddhadāsa, Karkadatta and Merudatta. In the Inscriptions of the Śaka king Dāmijāda
of the year 60 (C. I. I. vol. II. p. 16) his father is called Valavadvha (Balavardhana) and his son Mitrawadhana (Mitrawardhana).

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 camasabhaksanā 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 srotriyas, 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 Pulumāyi is described as Vasiṣṭhiputa and in E. I. vol. VIII. p. 88 the Ābhtra king Isvarasena is described as Mādhariputra.575 In a Scythian Inscription (E. I. vol. X at page 108) we have mention of 'the son of Bhārgavi'. In all these cases the mother's gotra name is specially emphasized probably to convey that the mothers were of the bluest blood. Comparatively late writers mention the gotra in which their mother was born (e. g. Bhavabhuti who flourished about 700-750 A. D. says that he was a Kāśyapa while his mother was a Jātukarnī). From a Kārikā in the Mahābhāṣya we learn that the great grammarian Pāṇini was the son of a Dākṣet. Pāṇini himself576 (IV. 1. 147) delivers a

574. कुलमें परिवेशित ये मातृक: पितृधर्मविवधोऽस्मातसु पुरस्तात्। ṛष्ट्र. य. 1. 5. 1. The printed text reads "नाजि: वेयिन्द्रवय्य यां योग सदसुत्वलय विहानात् पुरणेश्वर कर्मिमंगुष्ठाय याततो वाजाः वर्धनं निन्येयः पितृधर्मके " The printed text reads "नाजि: वेयिन्द्रवय्य यां योग सदसुत्वलय विहानात् पुरणेश्वर कर्मिमंगुष्ठाय याततो वाजाः वर्धनं निन्येयः पितृधर्मके " The printed text reads "नाजि: वेयिन्द्रवय्य यां योग सदसुत्वलय विहानात् पुरणेश्वर कर्मिमंगुष्ठाय याततो वाजाः वर्धनं निन्येयः पितृधर्मके ". The printed text reads "नाजि: वेयिन्द्रवय्य यां योग सदसुत्वलय विहानात् पुरणेश्वर कर्मिमंगुष्ठाय याततो वाजाः वर्धनं निन्येयः पितृधर्मके "/ The printed text reads "नाजि: वेयिन्द्रवय्य यां योग सदसुत्वलय विहानात् पुरणेश्वर कर्मिमंगुष्ठाय याततो वाजाः वर्धनं निन्येयः पितृधर्मके ". The printed text reads "नाजि: वेयिन्द्रवय्य यां योग सदसुत्वलय विहानात् पुरणेश्वर कर्मिमंगुष्ठाय याततो वाजाः वर्धनं निन्येयः पितृधर्मके ".

575. Vide E. I. vol. XX. p. 6. for other examples of Mādhariputra and Vasiṣṭhiputa.

576. सर्वस्माद्विप्रवेदिः वाजाः वर्धनं पाणिनेः। सहास्यं vol. I. p. 75 on पाणिनि (I. 1. 20). पाणिनि was also called kālāntikā (from his place kālāntikā). Vide भाषा's कालापरंपरा VI. 62 and Nogawa plate of Puskesen II (E. I. vol. VIII at p. 192, dated Gupta era 320 i. e. 649-50 Ad.). Pāṇini (IV. 3. 94) derives the word kālāntikā.
special rule about the formation of a name for a man from the gotra name of his mother to convey contempt (e.g., Gargah or Gärgika, a rogue, from his mother’s name Gärgi).

Sāṅkhāyana grhyā (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 tithi 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 grhyasūtras prescribe that the sūtikāgni is to be removed and the homa for nāmakaraṇa is to be performed in the Aupāsana (grhya) fire. The Bhāradvāja gr. prescribes the repetition of the Jayā, Abhyātāna and Rāṣṭrabhrt mantras and the offering of eight oblations of ghṛta with the eight mantras ‘may Dhatṛ bestow on us wealth’ (Ap. M. P. II. 11. 1f). 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 Dhatṛ bestow on us wealth’ and gives two names (a secret naskatra name and an ordinary name) to the boy. The twelve oblations are as follows: four to Dhatṛ, four to Anumati, two to Rākā, two to Sinvālī. 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 huskec

577. The Mahābhāṣya gives several Vārtikas on Pāṇini IV. 1. 147 and the Kādikā remarks ‘पितृसंविभाजने मात्रा व्यपूर्वकोपत्तम वुक्ता’ and गार्गी would mean गार्गीय: (whose father was unknown).

578. e.g. Bhaṣṭra gr. I. 26 ‘वृद्धमन व्यक्ती मातापुरुष ध्रुवार्गायु भुज्मुखालिके -व्यस्तस्य समिकारिनिविनिक. अन्तरालार्गरिहितसमाधाय जनार्थतानात्मक राष्ट्रविन इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति इति

Other sutras specify other mantras from their respective Śūkhs.
grains of rice in a vessel of bronze, write thereon with a golden pen the words 'salutations to Śrī Ganapati' and then write four names of the boy, viz. kuladevā 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 Nāmakaṇa. For example, Āsv. gr. (I. 15. 11) says 'when a father returns from a journey he holds in his hands his son's head, mutters the verse 'aṅgād aṅgād &c.' and thrice smells (kisses) his son on the head. Ap. gr. 15. 12 580 prescribes that on returning from a journey the father should address his son (abhimantraṇa) with the verse 'aṅgād,' should smell the child on the head with the verse 'be thou an axe' and should mutter in his right ear five mantras. These rules have a very ancient origin. The Kauśitaki Br. Up. II. 11 says that on returning from a journey the father touches the head of a son with the verse 'aṅgād-aṅgād &c.' and takes the name of the boy and also repeats the verse 'aṃśā 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.

**Karināvedha:** (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. ṣeṣa-sūtra (I. 12) karināvedha is prescribed in the 7th or 8th month, while Brhaspati quoted in Śaṃskāra-prakāśa (p. 258) says that it may be performed on the 10th, 12th or 16th 581 day from birth or in the 7th or 10th month from birth. The Sm. C. has a brief note on karināvedha. The ṣrīya-pariṣiṣṭa 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 'समार्थ कुमारस्य शीतोभस्सु जैनोनित्रालाः द्वीर्यंतिथिः विश्वासारकाराः अपरपरब्धीप्रयंतिः नामकरणार्थं कर्म कारिषे' संस्कारसमालम् p. 861.

580. For अङ्गावशास्त्रसंबंधसिद्धां सर्वमवर्गिकर्षतं औपरकारां धामस्य नामकरणार्थं कर्म कारिषे vide note 537 above. In आप. म. पा. (II. 14. 3) the reading is वेद्रोऽदेः द्वजनामासिः. The formula for a daughter is संस्कारसमालम्; संस्कृतास्तिसाय मेघ शरवः शतम् (आप. म. पा. II. 14. 10).

581. The संस्कारसमालम् (p. 873) quotes from भवनसन्तः the verse 'थथे समस्य धार्मिक तथा धार्मिक तथ्यात् हृदये तथा मुक्ति समस्य तव छावकम् .\\n\\nVide संस्कारसमालम् p. 379 for कुर्मविद्या.
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.\footnote{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’.

*Niśkrāmanā*:—(Taking the child out of the house in the open).
This is a minor rite. Pār. gr. I. 17 gives the briefest description.
Vide also Gobhila II. 8. 1–7 (S. B. E. vol. 30 pp. 56–57), Khādira
1–6, Kāṭhaka gr. 37–38.\footnote{583} This was done according to most
authorities in the 4th month after birth. Aparārka (p. 23) quotes
a purāṇa that the going out of the house may be done on the
12th day or in the 4th month. According to Pār. gr. the father
makes the child look at the sun pronouncing the verse ‘that
eye’ (Vāj. S. 36. 24). The Mānava-grhītya 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 haiṇa 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
Samhītas) 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.
gr. (II. 2) prescribes a homa with eight oblations. Gobhila speaks of candraråsana. 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 verses 585 'Oh thou whose hair is well parted, thy heart' (Mantrabrahmana 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' (Mantrabrahmana I. 5. 13) and twice silently. The Khādīragṛhya 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 āhyudayika śrāddha, then reciting the sūkta from 'svasti no mimitam' (Rg. V. 51. 11) and 'āśu śiśānāh' (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 sākhā this rite is not mentioned need not perform it. The Saṁskārapakāsa pp. 250-256 and Saṁskāraratnamāla pp. 886-888 give an extensive description and make of this saṁskāra a matter of great pomp, festivity and rejoicing. Yama 586 quoted in Saṁ. Pr. says that seeing the sun and seeing the moon should be done respectively in the 3rd and 4th months from birth.


585. The verse यत्से हुमीते हुम्यं occurs in Aap. II. 13. 4.
586. यमः तत्ततुतीये कर्त्तव्याय मातिः चुर्यते दुःसम्भवः च चुर्याय मातिः कर्त्तव्याय साधो- श्वरयं दुःसम्भव प्रकृतिः संस्कारप्रकाशः p. 250.
month from birth as the time for this samskāra; but Mānava gr. says it may be the 5th or 6th; while Śāṅkha quoted by Aparārka says it should be performed at the end of a year or at the end of six months, according to some. The Kāthaka gr. enjoins the sixth month from birth or the time when the child first strikes teeth. The procedure is very brief in all except 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 Mahāvyāhṛtis (bhūḥ, bhuvah, svaḥ). Then the father is to offer oblations to fire with four verses ‘Annapate’, Rg. IV. 12. 4-5 and ‘hım, 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. Āsv. has almost the same rules as to food (omitting fish) but prescribes only one verse ‘Annapat’. Āp. gr. prescribes feeding of brāhmaṇas, making them give benedictions to the child and then making the child eat only once amess of curds, honey, ghee and boiled rice mixed together, with the recitation of a mantra joined to the three vyāhṛtis 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 sthāḷpāka and offering the two ājyaḥbhāgas and then two offerings of ghee with the mantras ‘the gods generated the goddess of speech &c’ (Rg. VIII. 100. 11) and the verse ‘may vigour to-day produce for us gifts &c’ (Vāj. S. 18. 33). Mānava, Kāthaka and Viak. are entirely silent about flesh. Kāthaka

587. संवस्तरीश्वासनमर्यादास्त्वस्तर इत्येके। संहि. q. by अपरार्के p. 28.
588. अनन्तेश्वरस्य नामब्रह्मणनीतविश्वयुक्तनिन्द्राय। प्र प्रादातार नारिष उज्ज नो भेयि हििषे दाहयदे॥ तैः सं. IV. 2. 3. 1.
589. भूलां त्वंश्रीवर्तां रसं दासवासिः। विवास्त्र आप औषधय: सत्वनमविवास्त्र आप औषधय: सत्वसी भुलामात्रां कीः। त्रावर्तां कीः। भूलां: त्रावर्तां। आप. म. व. II. 14. 11-14. After असे the child’s name in the vocative is to be uttered.
590. वेषी दर्शनवयज्ञं वेषात्वं विभित्तं: पश्चाय वद्वत। सा ते मन्त्रेषुभूजि भुवाना वेष्यात्मसाध्यक्षुद्वेदेह। ऋ. VIII. 100. 11.

H. D. 33
prescribes the cooking of all havisya food\textsuperscript{591} and the other two works prescribe food cooked in milk.

It will be seen from the above that the principal part of the saṃskāra is making the child taste food. Some writers add homa, feeding of brāhmaṇas, and benedictions. The Saṃskāra-prakāśa (pp. 267-279) and Saṃskāraratnamālā (pp. 891-895) have very detailed notes on this saṃskāra. One interesting matter quoted by Aparāraka (p. 28) from Mārkandeya 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.

\textit{Varṣavardhaha} or \textit{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 \textit{tithi} and \textit{naksatra’}.\textsuperscript{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. 7\textsuperscript{593} prescribes an offering of cooked rice for life (āpuṣyacaru) ‘every year, every six months, every four months, every season or every month on the naksatra of birth’. Kāṭhaka gr. (36. 12 and 14) prescribes a homa every month after nāmakaranā for a year in the same way as in nāmakarana or jātakarma and at the end of the year an offering of the

\textsuperscript{591} Krtyarṇavaka p. 400 quotes a verse ‘हतिवेशेऽयवा हस्यपस्यतवुष ब्रह्यो मना्मायकोइणोरावीन सर्वभोजे विवर्जित ।’ and quotes Sarvasvadhi ‘ध्वनि यथा केवलां वहीस्यस्ततुलां मायकोइणोरावीनध्वनित्वर्जितमदशस्य आकाः’. \textsuperscript{592} Śrīmārasaḥ। माति सांवतः सांवयकरिकृता य वर्षां अद्वितिय धारा पुष्पियी विभवाद्वंद्वा यथेष्ट धारा पुष्पियी। देवसत्नीतिनिति नववहौ यथेष्ट। गोमिभवत्वा। II. 8. 19-20. The सांवर्यकरिकृताः अर्थात्, कार्तिक तथा पालूत। \textsuperscript{593} आद्वताक्षितिनिविवेधम्। सांवतः यद्द्रुव यद्यम्यु चालेव चतुर्युः क्रमावहुती माति सांवि य श्रीमारः जन्मनाथसे क्रियते। येन। यू. III. 7. 1-2.
flesh of a goat and sheep to Agni and Dhanvantari and feeding the brähmaṇas with food mixed with plenty of ghee. Vaik. III. 20–21 speaks at great length of the ceremony called ‘Varsavardhana’ (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 naksatra on which a child is born is the principal one, that oblations of ghee are to be offered to that deity and naksatra and then to the other presiding deities of the naksatras and to the naksatras themselves, then an oblation with the vyāhṛti (bhūḥ svāhā), then offerings to Dhātā. It describes in detail how different ceremonies are to be performed up to Upanayana, then up to finishing of Veda study, how ceremonies are to be performed on the anniversary day of one’s marriage, on the naksatra 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 ‘brahmaśārīra’, in celebration of which several ceremonies are prescribed (which for want of space are not set out here). In connection with the anniversary of the marriage day, Vaik. specially prescribes that whatever ceremonies women direct as done traditionally should be performed. Aparārka (p. 29) quotes verses of 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 pītra, one’s naksatra of birth and brähmaṇas. The Kṛtyaratnakāra (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 ciraṇijinīs. 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 Nirnayasindhu, the Samskaraprakāsa (which in pp. 281–294 gives the most elaborate treatment) call

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594. यदद्विष्क्रियो भवति मातीको वार्षिको, चाहै तस्मिन, विविधा आचर: पारंपरिकतं सिद्धांत तत्कलातिः। जैस्वानं III. 21. आप. ध. सु. II. 1. 1. 7 also speaks of the anniversary of the day of marriage ‘यवेऽनीः नियम स्पातवेचा। श्रीमद्वालयनानि’.

595. The निर्याचारयज्जुति has these verses ‘अप्रत्यधम चतुर्वयं हनुमाल्ल्य विरंचित:। दुष्प: पररुपाधय सत्ते चिरांनिन:। सत्ततानि: समेको यमान्न्यमधुसंस्व:। जीविनांतं सत्धु सत्तयाध्यविविंकितः॥’. The निर्याचारयज्जु quotes some verses from the हनुमाल्ल्य about मार्क्तेत्यात. 
this festival 'abdapūrti'. The Saṃskārataratanamalā contains a very extensive discourse on this rite (pp. 877-886) and calls this festival 'āyurvardhāpana'. The Nirṇayasindhu and the Saṃskārataratanamalā 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 _Cudākarma or _Cudākarana:_ (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 śīkhā); 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' meaning 'a rite the purpose of which is keeping a lock of hair' and 'da' and 'la' often interchange places. So we get 'cauda' or 'caula' also as the name of the ceremony.

According to many 597 writers caula was performed in the third year from birth. Baud. gr. (II. 4), Pār. gr. (II. 1), Manu II. 35, Vaik. III. 23 say that it may be performed in the 1st or 3rd year; 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), Sad-guru-sisya quoted in the Saṃskāraprakāśa (p. 296) and Nārāyaṇa (on Āśv. gr. I. 17. 1) say that some performed it at the time of upanayana.

596. स च चूढाकरणमात्र: कर्मनमङ्गेषयः। योनिक्षण्यदेवेनान्मान्यद्विज्युगवः।

Whether such a ceremony was performed in the Vedic ages cannot be ascertained with certainty. Bhār. gr. I. 28 expressly 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. 33 also has in view this Vedic verse.

The principal act in this ceremony is the cutting of the hair of the child. The other subsidiary matters are the performance of homa, feeding of brāhmaṇas, receiving of their benedictions and giving of daksīṇā, 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. Ap. gr. 16. 3 says it should be performed when the moon is in conjunction with Puṇarvasu naksatra, while Mānava gr. says that it should not be done on the 9th tilthi of a month. Later works like the Saṁskāraprakāsa (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, māsa 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 Śaṅ. 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 bunches of kuṣa 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. अधास्यं सांवल्लकितं कौलं कुषवति पद्यविति पदोपजः या । विज्ञाप्ते च। यत्र वाणः संपवल्लति कुषारं विज्ञाप्ति हृद। इति कुषविवं इष्टविति। भगवान सू. 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 kuṣa bunches are required.
mirror (Gobhila and Khādīra). According to Gobhila and Khādīra 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. Āśv., Pār., Kāṭhaka and Mānava say that the razor is to be of lōha (which the commentator Nārāyana explains as coppar).

After homa is performed, the principal matter (of cutting the hair) is to be begun. According to Gobhila and Khādīra the father, having contemplated upon Savitr, looks at the barber with the mantra 'here comes Savitr' (Mantra-br. I. 6.1) and contemplating on Vāyu looks at the warm water with the mantra 'with warm water, Oh Vāyu, come hither' (Mantra-Br. I. 6.2). The father then mixes the hot and cold water and may put, in a part of the water, butter or drops of curds and apply the water to moisten three times the boy's head with the mantra 'may Aditi cut thy hair; may the waters moisten (thy hair) for vigour'. Then\(^600\) 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 'Axe, 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 Varuna, cut now his (the boy's hair), Oh brāhmaṇas, so that he may be endowed with long life and (reach) old age'. Each time the hair is cut, he gives\(^601\) the cut hair with their ends turned towards the east together with śaṃleaves 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 Āśv. 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 Saṅ, 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 पशुद्रां कारिन्यता विचाराति: स एव वपनवेंति सिद्धे भवति। इद्वारे त नामाभिभाषाय आभाराहोक्षिपद्वाभ्राय समस्मकं वेदानां हुतया नापितेनेत्वं कार्यस्य सिद्धः।' संस्कारसूत्रसारः प. 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.608

According to several sutras, 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 Āṣv. gr. occur also in Mānava gr., some occur in Baud., Bhār., Pār., and others. The mantras in Āṣv. viz. 1.1, 3-5 and 7 with slight variations. The verse 7 with slight variations is almost the same as Āṣv. VIII. 2. 17. and Āṣv. appears to have adapted it purposely to make it suit the caula.

603. अनेन गोमयफिष गोड उदकान्त उद्वृवर्मस्तः दृव्यमोऽव वा निवधातिः मात्राज यु. I. 28; अद्वृवमस्तां सदेवं गोमयफिष निध्यय गोडः उदकान्त वा ॥ पार. रू. II. 1.

604. अदेनेकान्तस्किक्यिष्ठः पविक्षिष्ठो वा यथवैशायं कलवर्मं स्वातः । यथव्रि सिशा निवधातीर्थवें । श्री. रू. II. 4.
be as many as the pravaras invoked by the father.\textsuperscript{605} Āśv. gr., and Pār. gr. say that locks may be kept according to family usage. \textsuperscript{606} Ap. gr., says that the locks may in number follow the pravara or they may be kept according to family usage. Gobhila and Khaḍīra 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 Bhṛgaus shaves the entire head, that the Āṅgiras gotra keeps five locks or only a line of hair, while persons of other gotras (like Agastya, Viśvāmitra &c.) keep a sikhā (without any particular number of locks) simply because it is an auspicious sign or one may follow the usage of one's\textsuperscript{607} family. Vaik.\textsuperscript{607} says that the locks may be one, two, three, five or seven according to the pravaras. \textsuperscript{608} Rgveda.\textsuperscript{608} VII. 33. 1 refers to the fact that Vāsiṣṭhas had a lock of hair on the right side of the head and so the rule of the Kāṭhaka has a very hoary antiquity behind it. Up to modern times one of the characteristic outward signs of all Hindus was the sikhā (the top-knot). A verse of Devala says that whatever religious act a man does without the yajnopavātā or without sikhā is as good as undone and Hārīta rules that a person who cuts off his sikhā through hate or ignorance or foolishness becomes pure only after

\textsuperscript{605} The pravaras or rūṣis of the several gotras are generally three but some gotras have one, two or five pravaras, but never four. Vide below under marriage for pravara.

\textsuperscript{606} वृक्षिन्ति: कुञ्ज। वसिष्ठनामः। उभयतोविकार्यपानामः। मुख्या भूगवः। पश्च-वृक्ष अख्षिष्टः। वाजिन (राजिः) सके। मक्कलाघस्तिनीर्नयेः। यथाडळघमेः था। काठक गृहा 40. 2-8. These sutras are quoted by Aṣṭārak p. 29 and by the śrutikār I. p. 23. The śrutikār in explaining the words मक्कलाघस्ति says that some keep a sikhā of the form and size of the leaf of the Vaṭa tree. The सं. म. p. 316 arranges the sutras differently and remarks मक्कलाघस्, वाजिन केत्यापर्णः कुव्विन। सा च समन्तरः तत्तादाक्कर्मसूतसाहीनी मालेव भवति । ....... वृक्षिन्ति केचन पद्धतेः। केचन इरुप्रूद्याः।।

\textsuperscript{607} अधिकारेण। स्वयंपौर्ण-द्रवायपार्णपार्णसाक्षात्। विभेजत्। वैशालक III. 23.

\textsuperscript{608} व्यययां ना वृक्षिन्ततकर्षयुर्वि चिंत्रित्सवासी अभिव वि मनुः।। उसितप्त वदोचे परि चिड़ियो नूचन में दूरावितिके कश्चाः।। सं. VII. 33. 1.
performing the \textit{taptakrcchra} penance.\textsuperscript{609} In the \textit{Mudraraksasa} (I.8) there is a reference to the \textit{sinka} of \textit{Canakya} having been kept untied when he was angered by the Nandas. \textit{Sabara} (on \textit{Jaimini} I. 3, 2) remarks that the \textit{sinka} (its position and locks) is a sign to indicate the gotra and quotes \textit{Rg. VI.} 75. 17 (\textit{yatra banah} &c. cited above in note 598). \textit{Vasistha} (II. 21) prescribes that members of all varnas (including the \textit{shudra}) should arrange their hair according to the fixed usage (of their family) or should shave the whole head except the \textit{sinka}. A Vedic passage\textsuperscript{610} is 'the head that has no \textit{sinka} on it is unholy'. For rules about the \textit{sinka} 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 \textit{sinka} and follow the western method of allowing the hair to grow on the whole head.

In modern times the rite of \textit{cudakarana} generally takes place if at all on the day of Upanayana.

\textit{Aśv. gr.} (I. 17. 18) expressly says that the ceremony of \textit{cudakarana} was to be performed for girls also, but no Vedic mantras were to be repeated. \textit{Manu} (II. 66) says that all the ceremonies from \textit{jatakarma} to \textit{caula} must be performed at the proper times for girls also in order to purify their bodies but without mantras and \textit{Yāj.} (I. 13) is to the same effect. Even such late writers as Mitramiśra say that the \textit{caula} of girls may be performed according to the usage of the family and that their hair may be entirely shaved or a \textit{sinka} may be kept or there should be no shaving at all.\textsuperscript{611}

In some castes even in modern times girls when mere children are shaved once, it being supposed that the first hair are impure.

\textit{Vidyārambha}:-The grhya sūtras and dharmasūtras are entirely silent as to what was done for the child's education.

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\textsuperscript{611}
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 Kautilya, 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, ānvikṣikī (metaphysics), vārā (agriculture and the science of wealth) and danaṃtī (the art of government) up till the 16th year when the godāna ceremony is to be performed and after which year he may marry. Kālidāsa also (in Raghuvamśa III. 28) says that prince Aja first mastered the alphabet and then entered into the ocean of (Sanskrit) literature. Bāna has probably the Arthaśāstra in view when he makes prince Candrāpiḍa enter the temple of learning (vidyāmandira) at 6 and remain there till he became sixteen and he (like Milton in his letter to Harlil) tells us how extensive the ideal curriculum of studies in arts and sciences for the prince was thought to be. In the Uttarārāmacarita (Act II) it is said that Kuśa and Lava were taught vidyās other than the Veda after their caula and before upanayana.

It appears that at least from the early centuries of the Christian era, a ceremony called Vidyārambha (commencement of learning the alphabet) was celebrated. Aparārka (pp. 30–31) and the Sm. C. (I. p. 26) cite verses from the Mārkandeya-purāṇa

612. वृत्ताचलकम् लिंगि संस्कृतं चापयुक्तं। वृत्तान्तनन्यगीमान्नीविकिंच लिंगि वातस्मातप्रांक्रिम आषाधकनीयः। ज्ञाने चापोखलशालत। अन्ते गोवणे उर्मकम् च। अभयाखः I. 5.

613. Vide कालप्रीये para 69 for विधामधुर and para 71 for the various arts and sciences.। परवर्तिते विद्याणां यथा चापयुक्तं स्नेहान्यं विक्रिम एवः ... सर्वं व्यवहारिकोऽपि व्यवहारम्। वायुहु। सर्वात्माविद्यभिः सर्वव्यवस्था नार। नवस्यमुखतिः कालप्रीये क्लीम्बिकोऽपि यस्मात्। यथार्थात्माविद्यभिः। कालप्रीये महाभारतपुराणात्तत्त्वसमाप्तिः। सर्वत्रात्माविद्यभिः। सर्वव्यवस्था चतुः। चतुः अन्ते। कालप्रीये वरस्तत्वमाप्तिः। वरस्तत्वात्माविद्यभिः। भवेत जीवनेषु। प्रयोगात्। अवधारणाः।

614. अपि ज्ञानेषु च वृत्ताचलकम् लिंगि संस्कृतं चापयुक्तं। वृत्ताचलकम् लिंगि वातस्मातप्रांक्रिम आषाधकनीयः। रिका चापयुक्तोऽपि चैव तुरवार्मिदिन्यथा। एवं दुनिष्ठते काले सर्वात्माविद्यभिः। अवधारणाः। लिंगि च चापयुक्तं। च वृत्ताचलकम् लिंगि वातस्मातप्रांक्रिम आषाधकनीयः। रिका चापयुक्तोऽपि चैव तुरवार्मिदिन्यथा। एवं दुनिष्ठते काले सर्वात्माविद्यभिः। अवधारणाः।

615. Vide <ft><jisffr para 69 for विधामधुर and para 71 for the various arts and sciences.। परवर्तिते विद्याणां यथा चापयुक्तं स्नेहान्यं विक्रिम एवः ... सर्वं व्यवहारिकोऽपि व्यवहारम्। वायुहु। सर्वात्माविद्यभिः सर्वव्यवस्था नार। नवस्यमुखतिः कालप्रीये क्लीम्बिकोऽपि यस्मात्। यथार्थात्माविद्यभिः। कालप्रीये महाभारतपुराणात्तत्त्वसमाप्तिः। सर्वत्रात्माविद्यभिः। सर्वव्यवस्था चतुः। चतुः अन्ते। कालप्रीये वरस्तत्वमाप्तिः। वरस्तत्वात्माविद्यभिः। भवेत जीवनेषु। प्रयोगात्। अवधारणाः।

616. अपि ज्ञानेषु च वृत्ताचलकम् लिंगि संस्कृतं चापयुक्तं। वृत्ताचलकम् लिंगि वातस्मातप्रांक्रिम आषाधकनीयः। रिका चापयुक्तोऽपि चैव तुरवार्मिदिन्यथा। एवं दुनिष्ठते काले सर्वात्माविद्यभिः। अवधारणाः।

617. Vide अपि ज्ञानेषु च वृत्ताचलकम् लिंगि संस्कृतं चापयुक्तं। वृत्ताचलकम् लिंगि वातस्मातप्रांक्रिम आषाधकनीयः। रिका चापयुक्तोऽपि चैव तुरवार्मिदिन्यथा। एवं दुनिष्ठते काले सर्वात्माविद्यभिः। अवधारणाः।
about vidyārmbha 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 Āśādha, but excluding the 1st, 6th, 8th, 15th tithi or rikā tithi (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 sākha 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 daśīṇā. The teacher should sit facing the east and the boy should face the west and the teacher should begin to teach the first lesson to the boy who should receive the benedictions of brāhmaṇas. Thereafter teaching should be stopped on the days of anadhyāya (which will be specified later on).

The Saṃskāra-prakāśa (pp. 321–325) and Saṃskāraratna-mālā (pp. 904–907) have an extensive note, a considerable part of which is devoted to astrological matters. The Saṃskāraprakāśa quotes passages from Viśvāmitra, Devala and other sages and works that vidyārmbha is performed in the 5th year or in any case before upanayana. It also quotes a verse from Nṛsiṁha 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 namo siddham’ and to write them on a slate and then he is taught the letters (‘a’, ‘a’ &c.) of the alphabet. The Saṃskāraratnamālā calls this ceremony Aksarasvākara (appropriately enough) and among other texts cites a long prose passage from Garga quoted in the Pārijāta and prescribes a homa also with ajāhuti to Sarasvatī, Hari, Lakṣmī, Vīghneśa (Gaṇapati), sūtrakāras and one’s vidyā.

615. सरस्वतीपूजनादिकारामाह पारिजातं गर्ग:। स्नातक श्रूचवि समे दूर्वेदोपप्रकाशः श्रवणिक विद्याशिला तत्र सरस्वतीपूजनायेत॥
श्रवणिका। संवेदनात्योपायद्वारनियस्तान्त्रयः प्रमणमः। गर्गसारस्वतिः सरस्वतिकारामाह संन्यासनमप्रमणस्तर्कारानुत्तरविद्या
विद्याशिला तत्र श्रवणिकारामाह संन्यासनमप्रमणस्तर्कारानुत्तरविद्या।

615.  "Sarasvatīpūjana-dhikārāmaḥ Pārījātaṁ Gargaḥ:। Snātaka śrūcavi samē dvīrvedo apkāraśaḥ śravaṇaśiśā tap ċ sarasvatīpūjanaḥ ēt।
śravaṇaśiśā। संवेदना आपायाचार्यमनियस्तान्त्रयमः। गर्गसारसवतिः सरस्वतिकारामाह संन्यासनमप्रमणस्तर्कारानुत्तरविद्या।
विद्याशिला तत्र श्रवणिकारामाह संन्यासनमप्रमणस्तर्कारानुत्तरविद्या।

संन्यासनमाह प. 906.
CHAPTER VII

UPANAYANA

This word literally means 'leading or taking near'. But the important question is 'near what'? It appears that it originally meant 'taking near the acārya' (for instruction); it may have also meant 'introducing the novice to the stage of student-hood'. Some of the grhyasūtras bring out this sense clearly e.g. the Hir. gr. I. 5. 2\textsuperscript{618} 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 Māṇava and Kāthaka gr. (41. 1) also use the word upāyana for upanayana and Ādityadarśana on Kāthaka gr. (41. 1) says that upanaya, upanayana, maunjlbandhana, batukarana, vratabandha are synonyms.

A few words about the origin and development of this most important samskāra 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'.\textsuperscript{617}
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word 'upanayana' can be derived and explained in two ways: (1) taking (the boy) near the acarya, (2) that rite by which the boy is taken to the acarya. 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 sāṃskāra (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 sāṃskāra brought about by imparting the śruti (viz. Gāyatrī mantra) to him who seeks learning'. This would mean that upanayana principally is gāyatrīupadeśa (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 Trisūbh, the vaisya with Jagati', and by Kātyāyana Śrauta 'one should initiate the brāhmaṇa with Gāyatrī'. Jaimini also (in VI. 1. 35) propounds the view that upanayana is a sāṃskāra and has a seen result viz. thereby the boy is brought near the teacher for learning Veda.

Rg. III. 8. 4 is a verse that clearly indicates that some of the characteristics of upanayana described in the grhya sūtras were well known even then. There the sacrificial post (yupa) is praised as a young person (i.e. in the language of the later classical rhetoricians there is the first kind of the figure Ātiśayokti) 'here comes the youth, well dressed and encircled (the boy by his mekhala and the post by its raśana); 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 grhya sūtras e.g. Āsv. I. 20. 8 (who employs it for...
In the other Vedas and in the Brāhmaṇa literature there 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 hyperbolical laudation of the brahmacārī (Vedaś student) and brahmacarya. The very first verse 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 'upanayamāṇah' 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 mekhala (girdle), by his samidh and by his life of hard work fill the world with austerities. Verse 6 tells us that the brahmacārī wears the skin of a black antelope and has a long beard; verse 11 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, mekhala, offering of samidh, begging and a life of hard work and restraint). From the reference to the beard and from the words 'this man (ayan puruṣaḥ)' occurring in the Atharvaveda VIII. 1. 1 and elsewhere it appears probable that upanayana was performed rather late in those ancient days than in the days of the śutras.

621. जायमानी है वै ब्राह्मणविभिन्नणा जानते ब्राह्मचर्य ब्राह्मिनीय यज्ञन ब्राह्मण यज्ञवर्धय एव या अद्वैतय च तुष्य वज्ञा ब्राह्मचारिणीस। सै। सै। VI. 3. 10. 5.
622. ब्राह्मचारीव्रतविराटति रहस्यिति उने तत्त्वद्विषादं समस्यासै स्वार्थ पूर्विष्टि विविष्यति च स अत्यत्तरयुद्धविष्टि अथविष्टि XI. 7. 1. This verse is explained in Gangeśāṣṭhāya II. 1. अत्यत्तर उपन्यायनी ब्राह्मचारिणो द्रुतते गर्भमेत। अथवेथ XI. 7. 3 the idea is found in Ap. Db. S. I. 1. 16-18 (quoted above p. 18f. n. 443) and compare शतपथम् XI. 5. 4. 12 'अत्यत्तरम् वर्गीयमश्च हस्तत्वद्विष्यत। तुलितमसस् च जाते सर्वायमस दो भागम् ॥'. ब्राह्मचारिणो सर्वायमस सर्वित् काँण वसानो दौसिढ्यो दौसिढ्यस्कु। अथवे XI. 7. 6.
In the Tai. Br. III. 683 10. 11 there is the story of Bharadvāja who remained a brahmācāri for three parts of his life (i.e. till 75) and to whom Indra said that in all that long period of brahmacya he had mastered only an insignificant portion (three handfuls out of three mountains) of the Vedas, which were endless in extent. The story of Nābhānedistha, son of Manu, who was excluded from ancestral property at a partition made by his brothers, narrated in the Alt. Br. shows 684 that he was a brahmācāri staying with a teacher away from his father's place. The Sat. Br. XI. 5. 4. contains many and almost complete details about the life of brahmācārin which bear a very close similarity to those taught in the gṛhya sūtras. A brief summary is set out below. The boy says 'I have come unto brahmacya' and 'let me be a brahmācāri'. 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 brahmācāri 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 Sāvitrī). Formerly it was repeated a year (after the boy came as a brahmācāri), then at the end of six months, 24 days, 12 days, 3 days; but one should repeat to the brahmāna 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 brahmācāri one should not eat honey. 685

623. भर्द्वजो नै त्रिभर्माजहिताथ्याब्यासतस्य तस्य इति इत्यय उपनयोगाभास। सत्यं श्रुत्यानिश्चया वित्तेन सत्वमिति होत्वा। 'तत्त्वमिति विधियते वैर्हर्ष्योलिता। तत्त्वं अविशेषार्थीतिः संतोष भर्द्वाजार्थ्यमन्य वेद्या।' इत्यत। अयस्तय च पेतय। 'तत्त्वं एवाममिति भ्रातृविष्णुविध्वंशोध्य।' अयतं इत्यत त्रिभृवुन्नात्मेय। तत्र। भ. III. 10. 11.

624. नामनामितं ये मानन्यं ब्राह्मचर्यं वसन्तं भारते निर्रभजज। सोब्राह्मचर्यं संज्ञानं सदामेति। ए। भ. 22. 9. This story occurs also in Tai. S. III. 1. 9. 5.

625. ब्राह्मचर्याब्यासतस्य इति। 'ब्राह्मचर्यासीदीयत्।' अध्यात्माय च को द्वाराविहीततिः। 'आयानं हतं युक्तातिः।' 'इन्द्रस्य ब्राह्मचारिः अध्याशयस्य वाहार्यस्यवच्चार्यस्यसतिः।' 'अंतःस्य च भवितात। अहं विद्वान्।' 'विज्ञानसंपन्नस्य भवितात।' 'अथ अपवेदनः च।' 'करं क्रुं च।' 'समावेशसतिः।' 'सा सुधुयथा इति।' 'अथ अपवेदनः सविवृद्धसः।' तथ ह संसारं पुरं संसरसिद्धसः।' 'अथ यदुस्व मातसु।' 'तथा।' 'अथ च चविद्विस्यः अथ व्यवृत्ता।' 'तदयें।' 'अथ यदेः।' 'तदस्य भक्तात्तिः।' 'आचार्यं भवेऽः।' 'सा भवनमेऽः।' 'सा भवनमेऽः।' 'तथा।' 'तत्र य विद्वान्यथा।' 'अथ च चविद्विस्यः अथ व्यवृत्ता।' 'तदस्य।' 'न ब्राह्मचर्यं सदव भर्मचार्यस्य।' शतपथ XI. 5. 4. 1-17.
The word 'antevasi' (lit. one who dwells near a teacher) occurs in the Śat. Br. V. 1. 5. 17 and in the Tai. Up. I. 11. The Śat. Br. (XI. 3. 3. 2) says 626 '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 Śat. Br. (III. 6. 2. 15) further says 'therefore brahmacarins protect the teacher, his house and his cattle, with the idea that otherwise he might be taken away from them.'

Janamejaya Pārīkṣita asks the ḫamsas (who were the Āhavanīya and Dāksiṇā fires) 'what is holy' and the latter reply 'It is brahmacarya' (vide Gopatha Br. 2. 5). Gopatha (2. 5) further says the period of studenthood for the mastery of all Vedas is 48 years, which, being distributed among the Vedas in four parts, makes brahmacarya last for 12 years, which is the lowest limit; one should practise brahmacarya according to one's ability before taking the ceremonial bath. The same work says that the brahmacārī should fetch samīdhs 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 īstāpūrta. It also says that a brahmacārī should not sleep on a cot, should not engage in singing and dancing, should not roam about, should not spit about nor go to a cemetery.

626. कीर्त्य त्या एष्टुपैति यो ब्रह्मचर्यपैति। शतपथ XI. 3. 3. 2. This is quoted in Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 52. The words 'अते पानन' refer to sipping water before and after bhojana respectively with the words 'अमर्तपाररममम् स्वाहा' and 'अम्पीपिधिनानसै स्वाहा.' Vide संस्करण I p. 893. These two sanskrits occur in अप. म. या. II. 10. 3-4.
627. तत्तात् ब्रह्मचर्य अन्तर्यां गौरायित्रिः युहपकृष्टेभीप्रवासिनिः। शतपथ III. 6. 2. 15.
628. अर्थात्सत्तता सत्तता ब्रह्मचर्य तत्तता वेदेः पुष्य हार्वस्वाभव ब्रह्मचर्य हार्वस्वाभवाः वर्ण्यांवर्णवार्तायां वर्ण्यांवर्णवायुपासितो। गोपथ 2. 5.
629. तत्तात् ब्रह्मचर्यिः अद्वितिभज्ज दुधाश्चाहिः। माहमिद्यपूविष्ट्वदधिकारणामवधिति। नोपिसिर्यो द्वारका मात्या न तत्तवे न सर्णो न निर्जः वै...न इत्यानं सातितेत। गोष्टी 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 *samidh* in his hand and told the teacher that he desired to enter the stage of studenthood and begged to be allowed to be a brahmaṇā living with the teacher. There were no elaborate ceremonies like those described in the *grhya* sūtras. The word brahmaṇa occurs in the *Kātha* Up. I. 1. 15, *Mundaka* 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. 7 that when Aśvapati Kekaya was approached by Praśināśala Aupamanyava and four others who carried fuel in their hands (like young students) and who were grown-up householders and theologians, ‘he (Aśvapati) without submitting them to the rites of Upanayana began the discourse’. When Satyakāma Jābāla tells the truth about his gotra to Gautama Hariḍrumaṇa, 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 brahmaṇa) only in words (i.e. without any further solemn rite or ceremony). In the most ancient times it is probable that the father himself always taught his son. But it appears that from the times of the Taś. S. and the Brāhmaṇas the student generally went to a guru and stayed in his house (vide note 624 about Nābhānediśtha). Uddālaka Aruṇi who was himself a profound philosopher of brahma asks his son Śvetaketu to enter upon brahmaṇa and sends him to a teacher to learn the Vedas. The same Upaniṣad describes the

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630. ते ह समिलापणः पूर्वेण परिवर्तितरीतान्यात्यन्यं विवेदवचः। चाष्ट्रोथ्या V. 11. 7.

631. समिले सौभाग्यारोपत्वं नेवेन्ये न सर्वाधुना ईति। चाष्ट्रोथ्या IV. 4. 5.

632. उपेष्ये प्रवर्तिति वाचा ह सैव पूर्व मुखपति स होपायनकोडाप्यात्स। बृह. उ. VI. 2. 7.

633. Vide बृह. उ. VI. 2. 1 ‘अद्वितीयत्वमिति चिन्तनयोगिति होपायच,’ विषयक on ch. I. 15 remarks युक्तारण्य तु कृष्ण्य पुस्तपरमत्त्वमिति। तथा च श्रुतिः। तस्मात्युत्तुष्टिः होपायनकुस्तिः। अवज्ञायिणयत्वमुं बुधध्रष्टामहुतः।

634. अधितत्वादिश्वरितेः आस तं ह विद्याव भेदवेदो वस मद्दचर्चीय सास्त्रेषां विद्यावेदवेदावितर्वेदमिति। यथा च श्रुतिः। हृदर्विश्वासः तस्मात्युत्तुष्टिः होपायनकोडाप्यात्स। बृह. उ. VI. 1. 1-2.

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āśrama of brahmācarya ‘dwelling as a brahmācāri in the house of a teacher, mortifying his body in the house of his teacher till his 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 brahmācāri 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, VII.1.2), though the Chāndogya (VIII. 11. 3) speaks of Indra’s brahmācarya for 101 years and Chāndogya II. 23.1 speaks of brahmācarya 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 brahmācārins of different varṇas; the yajnopavīta; the preliminaries of upanayana, such as homa, taking of curds by the boy, anjalipūrana, āśmārohana; 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 Śaṅkitr and other gods (paridāna), instruction in the duties of the student (such as putting fuel on fire, begging &c.), instruction in the famous Śaṅkitr mantra; medhājanana; study of the Vedas and daily recitation of Vedic texts; special vrata of the brahmācāri; Patitasavitṛika (those whose upanayana has not been performed at all) and rules about them. These matters will now be dealt with in order. It should be remembered that all these matters are not dwelt upon by all the smṛtis nor are they treated of in the same order. Further the Vedic mantras often differ in the different sūtras.

The proper age for Upanayana

The Āsv. gr.635 (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. Āsv. gr. II. 23. 1. This refers to the वैषिण्डकब्रह्मचारिन.

636. अहने यथा ब्राह्मचार्यवस्तु । गर्भारम्बे वा । प्रकाशसे वा । वालस्य नाशिक । श्रीवर वासुकिष्ठिनु वाच । आ भारवित्तदाकदेशस्य । आ ज्ञानविधिनिदेशस्य । भास्य. य. I. 19. 1–6.
12th and that to the 16th, 22nd and 24th years respectively for the three varnas it cannot be said that the time for upanayana has passed. Ap. 637 (10. 2), Sān. (II. 1), Baud. (II. 5. 2) and Bhār. (I. 1), Gobhila (II. 10. 1) gṛhya sūtras, Yāj. I. 14, Ap. Dh. S. I. 1. 19 expressly say that the respective years are calculated from conception. The Mahābhāṣya 638 also refers to the rule that a brāhmaṇa’s upanayana is to be performed in the 8th year from conception. Pār. 639 gr. (II. 2) allows upanayana in the 8th year from birth or conception and adds that in the case of all varnas family usage may be followed. Yāj. I. 14 also refers to family usage. Sān. gr. (II. 1. 1) allows upanayana in the 8th or 10th year from conception, the Māṇava gr. (I. 22. 1) allows it in the 7th or 9th year, the Kāṭhaka gr. (41. 1–3) prescribes 7th, 9th and 11th years for the upanayana of the three varnas respectively. In some smṛtis upanayana is allowed to be performed even earlier or at different ages, e.g. Gautama (I. 6–8) prescribes that upanayana for a brāhmaṇa is in the 8th year from conception but it may be in the 5th or 9th according to the result desired; and Manu. II. 37 says that if spiritual eminence (for the boy) is desired (by his father) then upanayana may be performed in the 5th year for a brāhmaṇa, in the 6th year for a kṣatriya if there is a desire for military power, in the 8th for a vaśya 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. गर्भिनेतु ब्राह्मणसुपनन्यति गर्भावसूक्तियो राजज्ञम गर्भावसूक्तियो वैवैद्यम्। आप. अ. 10. 2–3. Vide सं. य. p. 340–341 for discussion whether there is option of counting the years from conception or birth in the case of kṣatriyas and vaśyas. Ap. and several others employ the Ātmānepada ‘उपनयित’ while Āśv., Khādira (II. 2. 1) and Pār. employ the Parasmaipada उपनेत। It should be noticed that in the Atharvaveda XI. 7. 3., Śatapatha XI. 5. 4. 1, उत्तरपथ. IV. 4. 5 and elsewhere in the Vedic texts it is the Ātmānepada that is found. Pāṇini (I. 3. 36) lays down that the root ‘नि’ takes the Ātmānepada alone in the case of several senses one of which is आचार्यकरण (and so we should have उपनेत only). हरस्वति quotes a कारक that the परस्मेत is a mistake ‘परस्मेतपालोपपत्तियो भणुम्’। आचार्य-करणो यस्मात् भणुमानिन्यात्तमोपपत्तियो भणुम्। Vide संस्कारसाधक p. 339 for criticism of हरस्वति’s view. Vide शबर quoted above (p. 269 f. n. 619).

638. गर्भिनेते ब्राह्मण उपनेत इति सहुचुप्यो इति शास्त्राय:। महाभाष्य vol. III. p. 57.

639. अद्वृत्त ब्राह्मणसुपनन्यते वैवैद्यनेत्रे वै वैवैद्यवर्षो राजस्वं वैयाप्यायम् पा तथापि। पारस्मिक:। उत्तरपथ. II. 12. व. अ. adds चन्द्रवर्षो नेत्राकारं चन्द्रवर्षो हस्तकारं प्रभार्यो भावायप्यन्त: वैस्को सर्वकाममिति।
spiritual eminence, long life and wealth. The Ap. Dh. S. I. 1. 1. 21 and Baud. gr. (I. 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 (gaṇaṇa) for a brāhmaṇa; 9th to 16th are secondary for ksatriya and so on. From 12th to 16 is gaṇatāma for brāhmaṇas and after 16 gaṇatāma for them. Vide Saṁskāra-prakāśa p. 342.

The auspicious times according to the Ap. gr. and Ap. Dh. S. I. 1. 1. 19, Hir. gr. (I. 1) and Vaik. are vasanta (spring), griśma (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 ksatriya in summer or hemanta, for a vaiśya in śarad, in the rains for a carpenter (rathakāra) or in śisira for all. Šabara in his bhāṣya on Jaimini VI. 1. 33 where upanayana is denied to śudras 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. आपराधिकाण्डे पुनः नक्षत्रे विक्षेपेण पुनसमथे। भारद्वा J. 1. 1. For पुनः-मच्छेत्येते see note 512.
641. मासामल इंकुगार्येष। मापादित्यासपदको तु मेधाश्चमवं मन्दम्। quoted in संस्काराकारार्य p. 355; तथाच अप्रतिपादीताम। मापादित्यं च मालेदु सीवी प्रवाहाः सस्यते। एतशथा यमेत्येतार्यार्य भूतिः। स्त्रुतिः। l. p. 27.
days and on galagraha (the tithis specified above). Jupiter, Venus, Mars and Mercury are respectively the presiding deities of the Rigveda 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 Samaveda and kṣatriyas Tuesday is allowed). Among the nakṣatras the proper ones are Hasta, Citrā, Svāti, Puṣya, Dhanisthā, Aśvinī, Mṛgāśiras, Punarvasu, Śravaṇa and Revati. There are other rules about nakṣatras with respect to those who follow a particular Veda (which are passed over). One rule is that all nakṣatras except Bharani, Kṛttikā, Magha, Viśākha, Jyeṣṭha, Śatārākā 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. नसे चन्द्रेकसः सः चुक्ते गगारते विन्द रासः। कर्मयोगपतनं सामवद्याय गत्वः॥

643. The निर्धेक्षितः quotes नाराय as to गत्वः differently 'कुण्यतः कहुः च सहस्रीजितवत्तयः। च अपेक्षे गत्वः॥': दुर्धच्छिन्तेऽध्नीः प्राप्तं रक्षितः; सर्वेऽर्तस्तमः तन्माप्वामासंप्रदेशः। क्रमः॥ स्तुतिचा इ. पृ. 27.

644. इसाक्रेष्टे दुर्धच्छिन्तेऽध्नीः वैत्याविविदमितिविभवेऽः। इसाक्रेष्टे चतुर्घ-गतोपयोऽकारो भ्रजानाहुपनायनो निधि॥ अवर्त । पृ. 32, स्तुतिचा इ. पृ. 27.
zodiacal sign at the time of upanayana) which are not set out here. There are other prohibited astrological conjunctions like Vyatipata, Vaidhriti &c. For detailed rules on these, works like the Sam. Pr. (pp. 355-385), Nirnayasindhu and Dharmasindhu may be consulted.

For persons who are entitled to perform the upanayana of a boy, vide note 480.

A brahmacäri had to wear two garments, one for the lower part of the body (väsas), another for covering the upper part of the body (uttarväya). Ap. Dh. S. (I. 1. 2. 39-I. 1. 3. 1-2) says that 'the garment (väsas) for a brähmaṇa, ksatriya or vaisya brahmacäri 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 brähmaṇas; dyed with madder for ksatriyas, dyed with turmeric for vaisyas.' Pär. gr. (II. 5), Manu (II. 41) speak of 'āvika' (made of wool) for vaisya instead of 'ajina'. Vas. Dh. S. (XI. 64-67) says that a brähmaṇa (brahmacäri) should wear a (lower) garment which is white and unblemished (or new) and for a ksatriya or vaisya it should be the same as in Ap. Dh., but for vaisya Vas. prescribes also one made of kuṣa 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 kuṣa grass (cīra) or of the hair of the mountainous goat (kutapa); other teachers prescribe coloured garments, one coloured with the juice of trees for brähmaṇas and madder-red and yellow for ksatriya and vaisya. Āsv. gr. (I. 19. 8), Pär. gr. (II. 5), Vas. Dh. S. (XI. 61-63), Baud. gr. (II. 5. 16) say that the upper garment for a brähmaṇa should be the skin of a black deer, for ksatriya the skin of ruru deer and for a vaisya of cow-skin or of goat skin. Baud. and Āsv. prescribe only goat skin. Pär. 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. Baud. gr. II. 5. 16 prescribes the skin of black deer for all in the same

645. वास: शारीयोमालिनाथि काथाचे चैते च चासुपदिशानि मालिने राज- न्यूप्रयोजने. राजसंगवी बैंसप्रयोजने. अःप्र. ध. 1. 1. 2. 39-41-I. 1. 3. 1-2; शुक्लमहते वासी राज्यस्वप; मालिन्यें वाभिरि प्रयोजने. राजसंगवी चासु प्रयोजने. वासी बैंसप्रयोजने. निर्मलक्ष्मीपदिशानि मालिने राजन्यः चासु प्रयोजने. वासी बैंसप्रयोजने. निर्मलक्ष्मीपदिशानि मालिने राजन्यः चासु प्रयोजने. अहंतेन तेन विज्ञानाविनासककेतु पारस्कार. quoted in सुदीक्ष. I. p. 29.

646. लेश्यवदिवसस्यायं राज्यस्वप रौप्यमालिन्यें वाभिरि प्रयोजने मालिने राजसंगवी चासु प्रयोजने. निर्मलक्ष्मीपदिशानि मालिने राजन्यः चासु प्रयोजने. वासी बैंसप्रयोजने. निर्मलक्ष्मीपदिशानि मालिने राजन्यः चासु प्रयोजने. परस्कार II. 5.
circumstances. \(\text{Ap. Dh. S. (I. 1. 3. 7-8)}\) gives the option to all varnas to use a sheep skin (as upper garment) or a woollen plaid (\textit{kambala}). \(\text{Aśv. gr. (I. 19. 8-9)}\) 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 \(\text{Ap. Dh. S.}\)). The \textit{Kāṭhaka gr.} \(647^1 (41. 13)\) says that the upper garment for the three varnas should be respectively of the skins of black deer, tiger and \textit{ruru} deer. A vestige of these rules survives in the modern practice of tying a small piece of deer skin to the \textit{yajnopavlta} 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 \textit{Brāhmaṇa} passage in the \(\text{Ap. Dh. S.} \, 648^1 (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').

\textit{Daṇḍa (staff)}:—There is some divergence of view about the trees of which the staff was to be made. \(\text{Aśv. gr. (I. 19. 13 and I. 20. 1)}\) says 'a staff of the \textit{palāśa} wood for a \textit{brahmana}, of \textit{udumbara} for a \textit{kśatriya} and of \textit{bilva} for a \textit{vaśya} or all the varnas may employ a staff of any of these trees.' The \(\text{Ap. gr. I. 11. 15-16 (this is the same as \text{Ap. Dh. S. I. 1. 2. 38})}\) says that the staff should be of \textit{palāśa} wood for a \textit{brahmana}, of the branch of the \textit{nyagrodha} tree (so that the downward end of the branch forms the tip of the staff) for a \textit{kśatriya}, of \textit{badara} or \textit{udumbara} wood for a \textit{vaśya}; while some teachers say that the staff should be made of a tree (which is used in sacrifices) without reference to any varna. \(\text{Gaut. (I. 21) and Baud. Dh. S. (II. 5. 17) say that the staff of \textit{palāśa} or \textit{bilva} should be used for \textit{brahmana} and \textit{Gaut. (I. 22-23) says that \textit{aśvattha} and \textit{pllu} wood staff should be used respectively for \textit{kśatriya} and \textit{vaśya} or of any sacrificial tree for all varnas. Baud. gr. prescribes \textit{nyagrodha} or \textit{rauhitaka} for \textit{kśatriya}, and \textit{badara} or \textit{udumbara} for \textit{vaśya}. \text{Pār. gr.}}\end{quote}

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647. \(\text{ऐणे} \, \text{बन्धु} \, \text{अनाम} \, \text{भजन्ति} \, \text{वैण} \, \text{राजनाम} \, \text{री} \, \text{वेदपाय} \). \text{काठकश्च} \(41. 13\).

648. \(\text{सत्साधन} \, \text{सत्साधन} \, \text{सत्साधन} \, \text{सत्साधन} \, \text{सत्साधन} \, \text{सत्साधन} \, \text{सत्साधन} \, \text{सत्साधन} \, \text{सत्साधन} \, \text{सत्साधन} \). \(\text{अनिन्द्र} \, \text{सूर्य} \, \text{वर्षे} \, \text{सूर्य} \, \text{वर्षे} \, \text{सूर्य} \, \text{वर्षे} \, \text{सूर्य} \, \text{वर्षे} \, \text{सूर्य} \). \(\text{अन्तर} \, \text{सूर्य} \, \text{वर्षे} \, \text{सूर्य} \, \text{वर्षे} \, \text{सूर्य} \, \text{वर्षे} \, \text{सूर्य} \). \(\text{सूर्य} \, \text{वर्षे} \, \text{सूर्य} \, \text{वर्षे} \, \text{सूर्य} \, \text{वर्षे} \, \text{सूर्य} \, \text{वर्षे} \, \text{सूर्य} \, \text{वर्षे} \). \(\text{सूर्य} \, \text{वर्षे} \, \text{सूर्य} \, \text{वर्षे} \, \text{सूर्य} \, \text{वर्षे} \, \text{सूर्य} \, \text{वर्षे} \, \text{सूर्य} \, \text{वर्षे} \). \(\text{सूर्य} \, \text{वर्षे} \, \text{सूर्य} \, \text{वर्षे} \, \text{सूर्य} \, \text{वर्षे} \, \text{सूर्य} \, \text{वर्षे} \, \text{सूर्य} \, \text{वर्षे} \). \(\text{सूर्य} \, \text{वर्षे} \, \text{सूर्य} \, \text{वर्षे} \, \text{सूर्य} \, \text{वर्षे} \, \text{सूर्य} \, \text{वर्षे} \, \text{सूर्य} \, \text{वर्षे} \). \(\text{सूर्य} \, \text{वर्षे} \, \text{सूर्य} \, \text{वर्षे} \, \text{सूर्य} \, \text{वर्षे} \, \text{सूर्य} \, \text{वर्षे} \, \text{सूर्य} \, \text{वर्षे} \). \(\text{सूर्य} \, \text{वर्षे} \, \text{सूर्य} \, \text{वर्षे} \, \text{सूर्य} \, \text{वर्षे} \, \text{सूर्य} \, \text{वर्षे} \, \text{सूर्य} \, \text{वर्षे} \). \(\text{सूर्य} \, \text{वर्षे} \, \text{सूर्य} \, \text{वर्षे} \, \text{सूर्य} \, \text{वर्षे} \, \text{सूर्य} \, \text{वर्षे} \, \text{सूर्य} \, \text{वर्षे} \).
(II. 5) recommends a staff of palaśa, bilva and udumbara respectively for the three varṇas (or any of these for all). Kāṭhaka gr. (41. 22) recommends palaśa, aśvattha and nyagrodha respectively for the three. Manu (II. 45) prescribes bilva and palaśa for brāhmaṇa, vaṭa and khadira for ksatriya, plulu and udumbara for vaisya, 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.  

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, ksatriya or vaisya boy respectively the staff should be as high as his head, forehead or the tip of the nose. The Śāñ. 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 vaisya 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 Śāñ. gr. (II. 13. 2-3) prescribes that the brahmacāri should not allow any one to pass between himself and his staff and that if the staff, girdle or the yajnopavita 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 yajnopavita, staff, the girdle and the skin 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 muṇja grass should be

649. बुधपालितायायामपक्षिणामस्यकै गृहस्त्यायाः कृतवर्गे वायुः। या. I. 29; ‘तत्र वृष्ण्य कार्यंत् नित्यं परमाद्विनमथनस्म यथानित्यादि’ अपराधः. As the carrying of a staff has a seen result, it need not be carried at all times, according to Aparśāka (p. 57), but the others having unseen results must be worn always.

650. उपविवेक पण्यायायामस्य गृहस्त्यायाः कृतवर्गे ध्वजयायाः। व्ययस्यस्तित्रापमेव भेष्यति। यथा। दुधपालितवाज्तं पुरुषं वायुः। लक्षणं। वा. II. 30. 31. रस इंसान आयुः।
tied round a brāhmaṇa boy's waist, one made of mūrvā grass (which is used for making a bowstring) for a ksātriya and one of hemp cords for a vāśya. Pāraskara says that the string of a bow should be used for a ksātriya and of mūrvā grass for a vāśya and adds that in the absence of these the girdle should respectively be made of kuśa, aśmantaka and balvāja grass (for brāhmaṇa, ksātriya and vāśya).

Manu (II. 42-43) gives the same rules as Pār. gr. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 1.2. 35-37) optionally allows a girdle of munja grass with an iron piece intertwined in it for ksātriya and woollen string or the yoke-string or a string of tāmala bark for vāśyas (according to some). Baud. gr. (II. 5. 13) allows maunjīt girdle also to all. Some of the sūtras (e.g. Baud. gr., Āp. Dh. S.) further prescribe that the girdle of muṇja 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).

In order to convey an idea of the rites of upanayana in the days of the grhya sūtras the ceremony as contained in the Āṣv. gr. sūtra (which is among the shortest) is set out in full.

'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 ksātriya, goat's skin if a vāśya; if they put on garments they should put on dyed ones, reddish-yellow, red and yellow (for a brāhmaṇa, ksātriya, vāśya respectively), they should have girdles and staffs (as described above). While the boy takes hold of (the hand of) his teacher, the latter offers (a homa of clarified butter oblations) in the fire (as described above) and seats himself to the north of the fire with his face turned to the east, while the other one (the boy) stations himself in front (of the teacher) with his face turned to the west. The teacher then fills the folded hands of both himself and of the boy with water and with the verse 'we choose that of Savitṛ' (Rg. V. 82. 1) the teacher drops down the water in his own folded hands on to the water in the folded

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651. ग्राम जान्य श्रेष्ठ मौखी वापोविभागः। आविभधृश्च वैषयवः। सौरी तामिली वैरवेकः।

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 Āṣv. gr. and for a very concise form prepared recently.

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hands of the boy; having thus poured the water, he should seize with his own hand the boy’s hand together with the thumb (of the boy) with the formula ‘by the urge (or order) of the god Savitṛ, with the arms of the two Āśvinś, with the hands of Pūsana, I seize thy hand, oh! so and so’;653a with the words ‘Savitṛ 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 Savitṛ! this is thy brahma-carī, protect him, may he not die’654 and (the teacher should further) say ‘Whose brahma-carī art thou? thou art the brahma-carī of Prāṇa. Who does initiate thee and whom (does he initiate)? I give thee to Ka (to Prajāpati).’ With the half verse (Rg. III 8. 4.) ‘the young man, well attired and dressed, came hither’ he (the teacher) should cause him to turn round to the right and with his two hands placed over (the boy’s) shoulders he should touch the place of the boy’s heart repeating the latter half (of Rg. III. 8. 4.). Having wiped the ground round the fire the brahma-carī should put (on the fire) a fuel stick silently, since it is known (from śrutī) ‘what belongs to Prajāpati is silently (done),’ and the brahma-carī 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’.655 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 ब्रज. सं. II. 11, सं. सं. II 6. 8. 6. A similar formula occurs in अग्र. मन्त्रपाद II. 3. 24 and II. 9. 5, दिन्यूष. य. I. 11. 17, मानवयु. I. 22. 5, श्र. य. I. 5. 23 (द्वेरस्त्व...हस्ताम्युषपदेरि), काठकूद. 41. 16 (reads as in श्र. य. )

654. द्वे द्वे द्वे...सुत. This सं. occurs also in the अग्र. मन्त्रपाद II. 3. 31 (अस्मात् ते द्वे द्वे द्वे...सुत) and in मानवयु. I. 22. 5, श्र. य. II. 18. 4 and others.

655. The words कर्षण... परिशुद्धि occur in अग्र. म. पा. II. 3. 29, मानवयु. I. 22. 5, पारस्तर II. 2 (with variations in all)

656. For the whole verse द्वे द्वे द्वे...; vide note 620 above.

657. अग्रे सबदिमार्गह &c—The first half occurs in अग्र. म. पा. II. 6. 2, पारस्तर II. 4, दिन्यूष. य. I. 7. 2, गोमित्रयु. II. 10. 46, भाराहयु. I. 8, all of which have a longer latter half like वथा सबदिमार्गहस्ते एवं मानवयु...
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'.

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 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 art thou, sip water, do service, do not sleep by day, depending (completely) on the teacher learn the Veda'. He (the student) should beg (food) in the evening and the morning; he should put a fuel stick (on fire) in the evening and the morning. That (which he has received by begging) he should announce to the teacher; he should not sit down (but should be standing) the rest of the day.'

The whole procedure of upanayana is more elaborately described in the Āp. gr., in Hir. gr. and Gobhila. A few points

658. नये नेछो &c. These mantras occur in है. सं. III. 3. 1. 2 and III. 5. 3. 2; also in हिरण्य. पृ., भृ. पृ. II. 5. 62 &c.

659. सम बोते &c. These words also occur in पारस्करण. II. 2, माणव, I. 22, 10, हिरण्यपृ. (where we have सम बोधे). These words also occur in the marriage ceremony (as addressed by the husband), vide पारस्करण. I. 8.

660. अहुराचापसि &c. These words (with some additions and omissions) occur in आय. म. प्र. II. 6. 14, पारस्करण. II. 3, काठकरण 41. 17 and several others. These are based on the शालथ passage quoted in note 625 above. In some it is said simply 'do not sleep' and this is explained in आय. पृ. I. 1. 4. 28. as 'अथ या पूर्णाचापि जचन्यसेवकसि तमाहार्दिवलाचापिति'.

661. अहुराचापसि sacrifice is to be performed after a part of the Veda has been learnt., vide आय. पृ. I. 22. 10-16, नोमितयण्ड III. 2. 46-47.
of interest and divergence may be noted here briefly. It is remarkable that Āsv., Ap. and several other sūtrākāras 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 yajnopavita before the homa begins; while Baud. gr. 662 (II. 5. 7) says that the boy is given the yajnopavita and then made to recite the well-known mantra 'the Yajnopavita is extremely sacred' and the Vaik. smārtā (II. 5) says that the teacher gives the upper garment to the boy with 663 the verse 'parīdām vāsah', the sacred thread with the mantra 'Yajnopavītam' and the black antelope skin with the mantra 'the eye of Mitra'. Sudarśana on Āp. gr. 10. 5 says that the boy puts on the yajnopavita with the mantra before he takes his meal (according to some) or (according to others) before 664 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 yajnopavita was given to the student by the teacher after the tying of the girdle. The Saimsk̄aratattva p. 934 says the same. Late works like the Saṁsk̄aratnamālā (p. 202) prescribe the wearing of the sacred thread before the homa. The origin and development of the ideas about yajnopavita 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 brahmānas 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., Saṁsk̄aratnamālā) the boy takes his meal in the same dish with his mother (for the last time) and other brahmācāris (eight in number) are also invited at the same time for meals in the

662. स्नात छाबियासन सिब्रकहित यज्ञोपवित्र च बबाय बुद्धि 'यज्ञोपवित्रं पर्मेप 

663. प्रति वस्त्र:—this is Āp. m. pā. II. 2. 8; मिश्रम मुख्य: is Āp. m. pā. II. 2. 11.

664. Acc. to शालमयुध 2. 3 the आचार्य says 'यज्ञोपवित्रमिति यज्ञस्य 

665. चौ. गु. 'कुमार भोजार्थ तर्पण चालकार्यानि केशानोट्य स्नात छाबियासन सिब्रकहित' &c. (II. 5. 7).
company of the boy. This practice is observed even in modern times. Almost all prescribe that the boy is shaved on this day (as in caula); this also is done in modern times. But in ancient times the shaving was done by the acārya himself as stated by Sudarśana on Āp. gr. 10, 6-8. There are several other matters detailed in Āp. and others, on which Āsv. and some others are silent. The important ones are mentioned below.

(a) Āp. gr. (10, 9), Māṇava 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.

(b) Māṇava gr. (I. 22, 3) and Kāṭhaka gr. (41. 10) prescribe after homa the tasting of curds thrice after repeating the verse 'Dadhikrāvno akārīṣam' (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. Mantrāṭha (II. 3. 27-30), Baud. gr. II. 5. 25 (quoting Śatāyanaka), Māṇava gr. I. 22. 4-5, and Khādīra gr. II. 4. 13 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 from the story of Satyakāma Jābala (where the

666. तीव्रत्वे दुर्भान्तवृष्टयोत्तामिस्यत्सुधिः: जत्सुधिः: मतिमानवः प्रतिविवां प्रयति।

667. विशेषेण वेदस्य सादृश्यस्य बहुचति: सवर्णमयोत्त्वं सहजः: तेजस्विः: जन्यमयोऽवस्था मनोऽवस्था।

668. Vide Keay in 'Ancient Indian Education' p. 25 where he says 'it was still the rule for brahmans 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 ksatriyas cared to submit their sons to the rigorous discipline of brahmacarya as laid down in the smṛtis and cared much less for Veda studies. In the Mahābhārata and in the Kādambārī it is said that the princes were taught in a special house constructed for the purpose and teachers were paid handsomely and brought there to teach instead of the princes going to the teachers.

It is not possible for want of space to show how the greatest possible confusion prevails as to the order of the various components of the ceremony of upanayana. But a few striking examples may be given. Āśvalāyana gr. treats of the tying of the girdle and the giving of the staff almost at the end of the ceremony, while Āp. gr. puts this after homa and immediately before anjali-pūrṇa (filling the folded hands of both with water); Āśvalāyana puts ādityadārśana 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 ādityadārśana 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 ‘suṣravaḥ &c.’ is employed by Āp. at the time of taking the staff by the boy (XI. 14 and Mantrapātha II. 5. 1), while Āśv. gr. (I. 22. 19), Bhār. gr. (I. 10), Mānava gr. (I. 23. 17) employ it in ‘medhājanana’ (on the 4th day after upanayana) and Pār. gr. (II. 4) employs it at the time of putting a fuel stick on fire. Āśv. employs the verse ‘yuva 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, punyāhavācana, the worship of Mātrās and the consecration of the mandapa-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 grhya 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 acārya who does the rest. The saṅkalpa of upanayana is given below.

Yajñopavītā:

A few words must be said on the history of yajñopavītā from ancient times. Among the earliest references is one from the Tai. S. II. 5. 11. 1. The nivāta (used in actions) for men, the prācīnāvīta (is used in rites) for pitrs, 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 pitrs, 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 pitrs are worshipped (in this rite)'.

The three words nivāta, 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 yajñopavitin. 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'.

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669. Vide 'Orion' by the late Mr. Tilak pp. 145-148 for discussion on this.

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671. I. 2. 2-4.
Khāḍira gr. I. 1. 8-9, Manu II. 63, Baud. gr. paribhāṣā-sūtra II. 2. 7 and 10, Vaik. I. 5. The Baud.\textsuperscript{674} gr. paribhāṣā-sūtra II. 2. 3 says 'when it is carried over the neck, both shoulders and the chest and is held with both the thumbs (of the two hands) lower than the region of the heart and above the navel, that is nivita; (when the śruti says it is) for men, what it means is that it is for sages. The occasions when nivita mode is used are: rṣi-tarpana, sexual intercourse, samskāras 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 yajnopavītins 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.\textsuperscript{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 yajnopavita 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.\textsuperscript{676} Br. III. 10. 9. it is said that when vāk (speech) appeared to Devabhāga Gautama he put on the yajnopavita and fell down with the words 'namo namah'.

It seems to follow from a passage in the Tai. A. (II. 1) that a strip of black antelope skin or of cloth was used in ancient times as upavita\textsuperscript{677} 'the sacrifice of him who wears the

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\textsuperscript{674} उपरित्तव्रस्यां शीर्षः तुष्यं च संपरिशुद्ध तुष्यः वास्तवत्तायुऽस्यां नामेहेष्वर्णाय।

\textsuperscript{675} ततो द्वेष यज्ञोपवित्तिनो चुरान्त द्विःश्च जात्योपवित्तिनोऽस्यतानामविद्याः शोचनात्।

\textsuperscript{676} यस्मात् अति ज्ञानं यज्ञोपवित्तिः कथा अथे नियंतः नाना नम हल।

\textsuperscript{677} एततः तु नामवज्ञात्मको यज्ञोपवित्तिः सत्तवं सन्यासिः।
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 saṃvīta 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 I p. 173) quotes a portion of the above passage and remarks that the Tai. Ār. lays down that a man becomes an upavītin by wearing one of the two, viz. antelope skin and (cotton) garment.

In the Pūrvamāṁśāsūtra (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 upavītīn throughout all the actions, prescribed in the sections on the Dārśa-Pūrṇamāsā sacrifice and not only when the Sāmīdhent verses are recited. The first part of the same passage is discussed by Jaimini (III. 4. 1–9) and it is established that the passage enjoins the wearing of upavīta in Dārśa-Pūrṇamāsā 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 Tantravārtika explains that nivīta 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. तत्वाति कर्तव्यतात्त्वेन दृष्टान्तिनवासनाहोरोक्तायापि च वैतरीयके विधायते। परि. मा. I. 1. p. 173.
679. निरूपत वेदोद्वयिनंधाकारणं समर्थित।। केशिनिं: परिकर्षनन्त्यव। तत्र गल्वेलिकारणं दृष्टान्तं न भासिति। परिकर्षनन्त्य सवेकमेवाच साक्षरत्वात्मातं।। तत्त्वात्मिकं अस्तितमेच्छाय: अस्तित II. 4. 2 (p. 891).
H. D. 37.
upavita 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 yajñopaviṣṭa i.e. under the right arm and over the left shoulder, that is, a brāhmaṇa cannot rely on Āp. Dh. S. II. 2. 4. 23 and wear at śrāddha repast only the sacred thread (but he must wear the garment in that fashion) and give up the sacred thread for the time. While another view is that he must wear the sacred thread and the upper garment both in the fashion of upavīṣṭa. 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 yajñopaviṣṭa 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. I prescribes that a man must be yajñopaviṣṭ at the time of waiting upon teachers, elders, guests, at the time of homa, in japa (murmuring prayer), at meals and in taking ācārya and at the time of daily vedic study. On this Haradatta says 'yajñopaviṣṭ 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 yajñopaviṣṭ'.

The Gobhila gr. (I. 2. 1) in treating of upanayana says 'the student takes as yajñopaviṣṭ a cord of threads, a garment

660. निरोक्तुतरं वास: कार्यम्। अपि वा सुत्रनेतोपविपतार्थेः। आप. ध. स. II. 2. 4. 22–23; सौतान्त्रायामकृत्याः यज्ञोपवित्री सुकृतम्। आप. ध. स. II. 8. 19. 12; हरस्वतः एवेन "उत्तरायामकृत्याः। तेन यज्ञोपवित्राय यज्ञोपविष्टा तत्र मूलति। नायत्य मोदनेः 'अपिया सुत्रनेतोपविपतार्थेः' इत्यत् कालो भवतिस्वतः। समुहाय हरस्वतः!'; यज्ञोपवित्री हिंद्रम्।। अंत्येवत्तेनितीक्षतः। आप. ध. स. I. 2. 6. 18–19; उपासने दक्षणा दक्षणानामसंभविने न होमणा जयकार्यानापि भोजन आचार्यानि साधारणे च यज्ञोपवित्री स्वपदः। आप. ध. स. I. 5. 15. 1, where हरस्वतः एवेन "सामालिकायामकृत्य यज्ञोपविष्टम्। वृक्षिणा बाहुयज्ञस्वतं दक्षणानाम विहितम्। वाससहस्रसुखोदवलं वशयति अपि वा सुत्रनेतोपविपतार्थेः हितं। एवु विवाहारं कालावले नाववेदाभि:।' vide ओद्योगिनविद्या (विष्णुमा, part I. p. 502) 'अन्यथा यद्य यतं हरस्वतं हि ज्ञेन स्ववेच च। साधारणे भोजने निर्यात बाहुयज्ञस्वतं च संभविने। उपासने दक्षणा च संस्क्रमकोमपोरिद्। उपासिकी भविष्यति विशिष्टं स्वस्तं।' 661. यज्ञोपविष्टं सुषोभे वाचवापि वा कुष्ठरुद्देशः। गौरितस्य इ. 2. 1; सुषोभि वा बलायामाहित्वेऽपि:। अपि वाचस्य यज्ञोपविपत्ति यत्र यवमाहास्य निष्पत्ति स्वपद: दक्षणानां। स्वस्तिः। I. p. 32.
or a rope of kuśa grass'. This indicates that though a cord of threads was considered in Gobhila's days as the appropriate yajñopavita, that was not an invariable rule in his day and that a garment could be employed instead. The commentator being brought up in the latter day tradition explains by saying that if the sūtra was lost in a forest then a garment may be worn like the sacred thread and if even that was lost a rope of kuśa. But this appears to be rather far-fetched as an explanation of Gobhila's unqualified words. Manu (II.44) says that 'the 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'. Medhatithi 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 Rṣyaśṛṅga '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 grhyasūtras are entirely silent about the giving or wearing of the sacred thread in upanayana and from the fact that no mantra is cited from the Vedic Literature for the act of giving the 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. The yajñopavīta is to have three threads of nine strands well

682. The mantra 'यज्ञोपवित्र 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 स्त्रयवंसर p. 4 and सं. प. 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. स्त्रयस्त्रयको भूत in Manu II. 44 as 'करेण वृक्षोऽभ्यस्तो वियष्टिकः'. वालि ल क अ त्र्यो यथमौध्वेदमूढः स्त्रयस्त्रयको भूत (p. 2).
twisted (for each thread). Vide Baud. Dh.S.I. 5.5., Devala quoted in the Sm. C.\textsuperscript{684}. The nine devatās of the nine tautus (strands) are given by Devala viz. Omkāra, Agni, Nāga, Soma, Pitṛs, Prajāpati, Vāyu, Sūrya,\textsuperscript{685} all gods. Medhatithi on Manu II.44 says that in īṣṭīṣ, animal sacrifices and soma sacrifices, the yajnopavita was to have only one thread of three tautus, but it was three-fold in three classes of ahīna, ekāha, and sattra sacrifices as they required three fires and in the seven somasainsthās seven-fold and five-fold when viewed with reference to the three savanas and two samdhyaśā. The yajnopavita should reach as far as the navel, should not reach beyond the navel, nor should it be above the chest.\textsuperscript{685} Manu II. 44 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 27. 19 prescribe that the yajnopavita 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 yajnopavita of cotton, of kṣūma, hair of cow's tail, hemp, tree bark or kuśa according to the availability of the material.\textsuperscript{686} The remarks of the Saṃskāramayukha 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 yajnopavita'. This shows that in the 17th century A.D. many kṣatriyas and vaiśyas put on yajnopavita.\textsuperscript{686} Kumārila also says that wearing yajnopavita and studying Vedas is common to all the three varnas.

The number of yajnopavitās to be worn differed according to circumstances. A brāhmaṇa was to wear only one yajnopavita and samnyāsins, when they kept yajnopavita at all, also wore

\textsuperscript{684} कौर्ण सूत्र वा सिक्षिप्रथयोपवेत्तरम्। आ नामे: प. प. सू. I.5.5-6; उर्ते देवतेपण पञ्चोपयति कुर्षित सृवेण नात्मतः। इति। स्मृतिच। I. p. 31.

\textsuperscript{685} अन्त प्रातिनिः देवतादेवतामाह देवसत;। औंकारः प्रमससतुर्द्विस्तोपपूज्यत्स्वैः। तु तृतीयों नामसुद्वर्थस्थतः सोमेवेसत्।। प्रश्रम: विद्वद्वर्यः षडषडवेषौ मलापतिः।। सबलो वाचु- वेषवः दुःश्चाद्वैव पव च।। नथम: सर्वदेववेष्टैः दुःश्चाद्वैव पव च।। स्मृतिच। I. p. 31.

\textsuperscript{686} कार्यपद्धति परिमाणज्ञातामाह। गुरुदस्ते ना नाथ्यां च धृते यहिष्ठते कहिं च।

\textsuperscript{687} कार्यपद्धति परिमाणज्ञातामाह। गुरुदस्ते ना नाथ्यां च धृते यहिष्ठते कहिं च।

\textsuperscript{688} कार्यपद्धति परिमाणज्ञातामाह। गुरुदस्ते ना नाथ्यां च धृते यहिष्ठते कहिं च।

\textsuperscript{689} कार्यपद्धति परिमाणज्ञातामाह। गुरुदस्ते ना नाथ्यां च धृते यहिष्ठते कहिं च।

\textsuperscript{687} कार्यपद्धति परिमाणज्ञातामाह। गुरुदस्ते ना नाथ्यां च धृते यहिष्ठते कहिं च।

\textsuperscript{688} कार्यपद्धति परिमाणज्ञातामाह। गुरुदस्ते ना नाथ्यां च धृते यहिष्ठते कहिं च।

\textsuperscript{689} कार्यपद्धति परिमाणज्ञातामाह। गुरुदस्ते ना नाथ्यां च धृते यहिष्ठते कहिं च।
only one. A snātaka (i.e. one who has returned from the teacher's house after brahmacharya) 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 yajnopavitas, should have a stick and a pot filled with water'. Kaśyapa allowed a householder to wear any number up to ten. Whether yajnopavita 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 brahmana must always wear a yajnopavita and have his top-knot (of hair) always tied up; if he did any act without observing this rule, it was inefficacious. Vas. and Baud. Dh. S. (II. 2. 1) both say that a man must always wear yajnopavita. If a brahmana took his meals without wearing yajnopavita, he had to undergo praṣaṇcita viz. to bathe, to mutter prayers and fast; vide Laghu-Hārīta verse 23 quoted by Aparārka pp. 1171, 1173. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 293 prescribes praṣaṇcita for answering calls of nature without having the yajnopavita placed on the right ear (as Yāj. I. 16 prescribes). Manu IV. 66 forbids the wearing of another's yajnopavita along with several other things (such as shoes, ornament, garland and kamandalu). In Yāj. (I. 16 and 133) and other smṛtis the yajnopavita is called brahmaśutra.

An interesting question is whether women ever had upanayana performed or whether they had to wear the yajnopavita. Several smṛtis contain instructive dicta on this point. The

689. snātakānāḥ tu niś ca śādāsārvasābhāhitārthāḥ.  
690. Vas. Dh. S. XII. 14; 28. 71. 13-15 has similar rules; the verse of Vasiṣṭha is quoted by the Mit. on Yāj. I. 133, compare Manu IV. 36; the first pada is quoted in the śrīvatīṣṭha p. 896.
691. Vide note 609 above.
692. The first pada is quoted in the śrīvatīṣṭha p. 896.

693. "Vide note 609 above.
694. Vide note 609 above.
695. Mit. on Yāj. I. 133. Vide note 609 above.
696. Mit. on Yāj. I. 133. Vide note 609 above.
697. "Vide note 609 above."
Hārītadarmacātra as quoted in the Sm. O. and other digests says 'there are two sorts of women, those that are brahma-vādīnas (i.e. students of sacred lore) and those that are sadyovadīṇas (i.e. who straightway marry). Out of these brahma-vādīnas have to go through upanayana, keeping fire, vedic study and begging in one's house (i.e. under the parental roof); but in the case of sadyovadīṇas 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. 692 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 yajñopavīta 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 yajñopavīta as a symbol of the rite of upanayana. The commentator to whom this procedure naturally seemed strange explains 'yajñopavitīnī' as meaning 'whose upper garment is worn in the fashion of the sacred thread'. In the Śrīmatārtaṇīya of Raghunandana it is stated that Hārīśarana held that according to Gobhila the bride was to wear a yajñopavīta, though Raghunandana himself does not approve of this explanation. In the ceremony of Samāvartana, Āsv. 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 samāvartaṇīya and has nothing to do with the latter. We should rather hold that Āsv. knew of women undertaking Vedic study and so prescribed what they should do in their samavartaṇīya. In the Mahābhārata (Vanaparva 305. 20) 695 a brāhmaṇa is said to have taught the

693. श्रात्ति यज्ञोपविधातिनीमस्यद्वृत्तम । जपेत । सौमों | वद्वृत्तमाल्लम्यिति । गोमिदश्य ॥ ॥ ।

694. अयुज्जेष्ठेन पापी माध्यमः सुखसम्य ब्राह्मणतिलिस्थित | याप्र राजस्य । उवाच वैद्यः | उपस्थः स्मी | उस सर्गांशितम् | आवश्य. गृ. III. 8. 11.

695. तत्तत्तामचाश्चान्न ब्राह्मणानां स हिन्दः | मघना म थवा राजस्थार्यतिरिक्ष्यतः | वनपर. 305. 20.
mother of the Pāṇḍava heroes a number of mantras from the Atharvasiras. Hārīta\(^{696}\) prescribes that in the case of women samāvartana took place before the appearance of menses. Therefore brahmavādini women had upanayana performed in the 8th year from conception, then they studied Vedic lore and finished student-hood at the age of puberty. Yama\(^{697}\) says 'in former ages, tying of the girdle of munja (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 samskaras from jātkarma 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 samākāra 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 Bānbhaṭṭa's Kādambara,\(^{698}\) Mahāśvetā (who was practising tapas) is described as 'one whose body was rendered pure by (wearing) a brahmasūtra (i.e. yajnopavīta)’. The yajnopavīta came to have superhuman virtues attributed to it and so probably even women who were practising austerities wore it. The Sam. Pr.

696. मायाजस: सम(वर्तनम्) इति हरीतोक्तम:—संस्कारपकास p 404.

697. यमोऽि। पुराकलो कुमारिणाणि मौर्योऽसुधविभवति। अध्यापोऽं व वेदान्तं साधिशी-पारसं तथा। जिति जितृन्यो भाति वा नैसाधिशायाये। समपृष्टे चैव कपायना अख्यायाः। विधियते। वज्ञिदेवतिं चैर्म ज्ञायार्यः या् ॥ संस्कारपकास pp. 402-403; these verses are ascribed to Manu in the समस्तिचारित्र (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. वनशेषेन प्रविश्वितकाराः in para 133 of कावम्बरी (पृष्ठर्ष)
(p. 419) quotes a verse saying that the Supreme Being is called yajña and yajnopavita is so called because it belongs to the Supreme Being (or is used in sacrifices for Him).

Though ksatriyas and vaśyas also were entitled to have the upanayana performed, it appears that they often neglected it or at least neglected the constant wearing of yajnopavita, so much so that from comparatively early times the yajnopavita came to be regarded as the peculiar indicator of the wearer's being of the brahmana caste. For example, Kālidāsa in Raghuvamśa (XI. 64) while describing the irate brahmana hero Parashurāma says 'wearing the upavlta, 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 ksatriya princess)'. If the upavlta had been as constantly worn by the ksatriyas as by brahmānas in Kālidāsa's day he would not have spoken of it as the peculiar sign of a brahmaṇa. In the drama Veṇisamhāra (Act III) when Karna resented the attitude of Aśvatthāman, who raised his left foot for kicking Karna, and said that he could not cut off his leg as by virtue of his caste (as brahmana) he could not be punished in that way, Aśvatthāman replied by throwing away his sacred thread with the words 'here do I give up my caste'. That shows that in the days of the Veṇisamhāra (not later than about 600 A. D.) the yajnopavita had become the peculiar indicator of the caste of brahmānas only.

The Baudhāyana-sūtra quoted in the Saṃskāra-ratnamālā (p. 188) says that yarn spun by a brahmaṇa or his maiden daughter is to be brought, then one is to measure first 96 angulas of it with the syllable bhuh, then another 96 with bhuvah and a third 96 with svah, then the yarn so measured is to be kept on a leaf of palāsa and is to be sprinkled with water to the accompaniment of the three mantras ‘āpo hi śṭhā’ (Rg. X. 9. 1–3), with the four verses ‘Hiranya-varnāh’ (Tai. S. V. 6. 1 and Atharva I. 33. 1–4) and with the anuvāka beginning with ‘pavamānāh suvarjanaḥ’ (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. संध्रां : परसामय च उच्यते चैव ब्रह्मविदिः। उपवीतसंवेदनेऽत्साध्यज्ञोपवित्रः। संध्र. प. 419.

700. पितांसंवैतक्षिणां मातां च ब्रह्मविकालय च। रघुवंश XI. 64.

701. जात्या चबृहवयांननियम सा जातिः परिवर्तनः। बैणीसंहार III.
with the three verses 'bhūragnim ca' (Tai. Br. III. 10. 2) and then the knot is to be tied with the formula 'Bhūrbhuvah svās-
candramasam 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 yajnopavīta is to be put on with the verse 'yajnopavitam &c.'
Then there is to be a japa of the gāyatrī verse and then ăcamana. For a brief statement of the mode of putting on
a fresh sacred thread vide note below. 702

The Baudhāyana-grhyāṣeṣasūtra (II. 8. 1-12) gives a few insignificant points of difference as to the upanayana of
ksatriyas, vaiśyas, ambastha and karana (son of a vaiśya from a śudra 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, paīta, congenitally blind or deaf, cripple and those who suffer
from incurable diseases are not entitled to share property on a partition, but are only entitled to be maintained. But they all
allow even these to marry. As marriage is not possible for dvijātis unless upanayana precedes it, it appears that the cere-
mony of upanayana was gone through as far as it could be carried out in the case of the blind, the deaf and dumb &c. The
Baud. gr. 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 yajnopavīta has to be worn (because the one worn is lost or cut &c.) the ceremony briefly consists in
repeating the three verses 'rpo hi șțhā' (Rg. X. 9. 1-3) over water with which the yajnopavīta is to be sprinkled; then there is the repeti-
tion of the Gāyatrī ten times (each time preceded by the vyāhritis, as 'om bhūrbhuvah svāh') and then the yajnopavīta is to be put on with
the mantra 'yajnopavitam paramam' (cited above in note 662).

703. अवृत्तीत्वाः द्वात्रसं उक्तः समस्ये ॥ जै. VI. 1. 41-42. The exclusion of these from inheritance will be dealt with later.
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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 sūtra704 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 Narayasindhu 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 Saṃ. Pr. (pp.
399-401) and S. R. M. (pp. 273-274) also quote the passage
and explain it. The purāṇa705 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 kunda and golaka (the first being the offspring of
an adulterous intercourse when the husband of the woman is
living and the second when the husband is dead) should have
upanayana performed in the same way as for the deaf and
dumb, if it is known that the adulterer and the woman were
both of the brāhmaṇa caste. There is some difference of opinion
as to kunda and golaka, Manu (II. 174) defined them as above.
Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 13. 1, Manu (10. 5) and Yaj. (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 kunda and golaka being the offspring of adultery

704. यज्ञजानकमन्नवन्यविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविवি঵িব

705. यज्ञजानकमन्नवन्यविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविवিব

706. विज्ञानाशेषि सिद्धि स्वः: पि । पि. 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 kūnda 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 Sāṅgraha held that the kūnda 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.  

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. 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. sēsasūtra II. 8 gives rules for the upanayana of kṣatriyās, vaiśyas and of mixed castes like ratha-kāra, ambasṭha &c. Gaut. IV. 21 made an exception in the case of the son of a brāhmaṇa from a sūdra woman. All pratilomas were like sūdra according to Manu (IV. 41) and the offspring of a brāhmaṇa from a sūdra woman, though anuloma, was like pratilomas. A sūdra is only ekajati and not dvijāti (Gaut. X. 51) and for the pratilomas (as well as for the sūdra) there was no upanayana. 

Upanayana was so highly thought of that some of the ancient texts prescribe a method of upanayana for the Aśvattha tree. Vide Baud. gr. sēsasūtra II. 10. In modern times also rarely this upanayana is performed. To the west of the Aśvattha tree homa is performed, the sanskāras from pumsavanā are imitated but with the vyāhṛtis only, the tree being touched with Rg. III.
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, yajnopavlta, 
girdle, staff and deer-skin are given with appropriate mantras and
lastly after touching the tree, the Gāyatri is repeated.
In E. O. vol. III. Malavalli No. 22 there is a reference to the
upanayana of Aśvattha trees performed by one Bachappa
in 1358 A. D.

Sāvitrupadēśa:— It will be seen from the passage of the
Śat. Br. quoted above (in note 625) that the sacred Gāyatri 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
devirabhīṣṭaye’ (Rg. X. 9. 4) which have to be
repeated by the brahmaṇa 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
śiya in sacrifices. 710 The same rule 711 of postponing the instruc-
tion in Gāyatri 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 Gāyatri 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 Sāvitr and the teacher imparts to him first one
pāda at a time, then two pādas and then the whole. According

710. ब्राह्मचारिकृत्तकिर्तिकाव्यानीसुधामन्स्काः श्यो नी देवीरितिब्राह्मीचाह्यवनपत्नी-
र्भगाविविषयं कार्तेय सुब्रह्मिक्कृतिवृक्कान्तवातः प्लप्पं यथावेश्याविविषयंसुधामन्स्काः । सं. ।
मन्वनादार प. 194.

711. सेवकसे साधारणसम्बन्ध विशालभावमेतेसां । हां ३. २. ५ । तस्मात्विषमसेव
संसम्पत्तेत्रत्र भाषार्थसम्बन्धं विशालभावमेतेसां । हां ३. २. ५ ।
to Baud. gr. II. 5. 34-37 the student places on the fire four fuel sticks of the palāsa or other sacrificial tree anointed with clarified butter and repeats mantras to Agni, Vāyu, Aditya and the lord of vṛtus with ‘svāhā’ when offering718 them. Various intricate modes occur in the sūtras and the commentaries thereon about how this first instruction in Gāyatri is to be carried out. The differences are due to the place assigned to the vṛtus719 (bhūh, bhuvah, svah). Two illustrations are set out below from Sudarśana74 on Ap. gr. II. 11. The syllable ‘om’ has been looked upon as very sacred from ancient times and is a symbol of the Supreme Being. The Tai. Br. II. 11 contains a eulogy of ‘omkāra’ and quotes Rg. I. 164. 39 in support ‘roo aksara parame &c.’ taking the word ‘aksara’ to mean the ‘omkāra’. The Tai. Up. I. 8. says ‘(syllable) om is Brahma; om is all this (universe)’. A brāhmaṇa about to begin the teaching (of the Veda) says ‘om’ with the idea that he may reach near brahma. ‘Om’ is called pranava. Ap. Dh. S. I. 4. 13. 6 says ‘omkāra is the door to

712. अगैर ब्राह्मनें साविंके वर्त चरित्यामि तत्त्वतेयं तमें राम्यतं स्वाहा। धार्म ब्राह्मनें आलंक्षं ब्राह्मनें साविं चरित्यामि तत्त्वतेयं तमें राम्यतं स्वाहा। िि. ग. II. 5. 36-37.

713. The mystic words सूृं; सूृं; स्वः are sometimes called महायातित्व (vide Gobhila gr. II. 10. 40, Manu II. 81.). They are also called simply यातित्व; vide ते. उप. I. 5. 1, where महा is said to be the 4th. The number of vṛtus is usually seven, सूृं; सूृं; स्वः; स्वः; अनेन; तत:; सर्वं (Vasiṣṭha 25. 9, Vaik. VII. 9). Gautama (1. 52. and 25. 8) speaks of only five, viz सूृं; सूृं; स्वः; स्वः; उपरः; सर्वं, while the यातितित्व has the same five, but स्वः is last.

714. यातितित्वत:; पादविश्वमेव वा तथविश्वभन्ताम्; कृतसनायाम्। आप. ग. II. 11; on which ऊिेश्वर says ‘आ सुल्लाभित्वनिर्यम्। आ सूृं; महा सूृं; सूृं; स्वः; स्वः; अनेन; तत:; सर्वं (Vasiṣṭha 25. 9, Vaik. VII. 9). Gautama (1. 52. and 25. 8) speaks of only five, viz सूृं; सूृं; स्वः; स्वः; उपरः; सर्वं, while the यातितित्व has the same five, but स्वः is last.

715. यातितित्वत:; पादविश्वमेव वा तथविश्वभन्ताम्; कृतसनायाम्। आप. ग. II. 11; on which ऊिेश्वर says ‘आ सुल्लाभित्वनिर्यम्। आ सूृं; महा सूृं; सूृं; स्वः; स्वः; अनेन; तत:; सर्वं (Vasiṣṭha 25. 9, Vaik. VII. 9). Gautama (1. 52. and 25. 8) speaks of only five, viz सूृं; सूृं; स्वः; स्वः; उपरः; सर्वं, while the यातितित्व has the same five, but स्वः is last.

716. यातितित्वत:; पादविश्वमेव वा तथविश्वभन्ताम्; कृतसनायाम्। आप. ग. II. 11; on which ऊिेश्वर says ‘आ सुल्लाभित्वनिर्यम्। आ सूृं; महा सूृं; सूृं; स्वः; स्वः; अनेन; तत:; सर्वं (Vasiṣṭha 25. 9, Vaik. VII. 9). Gautama (1. 52. and 25. 8) speaks of only five, viz सूृं; सूृं; स्वः; स्वः; उपरः; सर्वं, while the यातितित्व has the same five, but स्वः is last.

717. यातितित्वत:; पादविश्वमेव वा तथविश्वभन्ताम्; कृतसनायाम्। आप. ग. II. 11; on which ऊिेश्वर says ‘आ सुल्लाभित्वनिर्यम्। आ सूृं; महा सूृं; सूृं; स्वः; स्वः; अनेन; तत:; सर्वं (Vasiṣṭha 25. 9, Vaik. VII. 9). Gautama (1. 52. and 25. 8) speaks of only five, viz सूृं; सूृं; स्वः; स्वः; उपरः; सर्वं, while the यातितित्व has the same five, but स्वः is last.

718. यातितित्वत:; पादविश्वमेव वा तथविश्वभन्ताम्; कृतसनायाम्। आप. ग. II. 11; on which ऊिेश्वर says ‘आ सुल्लाभित्वनिर्यम्। आ सूृं; महा सूृं; सूृं; स्वः; स्वः; अनेन; तत:; सर्वं (Vasiṣṭha 25. 9, Vaik. VII. 9). Gautama (1. 52. and 25. 8) speaks of only five, viz सूृं; सूृं; स्वः; स्वः; उपरः; सर्वं, while the यातितित्व has the same five, but स्वः is last.
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 praṇaṇa at the beginning and at the end of daily Vedic study and further on (II. 76) says that the three letters 'a', 'u', 'm' (in om) and the three vyāhṛtis were distilled from the three Vedas by Prajāpati as the essence. Medhātithi on Manu (II. 74) says that 'om must be uttered at the beginning of the daily Vedic study by the student or by the householder (when performing brahmayajña), but it is not necessary in japa' &c. In the Mārkandeya-pūrṇa chap. 42, Vāyu chap. 20, Vṛddha-Hārta-smṛti VI. 59–62 and in numerous other places there are hyperbolical 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 Kāthopaniṣad I. 2, 15–17 om is said to be the end of all Vedas, the source of the knowledge of brahma and also its symbol.

The sacred Gāyatrī verse is Rg. III. 62. 10 and occurs in the other Vedas also. It is addressed to Savitṛ (the sun) and may also be interpreted as a prayer to the Source and Inspirer of everything. It literally means 'we contemplate that esteemed (longed for) refulgence (glory) of the divine Savitṛ who may inspire our intellects (or actions)'. Some gṛhyā sūtras prescribe the same verse for all students, whether brāhmaṇas, ksātriyas or vaśyas. But others say that for brāhmaṇa the Sāvitrī verse is the Gāyatri, but for ksātriyas and vaśyas, a sāvitrī (verse addressed to Savitṛ) in the Tristubh (having 11 syllables in each quarter) or Jāgati (12 syllables in each quarter) should be the proper one. Here again there is difference. According to the commentators on the Kāṭhaka gr. (41. 20), the verse 'adabdhebhiḥ savitā' (Kāṭhakam IV. 10) and the verse 'Viśvā rūpāṇi' (Kāṭhakam XVI. 8) are cited as the Sāvitrī for a ksātriya and a vaśya respectively; while the commentator on Śaṅ. gr. (II. 5. 4–6) says that the Tristubh which is to be taught as the Sāvitrī to the ksātriya students is 'ā krṣṇena rajasa'

Rg. I. 35. 2) and the Jāgati Sāvitrī for the vaśya is 'Hiranyapāṇiḥ savitā' (Rg. I. 35. 9) or 'hāṁsaḥ śucisad' (Rg. IV. 40. 5). According to the Vārāhagṛhya (5) 'devo yāti savitā' and 'yunijate manah' (Rg. V. 81. 1) are the Tristubh and Jāgati meant as Sāvitrī for the ksātriya and vaśya respectively. According to Śūtātapa quoted in the Madanapāriṣṭā (p. 23) the verse 'Deva savitah' (Tai. S. I. 7. 7. 1, Kāṭhakam XIII. 14) is the sāvitrī for the ksātriya. According to Medhātithi on Manu II. 38 'ā krṣṇena (Rg. I. 35. 2) and 'viśvā rūpāṇi' (Kāṭhakam XVI. 8)
are the two Śāvitrīs respectively for ksatriya and vaiśya. That all these rules about the Śāvitrī being in the Gāyatrī, Tristuṭh and Jagatī metres for the three varnas respectively are probably very ancient follows from the text ‘gāyctryā brāhmaṇamasrajaṭa tristuṭhā rājanyam &c.’ (quoted in note 356 above). The Āṣvakṛt, Āp. gr., and some other sūtras are entirely silent on the point, while Pār. gr. II. 3 allows an option viz. all varnas may learn the Gāyatrī or the Śāvitrī verses in the Gāyatrī, Tristuṭh and Jagatī respectively. Why the Gāyatrī verse (Rg. III. 62. 10) came to be famous it is difficult to say. Its fame was probably due to its grand simplicity and to its adaptability to an idealistic conception of the world as emanating from an all-pervading Intelligence. The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa (I. 32-33) explains the Gāyatrī in various ways. In the Tai. Ar. (II. 11) it is stated that the mystic words ‘bhūḥ. bhuvah, svāḥ’ are the truth (essence) of speech and that Śaṅitā in the Gāyatrī means ‘one who engenders glory’. Atharvaveda 19. 71. 1 calls it ‘vedamātā’ and prays that it may confer long life, glory, children, cattle &c. on the singer. The Br. Up. V. 14. 1-6 contains a sublime eulogy of Gāyatrī which word is there derived from ‘gaya’ meaning ‘prāṇa’, and the root ‘trai’ (to save) and it is said that when the teacher repeats the Gāyatrī for the benefit of the young student he thereby saves the boy’s life (from ignorance and the effects of sin). The Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 1. 10 mentions a brāhmaṇa text to the effect that the Śāvitrī 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 Śāvitrī was as if extracted from each of the three Vedas and that (II. 81 =Viṣṇu Dh. S. 55. 15) the Śāvitrī together with om and the three mystic syllables (bhūḥ &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, Śaṅkhasmṛti XII, Saṁvarto (verses 216-223),
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Bṛhat-Parāśara chap. V (where the mystical significance of each of the 24 letters of the Gāyatri is explained) and numerous other works contain hyperbolical eulogies of Gāyatri. Parāśara V. 1 calls it 'Vedamātā'. The words 'Apo jyoti rasomṛtam brahuna bhūr-bhuvaḥ svarom' are said to be the sīras (head) of the Gāyatri (vide Śaṅkhaśmṛti XII. 12). Manu (II. 104) and others prescribe that every day a brahmācāri (as well as others) must perform japa of Gāyatri. Baud. Dh. S. II 4. 7-9 prescribes that in the evening Śaṃdhyā adoration one should murmur the Gāyatri a thousand times, or a hundred times with prānāyāma each time or ten times with 'om' and the seven vāyātras. Vas. Dh. S. 26. 15 prescribes that a man desirous of purifying himself from sin should repeat the divine Gāyatri 1000 times (daily) as the maximum or 100 times (as the middle way) or at least ten times. There are mantras for invoking the Gāyatri and for taking leave of it.

Brahmacāri-dharmāḥ.—Certain rules and observances are prescribed for all brahmācāris. 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 Āsv. gr. I. 22. 17 says "for three nights, or twelve nights or a year, after upanayana...

719. Vide Śu. C. I. pp. 143-152 for lengthy remarks on several matters connected with the Gāyatri; on p. 145 there is a dhyāna of the 24 letters of the sacred verse. Yājñ. I. 23 refers to the sīras of Gāyatri.

720. बिवलयम् on या. I. 25 quotes a verse of हात्रि ‘वेदी सहस्रावर्तः द्व ज्ञातमया वृद्धिकार। अपेतम् सहस्त्रस्त शतमयाः वृद्धिवर्द्धय’ and adds सुस तस्भक्षिटोद्विद्वृद्धिविविषय वृद्धिन्य। गाज्ञ श्रृवोपयादुपवासान्यपेशावर्त इति कथित्। न तेषां समाचाराः:

721. The आवासादमन्त्र acc. to गोमित्र is ‘आवाति वच्चे वेदि आरोर ब्रह्मायाहिति। गाज्ञ छतुर्विंद्राम् मात्रान्यायोनि न्योष्टुते’ quoted in स्वातित्व (I. p. 143) and the बिवलयमन्त्र is ‘उत्तरे शिष्ये आरो धूमप्य पर्वतवासिनि। ग्रहणा समढुस्तेन गच्च द्विवे पादादाहुक्ष्य’ quoted in the गद्यवदनकार p. 241. The स्वातित्व (I. p. 151) quotes from गोमित्र ‘मोक्षसुधाकर्षक्ता विश्वेदुर्वसस्मयां। ग्रहणा ... प्रचेष्या’ and also ‘उत्तरे शिष्ये आरो &o. These are recited in the modern Śaṃdhyā also.

722. अव एवासारतां धर्मावतितेवद्वृत्तं गणेऽ। गणपथ 2. 4.

723. अष्ट अर्धभार्षीयवायुक्ति ब्रह्मायार्यायायी निरात्त इवावतितेवद्वृत्तं संवर्तने च। अश्ब. सु. I. 22. 17; वि.मतेशायां धार्याति भार्षवात्मकश्चतान्यान्यां च। विक. गृ. II. 5. 55; श्लोक भार्षवात्मकुदियितिति विविधेऽ। वि.मतेशायां गृ. II. 4. 33. There is great divergence of views on the meaning of भार्षवान्. According to नार्म्यान्यान्यान्यायां संवर्तने च। अश्ब. सु. I. 8. 10 अश्ब means certain cereals ‘हैविध्वक्त रावणार्यो नारा ज्ञातः सुद्दिकाः। तदुपावश्यकः यशोविविनोऽविनयितः। भार्षवात्मकः’; गृ.मत्तुतेति, गृ. I. 8. 1 explains ‘तत्त्वावतितेनार्यायायायी भार्षवान्’; नै.मत्तेति, सु. V. 72 explains that क्षर means such salts as पालकर and तन्त्र means सैप्तक्षर. सैप्तक्षर on अश्ब. सु. II. 6. 15. 12 explains ‘शुक सहस्यान् पथोस्तिरतालिधिः तत्त्वावतितेति। श्लोकः’ on सु. V. 72 explains भार्षवान् as ‘manufactured salt’.
the brahmaśārī should not eat 'ksara' 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 ksara, 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 śūdras 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 samidhas into fire, begging for food, not using a cot, working for the teacher, daily bath, tārpana of gods, sages and pitras &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. Mantrapātha (II. 6. 14), Kāṭhaka gr. (41. 17) and other texts. These are principally ācamana, guruṣuṣrūṣā, vāksamayama (silence), samidādhanā. When the teacher says in the upanayana 'drink water, do work &c', the student is to reply with the word 'yes' ('bāḥgam' 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), samdhypāsana, study of Veda and its methods and duration, avoidance of certain foods and drinks and other matters like singing &c., guruṣuṣrūṣā (including honouring him and his family and other elders), and the special vratas of the brahmaśārī. 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 Medhajanana (generation of intelligence) by virtue of which
It was supposed that the student's intellect was made capable of mastering Vedic lore. Āsv. 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'\textsuperscript{725}. The Bhār. gr. (I. 10) also describes this rite on the fourth day after upanayana and says that a palāśa tree with one root is to be anointed with ājīya and the mantra 'suśravāḥ' (the same as in Āsv.) is to be muttered. Kāṭhaka gr. 41. 18, Māṇava gr. I. 22. 17 also refer to this. The Saṁ. Pr. (pp. 444–446) gives a more elaborate description. In addition to what is stated in Āsv. gr. it quotes from Saunaka 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 sthāndilas are prepared to the north or east of a palāśa tree and on these three prāṇava (om), śrāddhā and medhā are invoked, are worshipped with unguents, flowers, lamp &c. (as in the regular worship of an image), then the prāṇava is worshipped with the formula 'yaś-chandasām' to 'śrutam me gopāya' (Tai. Up. I. 4. 1), śrāddhā with the hymn 'śraddhayāgniḥ' Rg. X. 151 and Medhā with the anuvāka 'Medhā devi' (Tai. Ār. X. 39). Then the staff is deposited at the foot of the palāśa, another staff is taken and the student returns to the house with the ācārya. In modern times in the Deccan a similar ceremony is gone through under the (Marāṭhī) name 'Pāḷasulā'.

\textsuperscript{725} सुभव: 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 Āp. म. प. I. 5. 1 also (but in Āp. य. XI. 14 it is the मद्भ 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. 22). 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 Nārāyana 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. Saṅ. 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 *agnipujā* was to be performed in the evening only. Āp. Dh. S. (1. 1. 4–20) lays down the following rules: 'the student should always bring fuel from the forest and heap it on a low place (otherwise if placed high it may fall on anybody's head), one should not go out after sunset for bringing fuel-sticks. Having kindled fire, having swept round it he should offer fuel-sticks in the evening and the morning as already directed (in the grhyārātra). 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 śarīrī 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 gṛhya fire himself or his wife or son or maiden daughter or pupil may do so.' The Čandogya Up. IV. 10 contains the story of Upakosala Kāmalayana who was a student of Satyakāma Jābala 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. सदारणपारिवारकोशिन्ताय मित्रध्यात । नात्सनमेव समित्तविद्गच्छेद । अतिशिवध्या 
परिशुद्ध सामाया आत्मरत्वाय मात्यायनेर्वशाह । साधारणाय जैत्यस्य 
परिशुद्धेऽसंबूः समुदायं । आप. ध. छू. I. 4. 14-18; नापेक्षितिनिग्नयममत्याद्यध्यात ।
आप. ध. छू. I. 5. 15. 12.

727. पारिवारकोशिन्ताय मित्रध्यात । अतिशिवध्यात । अतिशिवध्यात । अतिशिवध्यात । अतिशिवध्यात ।
आप. ध. छू. I. 9. 1.; vide also गु. II. 17. 3 to the same effect. The various 
kinds of fires will be discussed later on under 'marriage.'
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History of DharmaiOstra

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A few words about samidhs may be said here. The
samidh 78 must be of palasa or some other yajriiya tree ( used
in sacrifices ). Such trees are pal a a, a&vattha, nyagrodha,
plaksa, vaikankata, udumbara, bilva, candana, sarala, sala,
devadSru and khadira. The Vayupurana quoted by Apar&rka
in their
( p. 51 ) says that palasa samidhs should be preferred,
absence samidhs of khadira, in the absence of the first two, of
daml, rohitaka and as vat th a and in the absence of all these of
The Trikanda-mandana ( II. 82-84 ) has
arka and vetasa.
several rules on this point. The principal trees for fuelsticks
(saraidh)are palasa and khadira, but samidhs of kovidara,
kapitfcha, karabha, rajavrkaa, sakadruma, nlpa,
nimba, karanja, tilaka, slesm&taka or salmali 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 ( pradesa ) nor

bibhltaka,

having two branches, it was to be without leaves and was to be
729
strong.
According to Harlta when death wanted to seize
the brahmacarl formerly, Agni saved him from death and so a
brahmacarl should serve fire \ 7SO
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The number of samidhs varied as shown above and not
only in the worship of Agni by the brahmacarl, but also elsewhere.

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that the student should first beg of a man

not refuse or of a

woman who would

that in begging he should say
rules are laid down by others.

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alms) and says to him 'go out for alms'. Let him beg of his mother first, then in other families which are generously disposed; he brings the food to his guru and announces it to him with the words ' (these are) the alms' and then the teacher accepts with the words 'these are good alms'.' The Baud. gr. II. 5. 47-53 gives the same rules and adds \(^{731}\) that a brāhmaṇa student should beg with the words 'bhavati bhikṣāṁ dehi' (lady, give me food), a ksatriya with the words 'bhikṣāṁ bhavati dehi' and a vaiśya with the words 'dehi bhikṣāṁ bhavati.' Par. gr. II. 5, Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 3. 28-30, Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 17, Manu II. 49, Yaj. I. 30 and others contain the same rules about addressing the ladies for alms.\(^{732}\) Par. 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 brahmācārya 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 brahmācārya cannot get food elsewhere he may beg from his own family, from his elders (like maternal uncles), his relatives and lastly from his ācārya himself. As to the persons\(^{733}\) from whom to beg for food, one sees how the growing strictness of caste rules about food during the lapse of centuries affected the brahmācārya. Āp. Dh. S.\(^{734}\) I. 1. 3. 25 prescribes that

\(^{731}\) Vide st. p. II. 6. 5-8, gosāmilā. II. 10. 42-44, śāstrā. II. 4. 28-31 for similar rules.

\(^{732}\) manitā. II. 6. 43-44 'आचार्यज्ञातिविद्यास्वरूपमेवेषयत | तेषां पूर्व पूर्वि परिश्रेष्ठ |'; manitā. II. 184 has the same rule.

\(^{733}\) श्रवो तत्वार्थसनूर्ते सार्वोत्तमालस्य सिद्धांचया चरणोद्वस्मानोपाध्याय चेष्टोद्वस्मानोभिस्तात्। आप. p. I. 1. 3. 25; सर्वविपरीती केवल चरणमभिस्तात्विन्द्राय आर्य. II. 41. अन्वयित्र is variously explained; on āpar. p. su. I. 7. 21. 6 'न पतिैते संस्कृतव्याहरी विख्ये तथापायः। हर्वकृष्ण explains as ब्राह्मालुम्बः (with whom no social inter-

(Continued on next page)
he could beg food from anybody except apapatras (persons like cārdalas) and abhīṣastas (i.e., those who are guilty of or suspected of grave sins). Gaut. II. 41 expressly says that a brahmācārī may beg food from all the varṇas except from those who are abhīṣasta and patita. Manu (II. 183 and 185) says a brahmācārī 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 abhīṣasta. Yāj. I. 29 says ‘for his own maintenance a brahmācārī should beg food from brahmanas 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 vaśya houses and to beg of śūdras is allowed only in āpad (time of distress or difficulty). Āuśanasa (Jiv. ed L. p. 505) says that a brahmācārī should beg only from houses of his own caste (as the best way probably) or he may beg at the houses of all varṇas, while Āṅgiras quoted in the Par. M. (I. 2, p. 41) says that even in a season of distress a brahmācārī should not beg for cooked food from śūdras. The Madanapārijāta p. 33 quotes a passage from the Bhavisyapurāṇa to the effect that a brahmācārī 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 brahmācārī who subsists on food obtained by begging is like one observing a fast (Manu II. 183 and Bhāt-Parāśara p. 130). The brahmācārī was to eat food collected from several houses and was not to take food at a single person’s house, except that when he was requested to dinner in honour of gods or the Manes he might do so by partak-

(Continued from last page)
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 yajnas to gods (vaishvadeva) 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 Śatātapa saying that 'bhikṣā is as much as one morsel, that puskala is equal to four morsels, hanta is equal to four puskalas and agra is equal to three hantas.'

The idea that a brahma-carī 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 brahma-carī 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 brahma-carī having sexual intercourse. 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...
to the teacher all that he has brought and eat only that which
the teacher directs him to take; if the teacher is gone on a journey
then he should announce it to the teacher's family (wife, son); if
even these are absent, then to other learned brāhmaṇas and
eat with their permission. Vide 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.\footnote{737}

Other miscellaneous acts that the students had to do were
brining \footnote{738} water for the acārya in pots, collecting flowers,
cowdung, earth, kuśa grass &c. (vide Manu II. 182).

Sāmīdhyā:—On the day of upanayana there is no morning
sāmīdhyā. Jaimini\footnote{739} says 'as long as there is no imparting of the
Gāyatrī there is no sāmīdhyā.' So the student begins his sāmīdhyā
in the noon of the day of upanayana. As however on that day
he knows no Vedic text except the Gāyatrī, his whole sāmīdhyā
worship consists of the Gāyatrī.

The word 'sāmīdhyā' literally means 'twilight', but also
indicates the action of prayer performed in the morning and
evening twilight. This act is generally styled 'sāmīdhyopāsana'
or 'sāmīdhyāvandana' or simply 'sāmīdhyā.'\footnote{740} This act of
adoration is sometimes prescribed as necessary thrice a day viz.
at day-break, in the noon and at sun-set e.g. Atri\footnote{741} says 'a twice-
born person possessed of the knowledge of the Self should
perform three sāmīdhyā adorations.' These are respectively
named Gāyatrī (morning one), Sāvitrī (noon) and Sarasvāti

\footnote{737} एका और त्रि. सत. 231 also calls the guru āhavanīya fire.
\footnote{738} आप. ध. घु. 1. 1. 4. 13 सार्वं मातस्वयम्भमाहंति।
\footnote{739} यापूर्व ब्राह्मोपपदेशो न तत्तत्सत्त्वपिकं न च। तत्र सत्त्वसंपत्तिः सच्च कर्म
समापत्तिः। जैमिनि quoted by सं. म. p. 439.
\footnote{740} विभागसप वा. 1. 25 सांस्कृतिः चौपेशानसत्त्वपिनी नामस्येत् दातस्य
व्यास्त: मातस्वयम्भाः। औष्ट्रिक्षणोऽसंस्कृतिः सांस्कृतिः। रितिः। औष्ट्रिक्षणोऽसंस्कृतिः सांस्कृतिः। औष्ट्रिक्षणोऽसंस्कृतिः सांस्कृतिः।
\footnote{741} विभागसप on या. I. 25 says 'संस्कृतिः चौपेशानकर्मिणी नामस्येत्
दातस्य व्यास्त: मातस्वयम्भाः। औष्ट्रिक्षणोऽसंस्कृतिः सांस्कृतिः। रितिः। औष्ट्रिक्षणोऽसंस्कृतिः सांस्कृतिः। औष्ट्रिक्षणोऽसंस्कृतिः सांस्कृतिः।
\footnote{741} सप्तसूत्रेत् दूरसूत्रं हि जीनाद्वितियं सतं। उच्छ संपतं च द्वन्द्वं ब्राह्मीकृष्ट
एतत्सत्त्वं अधिकृतिः। अधिकृतिः quoted by अपराक योग. 49, दूरसूतं संपतं च गावः सत्त्वं अधिकृतिः। अधिकृतिः परिपूर्वाणमा संपतं च विजितं सत्त्वं त्रि. सत. योग.।।
\footnote{741} विभागसप on या. I. 25 says 'संस्कृतिः चौपेशानकर्मिणी नामस्येत्
दातस्य व्यास्त: मातस्वयम्भाः। औष्ट्रिक्षणोऽसंस्कृतिः सांस्कृतिः। रितिः। औष्ट्रिक्षणोऽसंस्कृतिः सांस्कृतिः। औष्ट्रिक्षणोऽसंस्कृतिः सांस्कृतिः।
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दातस्य व्यास्त: मातस्वयम्भाः। औष्ट्रिक्षणोऽसंस्कृतिः सांस्कृतिः। रितिः। औष्ट्रिक्षणोऽसंस्कृतिः सांस्कृतिः। औष्ट्रिक्षणोऽसंस्कृतिः सांस्कृतिः।
\footnote{741} सप्तसूत्रेत् दूरसूतं हि जीनाद्वितियं सतं। उच्छ संपतं च द्वन्द्वं ब्राह्मीकृष्ट
एतत्सत्त्वं अधिकृतिः। अधिकृति quoted by अपराक योग. 49, दूरसूतं संपतं च गावः सत्त्वं अधिकृतिः। अधिकृति परिपूर्वाणमा संपतं च विजितं सत्त्वं त्रि. सत. योग.।।
(evening one) by Yoga-yaśñavalkya. Generally however the saṁdhya prayer is prescribed twice (Āsv. gr. III. 7, Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 30. 8, Gaut. II. 17, Manu II. 101, Yāj. I. 24–25 &c).

All prescribe that the morning 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 mūhūra (i.e. two ghaṭikās, according to Yoga-yaśñavalkya) whatever the length of the day may be. Manu (IV. 93–94) however recommends the prayer to extend as long as one could afford, since the ancient sages secured long life, intelligence, glory, fame and spiritual eminence by long saṁdhya prayers.

According to most writers japa of Gayatri and other sacred mantras is the principal thing in saṁdhya and other things such as mārjana are merely subsidiary, but Medhātithi on Manu II. 101 (where the words are ‘japaṁstiṣṭhet’ and not ‘tiṣṭhan japet’) says that japa is subsidiary or secondary and the place of the prayer and the posture of the praying person are the principal items. When it is said ‘one should perform the saṁdhya’ what is meant is that one should contemplate the deity called Aditya represented by the orb of the sun and should also contemplate on the fact that the same Intelligence dwells in his heart. The proper place for saṁdhya prayer is outside the village (Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 30. 8, Gaut. II. 16, Mānava gr. I. 2. 2), in a lonely place (Śān. gr. II. 9. 1 ‘aranye’) or on a river or other sacred spot (Baud. gr. II. 4. 1). But this does not apply to the agnihotrin, who has to perform vedic rites and repeat homa

742. तिष्ठतापूर्वावसीतितितरं सर्वपोषित्वा ज्ञाताधिक्यम्: । श्री. II. 17, सायतसाराबधर्मित्वा विवर्धित्वेन साधिते जोयपदप्रस्तितम् मण्डल आ कम्बत्वसम्भवात्। एवं प्रातः । वासुकुलसिङ्गवा मण्डलप्रस्थवात् । अथवा. ग्र. III. 7. 4–6; vide also मत II. 101.

743. ज्ञातावृद्धिः ह सततं विष्णुवानि थथाकसनम् । संधया स्नातमार्गं ह ज्ञाते इति ह सा स्नातं ॥ योगायाचित्वं quoted by अपराक्षप p. 49 (on ग्र. I. 25) and by कृत्स्व on मत II. 101.

744. अथवा दीर्घसंपर्षवादः दीर्घसंपर्षवान्वयुः । मन्त्रं या साध्यां कीर्तिं च बलावर्षस्तेव च ॥ मत IV. 94. This is the same as अद्वासस्तित्वम् 104. 18 (निर्देशस्तेव for दीर्घसंपर्षवादः) and शास्त्रसुचि X. 20.

745. Vide नेषाप. on मत II. 101 and हरस्व on अप. अध. I. 11. 30. 8 about अविशेषातिनि. The स्त्तित्वम्. I. p. 136 quotes Vyāsa ‘ते सर्वं महाराज दुःखिता एवं नुभिषे’ संधिस्तितम सहस्त्रावस्तिस्तितम, to show that warriors, when engaged in battle, performed only the upasthāna and omitted all else.

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mantras at sun-rise and who therefore may perform samādhyā adoration in his house. Vasistha quoted by Aparārka says that samādhyā performed in a cowpen or on a river or near the shrine of Viṣṇu (or other deity) respectively is ten times, 100,000 of times or numberless times better than samādhyāvandana in the house. All prescribe that the morning samādhyā is to be performed standing and the evening one in a sitting posture (Āsv. gr. III. 7. 6, Śān. gr. II. 9. 1 and 3, Manu II. 102) and the morning samādhyā is to be performed facing the east and the evening one facing the northwest (Āsv. 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 samādhyā).

The principal constituents of samādhyopāsana are these: acamanas (sipping of water), prānāyāma, mārjana thrice (sprinkling himself with water to the accompaniment of several mantras), aghamarṣana, 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 Varuna in the evening). Among the earliest references to Samādhyopāsana is the one in the Tai. Ar. II. 2, where it is said that when brāhmaṇa 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 Aruna (of the evil spirits). This shows that in ancient times samādhyā consisted principally of offering water (arghya) to the sun in worship and japa of Gāyatrī. Āsv. gr. III. 7. 3-6, Śān. gr. II. 9. 1-3 and others refer only to the japa of the Gāyatrī mantra in

746. यथेऽ तद्विक्रिका संबंधण गोठे दशायण स्थता | शास्त्राष्ट्रिका न्यायमन्त्रा विशुर-संभितो || वसिष्ठ स्वास्तिका न्यायमन्त्रा विशुर- संभितो ||
747. तात्त्विका या एतानि श्रावणि गायत्रियामिनि स्वास्तिका साध्यतिनि ततु ह या एने भवहारिनः: पुनःभिस्माः द्वारतानि कात्यायिनिः महाभिस्माः अपि अन्यः विशिष्यति तता एता एतानि \\
748. तात्त्विका या एतानि श्रावणि गायत्रियामिनि स्वास्तिका साध्यतिनि ततु ह या एने भवहारिनः: पुनःभिस्माः द्वारतानि कात्यायिनिः महाभिस्माः अपि अन्यः विशिष्यति तता एता एतानि देवश्रीसां श्रावणि गायत्रियामिनि स्वास्तिका साध्यतिनि ततु ह या एने
Samdhyaopāsana. Mānava gr. (I. 2.1-5) refers only to the arghya offering to the sun and japa of Gāyatrī. It is in the Baud. Dh. S. II. 4 that we find an elaboration of samdhyaopāsana into various components such as ācamana, mārjana, japa of Gāyatrī 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 samdhyaopāsana, 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-Hārīta VI. 16-19) and of the letters of the Gāyatrī Bṛhatparāṣāra 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 namāḥ.’ The 24 names are given below. 748a

A few words on each of the principal components of saṁdhya 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. गार्जीवान्ध राज्ञिकुमारिण्डरे । इसमें वचन परायामाणी त्वादय्यम् । एवं देव प्रति: प्राकृति: कुलसिद्ध । मेद्रीवाणागहि इतिहिदे मित्रस्य चर्च्याचिन्द्रो मिनेत्रो जनाच्यात्यतिती त्वादय्यम् ।

1०. ध. २. ४. ११-१४. The verses in this smṛti and also in the Veda are respectively Rg. I. 25.19 and I. 24.11; and in Vṛddha-Hārīta II. 11-12 prescribed the two verses ‘udya tyam’ (Rg. I. 50.1 and in other Vedas also) and ‘citram devaśām’ (Rg. I. 115.1 and in other Vedas also) as the upasthāna in both saṁdhyaḥs. 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 the sākhā of the Veda to which one belongs.

748a. केशव, नारायण, माधव, मोहिन, विष्णु, मुनिवर, विष्णुवर, वानानन, भीष्म, तुषारकित, वराह, वाल्मीकि, संतकर्ण, वादनानन, मद्यम, अतिभूत, पुष्पोत्सव, अमोक्ष, नारसिंह, अस्वत, जनार्दन, उपेन्द्र, हरि, ब्रह्मण्डः। They are enumerated in the अष्टिपुराण chap. 48. Vide note 567 for the first twelve names.

749. सतासतारसारामेष्ट। तै. मा. 1. 5. 10; compare आप. ध. २. ५. १५. ४-५. न वर्धारातसारामेष्ट। न मद्योद्यः।
acamana 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 Ap.) and should touch with the wet right hand one’s eyes, ears, nose, heart and head. The water for acamana should be as much as would penetrate (or reach) to the heart in the case of brāhmanas, to the throat in the case of ksatriyas, to the palate in the case of vaiśyas; women and sudras should sip on occasions of acamana 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 brāhmastra (i.e. from the root of the thumb). The further elaborate rules laid down in such smṛritis as Gobhila gr. (I. 2. 5–6), Śāṅkhaṁśṭi 10 are not set out here. The occasions for acamana are many. According to Gobhila gr. 1. 1. 2 one must do every grhya rite with yajnopavita worn in the usual way and after acamana. Haradatta on Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 1 says that acamana 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 prāna. Numerous occasions when acamana 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 mājaśāt (or kāya), viśya, bādha and śakti śāyā. Vide Yāj. I. 1. 19. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 62. 1–4, Vas. Dh. S. III. 64–68, Baudh. Dh. I. 5. 14–18. As everywhere, there are differences here also. Vas. holds that pitrya is between the forefinger and the thumb, and that mānuṣa tīra is at the tips of the fingers. Others say that the roots of the four fingers constitute sa ṭīra tīrthas (Baudh. Dh. S. I. 5. 18).—Vaik I. 5. and Pār. gr. pariśīṭa mention five tīrthas (the 5th being in the palm is called āgneya). Āgneya is also styled Saumya by others.

751. योगीपरिवर्तिनां आचार्योपदेशन कृपया) मोहिन्द्रयाः I. 1. 2.

752. तात्त्विक: अनुत्तम: अवधारण्यको आचार्यस्वास्थ्यसङ्गमो यज्ञवर्धन्ति स्रवणमहाय श्राध्ययः। वृक्ष: सप्त: VI. 1. 14; तस्माद्य: श्रवणिकार्य: परिहितस्य सचस्याः परिशिष्टी सम्भवोह ह भवति। दाशुराय V. 2. 2.
Prānāyāma (restraint of breath) is defined by the Yoga-
sūtra (II. 49) as the regulation of pranāyāmas, each of which
lasts for 15 mātras (moras). Baud. Dh. S. IV. 1. 30 (= Vas.
Dh. S. 25. 13=Śaṅkhāsārī VII. 14) and Yāj. I. 23 say that the
sīras of Gāyatrī, the three vyāhṛtis each preceded by ‘om’ and
the Gāyatrī verse are to be rehearsed mentally during the time
of prānāyāma. According to Yoga-yājñavalkya, one should first
revolve in the mind the seven vyāhṛtis, each preceded
by ‘om’, then the Gāyatrī and then the sīras of Gāyatrī. Prānāyāma
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 prānāyāma 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 earthen-
ware and while doing so one is to repeat ‘om’, the vyāhṛtis,
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. 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).

Aghamarṣana (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 accom-
paniment 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. तत्समसति (आसनंजये सतिः) भास्मयासपायोगिनिकिच्छेदः माणायामः। योगाद्वः
II. 49.

754. खूनवद्वस्माङ्गर्जनस्तयः सर्वं तपौव च। मप्तेक्षकंसमनुकालस्तयं तस्विद्विजम्यस।
ओगापोतेविरतिर्गेव जिः प्रतार्कपदाशयेत्। विराज्वतन््योगातु माणायामस्तु श्वितः। योग-
वाज्यःश्चितश्चितत् quoted in सूतिः I. p. 141.

755. सूर्यनमः अविविविवाक्षणिः विवाक्षणिः प्राप्तार्मानविभाषिततः प्राप्तार्मानविभाषिततः
पार्थिवेश्वरान्नानान्मोऽपि भवति। यदि धर्म । सूर्यनमः इसकी अर्थ विवाक्षणि रख
(Rg. IV. 39. 6), अविविव वर्णी are Rg. X. 9. 1–3, चतुर्वी
verses are इथे मे बयन्न (Rg. I. 25. 19), तत्र यामि (Rg. I. 24. 11), अति ते तेठी
(Rg. I. 24. 14) and यङ्क (Rg. VII. 89. 5). पार्थिवेश्वरान्नानां मोऽर्जितः (Rg. IX. 1. 1) of the IX manḍala of the Rigveda
or according to some Rg. IX. 67. 21–27. शिशौ मार्मन कुर्यापूर्वः सङ्करणमस्तु श्विताः। अविविवाक्षणिः
काशीयोः दृष्टिः साधनोः च तुर्निवाक्य। अविविवाक्षणिः चतुः प्राप्ती माणायामः।
मांगित्सलिः। II. 4–5, अविविवाक्षणिः इसकी अर्थ विवाक्षणि रख
X. 9. 1–3. The म्र. III. 9. 7 has
आएँ वहि दया महोऽपि इत्यद्यमां नि.
Arghya (offering water out of respect to the sun) consists in taking water in one’s joined hands, repeating the Gayatri verse over it and standing facing the sun and casting it up thrice. If a man cannot have water (being at the time of Samdhya on a road or in jail &c.) he could use dust for water. The Tai. Ar. II. 2 says that a brähmana contemplating the rising and setting sun and doing obeisance to it by going from left to right attains all bliss, since this Āditya is Brahma.

As to japa of Gayatri, vide above (p. 304). There is an extensive literature about the greatness of the japa of Gayatri and of other holy vedic mantras which are passed over here and for which reference may be made to Aparārka pp. 46-48, Sm. C. I. pp. 143-152, Gr. R. pp. 241-250, Āhnikaprabhā pp. 311-316. A few details will be given under śāṅkara.

As to upasthāna vide above (p. 315, note 748). According to Baud, the worship of the sun is done with the verses ‘udvyayam’ (Rg. I. 50.10), ‘Udu tyam’ (Rg. I. 50.1), ‘citram’ (Rg. I. 115.1), ‘tac-caksur’ (Rg. VII. 66.16), ‘ya udagāt’ (Tai. Ar. IV. 42.5). Manu II. 103 prescribes that he who does not perform the Samdhyanopāsana in the morning and evening should be excluded from all actions meant for the benefit or honour of dvijas. Gobhila smṛti II. 1 says the same and adds that brähmana resides in the three samdhyas and that he who has no concern for samdhyanopāsana is not a brähmana. Baud. Dh. S. II. 4. 20 calls upon the religious king to make brähmanas, who do not engage in samdhyanopāsana thrice a day, perform the work peculiar to śūdras. The Kurma-purāṇa goes so far as to say that even if a person engages in other actions which are religious but gives up the performance of samdhyanopāsana, 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...
morning sam\dhya and the sins committed in the day are removed by the evening sam\dhya. Baud. Dh. S. II. 4. 25-28, Yaj. III. 307 are to the same effect. When a person is impure owing to mourning or birth in the family, he is to perform sam\dhya only up to arghya to the sun but not japa nor upasthāna.

In modern times the sam\dhyaopāsana has become a lengthy business by the addition of materials from purāṇas and the tantras. But as observed by the Sar\ṅskāraratnamalā rituals like nyāsa are non-Vedic and many do not perform them. For various nyāsas and mudrās (postures of the fingers, hands etc.) one may consult the Śmṛti-muktāphala (āhnikā pp. 328-333), Sm. C. I. pp. 146-148.

Nyāsa means 'mentally invoking god and holy texts to come to occupy certain parts of the body to render it a pure and fit receptacle for worship and contemplation.' The sixteen verses of the Puruṣasūkta (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 Nārāyana and thus make Nārāyana one's armour when some danger arises and that one should perform nyāsa with 'om' and other syllables on one's feet, knees, thighs, belly, heart, chest, mouth and head. The Sm. C. I. p. 144 quotes verses from Vyāsa and Brahmā as to the nyāsa of the letters of the Gāyatrī with 'om' and 'namah' on the several parts of the 

760. एषोऽश्वेयम्। ऐतमेके नेष्ठानि। स ह विपिरैविविह इति। रंज्ञ्यारम्बमाळा।
761. For the influence of tantra rites on the smṛtis and Indian practice, the following may be consulted: The Introduction to Sādhanamāla, 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. कुक्तसङ्करणातो मन्त्राय: वायः साहित्योऽय: सम्बन्धोऽय: भाषा:। नारायणसङ्खय षङ्खय संस्कृतसङ्खय आय:। पायः ानुस्मृतसवृत्तिः ध्यायोर्षरस्य। नारायणसङ्खयोऽय: अंकणांसूचनिः विनायक:।
भाषण III. 8. 4-5। अलासन्य:। गृहिक्षरस्य। नमस्तेनः। मध्यमायः व्यवहारसामान्यस्य। शिक्षितसङ्खय। कर्मसवृत्तिः।
लेखनसङ्खय:। कर्मविविधां सर्वनामाय यो:॥
Vide स्त्रुलिङ्। (आङ्किक 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 Nāraśayana 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 Nṛsimhāya namaḥ.’ One well-known mode is to assign Govinda, Mahādhara, Hṛṣīkesa, Tribhuvana, 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 sarhāḍhya adoration. The Samgraha 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 Smr. Mu. (āhnikā pp. 331-332) quote passages defining the following mudrās viz. sammukha, sampuṭa, vitata, vistīra, dvimukha, trīmukha, adhomukha, vyāpakāṇḍalika, yamapāsa, grathita, sammukhonmukha, vilamba, muṣṭika, mīna, kūrma, varāha, sīṁhākranta, mahākranta, 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 āvāhant, sthāpin, saṃmindhāpan, saṃrodhind, prasādamudrā, avagunthana-mudrā, sammukha, prārthana, saṅkha, cakra, gāda, abja, (or padma), musala, khadga, dhanus, bāna, nārāca, kumbha, vighnā (for Vighnēsvara), saura, pustaka, laksñā, saptajihva (for Agni Vaiśvanara), durgā, namaskāra (bringing together both hands from the wrist to the tips of the fingers), añjali, saṁbhāra (in all 32). The Nityācārapaddhati (p. 536) says that saṅkha, cakra, gāda, padma, musala, khadga, śrīvatsa and kaustubha are the eight mudrās of Viṣṇu. The Sm. C. quotes a

763. संभः। अधिनेज्याकाँ तु स्थाने काले च कर्मचिं। तत्तद्वः। प्रोक्तचन्द्र ज्ञेष्ठार्मिन्यादि।। ॥ पूजायकाजा ॥ p. 123.
work called *Mahāsamhitā* that the mudrās are not to be performed in the presence of a crowd and if so performed the deities become angry and the mudrās become fruitless. The Śāradātīlaka (23. 106) states that all deities are gladdened by the mudrās and in verses 107-114 describes the following mudrās, viz. āvāhāni, sthāpanā, saṃnīdhāpanī, saṃrodhini, sammukha, sakala, avagunṭhāna, dhenu, mahāmudrā. The Ācāra-dinakara of Vardhamāna-sūri composed in *samvat* 1468 (1411-12 A. D.) for Jainas enumerates 42 mudrās and defines them (1923, part II. pp. 385-386).

The influence of these mudrās spread outside India and they are still practised in the island of Bali. Miss Tyra de Kleen has brought out a very interesting book on the 'mudrās (the hand poses) practised by Buddhist and Śaiva priests' (called *pedandas*) in Bali, with 60 full page drawings (1924, New York).

*Study of the Veda:*—A detailed examination of the educational system from ancient times onwards, together with its methods, courses of study and kindred topics will require a volume by itself. The works mentioned in the note below may be read for that purpose. Here a few salient features alone can be set out.

The pivot of the whole educational system of ancient India was the teacher (variously called acārya, 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 Sat. 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

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764. आचरण महासंहितास्त्रो विशेषः परम जातु वृद्धपिन्यः महाजनसमागते। धुमपलि
गुट्टासतत्वम विस्तर्त च हुल्लं भवंदु॥ स्थूलितं॥ I. p. 148.

765. Vide Rev. F. E. Keay's 'Ancient Indian Education' (1918), Dr. A. S. Altekar's 'Education in Ancient India' (1934), S. K. Das on 'Educational system of the ancient Hindus' (1930) and Dr. S. C. Sarkar's 'Educational ideas and institutions in ancient India' (1928). The last work is based entirely on the Atharvaveda and the Rāmāyaṇa.
of sending boys to learn from an acārya had become usual. The Chān. Up. itself says in one passage (VI. 1) that Śvetaketus Ārūneya 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 Jabāla says to his teacher (in Chān. IV. 9. 3) 'I have heard from persons like your revered self that knowledge when learnt from an acārya reaches the highest excellence'. The Śvetāṣṭara upaniṣad (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 acārya as if he were God.' The story of Ekalavya, whom Drona refused to take as a pupil because he was a niśāda and who by worshipping the image of Drona 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 Dronaparva 181. 17). The Mahābhārata condemns him who learns the Vedas at home and says that Raibhya became superior to Yavakṛta 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. अनुसिद्धानि नामादिनीमिति होचाच। बुदु. उ. VI. 2. 1; यदात् किंवा वेद वर्षंहृ तुस्मनन्मीयिनैऽ। बुदु. उ. VI. 2. 4; कुमारारसोवणिज्ञिनि। चाणादृष्ट्य V. 3. 1। नेष्ठा। on महु. III. 3। says 'पर्यम विद्या विचारेऽ मेवा च चाणादृष्ट्याय। आचार्याचार्यावर्षानि विद्याधिकारी विकर्त्तव्यम्।' महु. II. 142 and याज्ञ. 1। 34 show that guru primarily means the father; but महु. II. 69 and 149 show that the word guru was also applied to the श्रीर्य and उपक्रिया। Vide निष्ठा। on याज्ञ. III. 259।

767. श्रुत्ते हेतु मे भगवद्वृद्धामी आचार्यादिविधि विधा विविधता सापिष्ट्यापयायिति चाणादृष्ट्य IV. 9. 3। आचार्याचार्यावर्षानि वेदे। चाणादृष्ट्य VI. 14. 2; vide क्राणार. II. 9, युधिष्ठिरोऽदृष्ट्यावर्षानि विद्याधिकारी विकर्त्तव्यम्। आचार्याचार्यावर्षानि विद्याधिकारी विकर्त्तव्यम्। Also चाणादृष्ट्य III. 11. 5। 'हर्षे वा तप्याय दुःखान्विता ब्रह्माद्वारायणान् वालोऽवलोने।'

768. यथा कृपे परा भक्तियां कृपे तथा यथा। वत्स्यैः काशिता। द्वाखः। काशिते महानन। चेतान। उप। VI. 23।

769. चूँकिमाचार्याचार्यावर्षानि। आय। घु। यु। I. 2. 6. 13।

770. Vide अद्वैतसारम् 36। 15। 'अपि व ज्ञानसंपन्न सर्वानं भेदावन्यान्वयितुष्टे। अद्वैतानम् नारीयायायाय ग्राम्य इत्येव तं विद्यम्।' भवयान 138। 25-26। 'तत्त्वेत हृदभूत्र्थि तत्त्वं भेदावत्त्वाये। अनेन तु हृदस्तु हृदान्तो तोषितविनिदिः। तोषितम् नहता भेदास्त। भ्राष्टिताभिमाणसमस्त।'
greatness of the ācārya. Manu II. 146 ( = Viṣṇu Dh. S. 30. 44 ) says that both the father ( janaśka ) and the teacher are called father ( pītā ) but the father ( i.e. ācārya ) who imparts the sacred Veda is superior to the father that gives ( physical ) birth, since the birth in spiritual learning is for a brāhmaṇa of eternal benefit here and hereafter. But in II. 145 Manu 771 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. Yaj. I. 35 also places the mother higher than the acarya. Gaut. 1. 10-11, Vas, Dh. S. III. 21, Manu II. 140, Yaj. I. 34 define 772 the ācārya as one who performs the upanayana of the student and imparts the whole Veda to him. The Nirukta 773 ( I. 4 ) derives acarya 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 sauc(a) (bodily purity), ācāra (rules of conduct in every day life), the offering (of fuel-stick) in fire and saṃdhyā adoration. Yaj. 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 Vedāṅgas 775 ( subsidiary lores of the

771. वसिष्ठ 13. 48 quotes मनु II. 145 ( but the 3rd पत्र in वसिष्ठ is पितुव्रज़पति माता ); शास्त्रियोऽ (108. 18-19) says ‘शुरूर्गरिष्यान्तिनिविदता मातुतंशयति मे मति: ’ उभो हि मातापितारे जगत्वेोपयुगयति। आचार्यांसिद्धा या जाति: सा द्विया साजसासदा। ’ तद्यस्मात्ः आचार्यः। देवादेववनस्याः। भै. I. 10-11.

772. स श्रुयः किरः। कुला वेदभाष्य सम्प्रदायसः। उपनिष वद्रेबुद्रमाचार्यः स उपाधिता॥ या. I. 34.

773. आचार्यः कस्माद्वादारे श्रावयाचारस्यस्यादित्वादित्वानाविनोति ख्रिमिति ता। श्रीलक्ष. I. 4। एक्षमात्जैत्यानाविनोति स आचार्यः। आप. प. छ। या. I. 1. 14। वीडे वाणुराण vol. I. 59. 30.

774. वीडे मितार्य on या III. 259 for a discussion of the meaning of the word guru.

775. The वेदोपनिषद्गुप्त have been six from very ancient times, viz. सिक्त्स (phonetics), कल्प (ritual of solemn Vedic and domestic sacrificial), धार्मिक (grammar), सिद्ध (etymology), छुद्द्स: or छुद्दियेविविविव (metrics), ज्योतिष (astronomy). The छुद्दियेविविव इ. I. 5 names these six; आप. प. छ। या. II. 3.8.10-11 वद्रेबुद्रमाचार्यः। छुद्द्स: कल्पो धार्मिक ज्योतिषीय सिद्धां हीक्षा क्षेत्रोत्तित्वालिति ।
Veda) as a means of his own livelihood and a guru is one who performs the samskaras 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 Yaj. I. 35 define upādhyāya in the same way as Manu. According to Yaj. I. 34 the guru is one who performs the samskaras 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 says 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. 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. 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 brahmacya) as long as the teacher does not fall off from the path of dharma. Vyāsā (quoted in Saṁ. P. p. 408) says 779 that the ācārya should be a brāhmaṇa who is solely

776. ब्राह्मणपथं यो भवति यो भवति यो भवति। पवेक्षणयं भवति। एवं विशेषतः। यो भवति यो भवति यो भवति। पवेक्षणयं भवति। एवं विशेषतः। यो भवति यो भवति यो भवति। पवेक्षणयं भवति।

777. बुद्धानं प्रेमस्वं द्रुष्ययां विद्यानं परमेयानं। यथा विद्यायिकां। यथा विद्यायिकां। यथा विद्यायिकां। यथा विद्यायिकां। यथा विद्यायिकां।

778. तस्य स्वयम् स्वतः स्वपन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वपन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पन्यं स्वल्पपृष्ठ 324 History of Dharmaśāstra [Ch. VII
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 Vāyūpuraṇa vol. I. 59, 29 also. The ācārya in upanayana must be a brāhmaṇa; as to the study of the 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 śubha vidyā (visibly beneficial knowledge) even from a śūdra. Śāntiparva 165. 31 does the same. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 118 remarks that a kṣatriya or vaiśya should teach a brāhmaṇa only when urged by him and not at his sweet will. Aparārka (p. 160) says that Manu II. 241 allows only teaching to a kṣatriya, but does not allow him to make it a means of his livelihood.

We saw above (p. 321) that the instruction was entirely oral. The first thing that was taught to the boy was the prāṇava and the vyāhṛtis 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 Śān. gr. (IV. 8) describes the method as follows: the teacher sits facing the east or north, while the other (i.e., the student) sits to his right facing the north or two students may sit in that way; but if there are more than two they should sit as the available space will allow. The student should not sit on a high seat.
before the teacher nor on the same seat with him; he should not stretch out his feet, nor should he sit seizing his knees with his arm, nor should he lean against a support, nor should he place his feet on his lap nor should he hold his feet like an axe. After the student utters 'Recite, Sir,' the teacher should urge him to pronounce 'om'; the other (i.e. the student) should reply 'om'. Thereafter he (the student) should recite continuously. After reciting he should clasp the teacher's feet and say 'we have finished, Sir' and go away to his business. Some teachers say that the teacher should say 'Leave, let us stop'.

In the Rk Prātiśākhyā, 15th pāta, there is a description of the method of teaching the Veda, which closely agrees with the above quotation from the Śān. gr. It adds that the teacher may also sit facing the north-east. When the teacher recites two words or more, the first pupil (to the right of the teacher) repeats the first of the two or more words and the other pupils repeat the rest afterwards. The teacher recites one word if it is a compound, two words if they are un-compounded; the teacher also clearly explains how to recite the words if there is any difficulty; in this way the whole 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 hands 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 comm. on Śān. gr. II. 5. 10-11 (S. B. E. vol. 29 p. 67 f. n.) the words 'अपीति भो:' are uttered by the teacher. But this does not seem to be correct. In Ś. gr. III. 1 we read 'भूयूँ लाल्पिनि: वचनं वितरंयुपसतानि। अपीति भमानि बढ़िति' and in छान्दोपद्य VIII. 1. 1 we have 'अपीति भमत्व इति स्वपतसताद सन्तकुमारं नारदः'. The अमकप्रतिशास्य supports the above translation.

785. अभिकाले दैयेशं बाधिको वा दूसरठ पवङ्ग पवयम् पवाद: पवाद शिष्यः। दुर्गम पवाद दुर्गम समात्विकसतस्त्रस्य पवाद हे। एवेन कालेन समात्व त्यस्य पवादस्यानुस्वरूपः सर्वम्। अमकप्रतिशास्य, 15th पदल. Vide Max Muller's History of A. S. L. p. 503 ff. for further details.

786. अवाक्षिति is explained differently from Manu by अपाल्लल्लुबिति (in verse) quoted in Ś. 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. संहिता quoted in सुविलिच. (I. p. 51) reads 'हली तु संहितैः कार्यं जाग्यायुक्तिर सिद्धाति'
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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 ‘sārva veda mukhato grīttāḥ’, 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 Bharadvaţa cited above (p. 271) shows. The ideal was set up by Manu II. 165, viz. that the whole Veda together with secret doctrines (Upaniśads) was to be learnt by every dvijāti. The Sat. Br. XI. 5. 7 contains a eulogy of Veda study (svādhyāya) and the injunction ‘svādhyāyādyetavyah’ (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 Sat. 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 saṁskāras). The Mahābhāṣya (vol. I. p. 9) contains the traditional extent of the four Vedas, viz. that there were 101 sākhās of the Yajurveda, 1000 of the Samaveda, 21 of the Bhārata and nine of the Atharvaveda.790 Concessions had to be

787. तपः स्वाध्यय द्वारा विद्वान् । ... अवापि वाजसनेरि विद्वान् । नागपञ्चि ह
शा एव वस्तुशिष्याय । अपि घ. खु. III. 4. 12. 1 and 3; compare मदु II. 166
वेदान्तांचाल हि विमर्शयते तात: परमिश्रितवये ॥; दृश्य II. 33 is to the same effect; अविपत
उवाचायां बैठे: वैस्तुराचायाः वाचायाः; व्यासपरमवात् शास्त्रिनिवध्यायः । सं. प. 504.

788. ब्राह्मणेन विद्वानो द्वारा विद्वानस्य तत् विद्वानः पुर्णे । पुर्णेऽक्षण । विद्वानो याजवल्ये प्राचे विद्वानः
उवाच । महाभाष्यम् वोल. I. p. 1. नेप्तौ on मदु III. 1 explains विद्वानां as कारण द्वयोजनसायिनिः मिश्रकायिग्रहतो
कलौसाद्वृम्ब । ।

789. परिवर्तितकारः हि स्वाध्यायेन हिंहिं भवते । कुर्यंयुक्त पारं कुर्यंयुक्ते ब्राह्मण
उवाच । शास्त्रिनिवध्यायः 239. 13; the latter half is मदु II. 87.

790. एकानांसमावेशारः सहस्राद नामवेद अविशिष्टाः पापवृत्तं नवपार्थवर्णो
बैठे: महाभाष्यम् I. p. 9.
made to the shortness of human life and the weakness of the human mind. Therefore Ā︁ūgī. 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 sākhā of another Veda or other Vedas. The rule laid down by many smṛtis is that one should study the sākhā of the Veda which his ancestors studied and should perform religious rites with mantras derived from that sākhā. Vide Medhātithi on Manu III. 2 and Viṣṇavāpi on Yāj. I. 51. That person who does not study a Vedic Sākhā studied by his ancestors and studies another sākhā altogether was called ‘sākharānda’. Whatever religious rites a man did with the procedure and mantras of another sākhā giving up his own sākhā becomes fruitless. But an exception was made to the effect that if some religious rite was omitted in one’s sākhā, but was dealt with in another sākhā and was not opposed to the teaching of one’s sākhā, it may be performed as in the case of Agniḥotra (which is not dealt with in all sākhās, but is to be performed by all).

Teachers mostly confined themselves to one place. But we find that even in ancient times there were teachers who wandered from one country to another. In the Kaus. Br. Up. IV. 1 we find that the famous Bālāki Gārgya moved about in the countries of Uśānara, Mātṣya, Kuru-Paṇcāla and Kaśīvīdeha. In the Br. Up. III. 3. 1 Bhujyu Lāhīyānī tells Yājñavalkya that he and others wandered about in the country of Madra for study. Students generally stuck to one teacher; but it appears that they sometimes flocked to renowned teachers as waters flow down a slope (Tai. Up. I. 4. 3). There were also students who wandered from teacher to teacher and were

791. विद्वानुपखवः पूर्वं संस्कृतः: शास्तरः पया। सा स्वसालेष्टि विज्ञेया तथा कर्मणि कार्येऽः \text{quoted in सुतिंचः 1. p. 49.} या एव विद्वानसिद्ध: शास्त्र अत्िता सा न न्यायिनि। \text{Mete on महृ II. 2; वेद् विज्ञानिः चुक्तवर्ध साधारणस्रयः महृयुः \text{Vibhupas}} on या. I. 57. हिंसा सरयं दिनोऽकृत्ति पस्यवधेति परसयं \text{प्रकाशः स विज्ञ्यः: सर्वकर्म-} \text{विषेषतः।} \text{विद्मः 24. 19; हर्दृत्त on मौलम 1X. 53 quotes a verse which extends the rule to giving up one’s स्वयं।}

792. \text{Vide मोनिदस्तुः 1. 34-35 quoted by Aparaśka p. 8 and स्सुतिंचः 1. p. 50 and शास्त्रसमूह (B. I. ed) 11, 91 and 93 आसाथेशु मनोहरोऽकृत्तिः स्सुतिंचः विेमने चुक्तवर्ध साधारणस्रयः \text{मध्ययुग: परसयः सर्वकर्म-} \text{विषेषतः। अमगणार्शोऽकृत्तिः कुस्थ सोगधे तत्त्व विषेषतं।}

793. \text{थथाः वैतस पुनः माता अह्जरतः। एवम् मध्यकारिणो धातराश्वस्तु वर्तः।} \text{ते. ३. १. ४. ३. अह्जर means संततिः।}
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 text 795 ‘He who having studied the Veda would not teach one who requests him to do so would be one who destroys his own good acts (i.e. would lose the benefit thereof), would shut the door leading to happiness; therefore he should teach; it leads to great glory’. When Satyakāma Jabāla 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 Prāśna 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 Drona-parva (50. 21) says that a pupil comes only after the son according to the idea of those

794. यथा हर्ष: काका न विरो यथार्थ अभवति एवं यो हुक्कुतानि गर्भा न विरो बिहारि स उपयो लीकाक हुलि। सहायत 1. p. 391 (on प. II. 1. 41).

795. अप्पार्षमेवपदेवेवेदसाधनेऽकार्यम न केवलं दुर्योगमय। ...... तथा ज प्रभ:। यो हि विद्वानधिवधिपिने न दृष्टास्थि कार्यह (कर्मः)! रूप भेयसी हार्षाभावपूयात। अप्पार्षमेवहेदसाधनेऽस्मां। भेयसी on मनु II. 113. The portion ‘यो हि...कर्मः रूपः’ is quoted as from विपिन by the सतितम 1. p. 53.

796. ‘तम्मवः कुमारवर्ग वादिकम् येव प्रधातिनमवदविविष्यं कष्टं न नामजगिकति समुलौ च न परिशुद्धिः योद्धुन्मिकितति तमालकालाहम्पुवं चकुमु। महो﹗. VI. 1.

797. अप्पार्षमेवः पूर्वे व्रजस्था जगदिकमाशक्षतिः न च वास्तवमूः परेत। अप्प. व. च. 1. 4. 14. 2–3; संबन्धिरेष्ठीं सिद्धिः हुक्कानिविविष्या। हले कुष्ठते तत्क प्रभवस्य वसतो छुरीं। कुमारुपः (उक्तिः 14. 39) quoted in परस. मह. I. part 1. p. 146 and as यमः in सतितम 1. p. 53.

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who know dharma. If a teacher does not teach a pupil anything even after his pupil has stayed with him for a year, the former receives all the sins of the pupil. A teacher* who did not teach or was sinful was to be abandoned. Similarly a teacher, who became puffed up, did not care for what should or should not be done and took to a sinful path was to be abandoned.**

Ap. 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 Vidyāśākta quoted in the Nirukta*** (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 brahmacya (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). Yaj. 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.

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798. बहिमानु युक्त्यो ज्ञानिनः नाथविद्यायस्यि। अपराज्ञानायश्च यात्तियायस्यां सुरिजस्।
उद्योगवर्च 33. 79; अद्भावनायपनाहसुइविद्यायां पत्नीसवाय। अ द्योऽे।
गीतम् 21. 12; vide also वासिद्ध 13. 50.

799. युक्तप्रविद्याय सार्वत्कार्याय मातात्। उद्योगवर्च 178. 48; शा. निवार्थ 57. 7; 110. 48 &c. In some places the last part is read as कार्य भश्तिः भाषा।. अवरक्षक p. 67 quotes it as यमस्. Vide कृति -
पुराण (उत्तरांच 14. 25) for the same.

800. अनुवादायुजेः रृपस्य न मा ब्रह्म श्रीरक्तिः तथा स्माय। यस्मात्विष्णूः भ्रमिष्ण निविदावर्तेत्।
सा भ्रमिष्ण महुःवै भ्रमिष्ण योग्यायाः। पत्रे न भ्रमिष्णहर्तानाः तस्मां मा ब्रह्म नियित्तिपनह महुः।
विवेचन II. 4 (= वासिद्ध II. 8-9 = विवेचनसूत्र 29. 9-10). यद्र (II. 114-115) is very similar.
on and under the control of the teacher (as Āp. Dh. S.) 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. 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. Gauta (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, wearing shoes and holding an umbrella, love affairs, anger, covetousness, infatuation, vain discussions, playing on musical instruments, luxurious baths with hot water, meticulous cleaning 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. 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 ब्राह्मणार्थः विवाहतः परोपवासोऽविदत्तः। आचार्यं पतिः श्यास्य श्यास्य वेख्यः। विद्यार्थी हरोपमतितोमययतः। आप. ध. I. 1. 2. 17, 19-20; ‘अस्वसन्नः स्वतः श्रीवा आचार्यं टु स्नातक्ष्रितः’ नत्रूः (अणार्णु वेश 33).

802. श्य, उप. VIII. 15. 1 ‘अचार्यमुलाद्वस्मिन्नंश्च पदाविधां मूर्तं कर्मान्ति केशेषान्तिसमाद्विशहारणं।’

803. उपनाशी छत्रं पांलािवत् जनत्वत्। आप. I. 2. 7. 5, but when on a journey the student may sit in a cart, if ordered by the teacher ‘पानसवास्बधान्यमादिशितेण।’ आप. ध. I. 2. 8. 12.
should bathe in it motionless like a stick. Áp. 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 to laugh, but if he could not help laughing he should do so covering his face with his hands (says Áp.).

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 (ucchista); 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 Áp. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 26 and I. 2. 6. 1-12 contain similar rules. Manu (II. 199) says that a pupil should


805. The word ‘ucchista’ is used, as exhaustively pointed out by Medhatithi on Manu VI. 80, in several senses. It literally means ‘what is left out.’ The most usual senses are three, viz. (1) food left in the plate from which one has eaten, (2) food taken out in a vessel for serving to a person but not exhausted by being served in his plate, and (as applied to a person), (3) one who has not washed his hands, and mouth after eating food (or as applied to a plate) the plate (not yet cleaned) from which one has taken his meal. Vide Manu 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 Kṣamana is said to be uchiśta. Vide Manu IV. 142 (for this and the 3rd meaning) and V. 149 (for 3). Sometimes the word is used in its literal sense (vide Áp. 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 brahmaacarin 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 brahmaacarin 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 Ap. Dh. S. I. 1. 2. 31–32, Vas. VII. 11 allow only two alternatives viz. growing all the hair or keeping a tuft of hair, while Viṣṇu Dh. S. 28. 41 says that a student may either shave the entire head or grow matted hair. One was not to untie one's 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, bhaṭṭa, acārya). Gaut. ordains that the student should not speak of his teacher, the teacher's son or wife or of a man who has been initiated for a śrauta sacrifice by their bare names 809 and then says that when it is absolutely necessary

806. चन्द्रशय नित्यापरीत्वादि स्वतं न तत सिद्धत। विष्णुपरमाय 28. 26. नित्या is declaring faults that really do not exist and परीताद इ सिद्धत is pointing out faults that do exist.

807. कुष्ठकर्षितकारणात्म | गौतम I. 26; अदिति: शिक्षाजयो वा वापवेदितिरा | आप. Ch. 28 | इ. 1. 2. 31–32.

808. न पचि शिक्षा विचुदित | हारित quoted by अपराध 225.

809. आचार्यस्यहुत्रेषुविशिष्टतामणि।....... नाममपेशु तरी: समानती गृहितेऽसु।

Gaut. II. 24 and 28. If the dikṣita is present he may be addressed as 'भा दीक्षित (or भा यवतहत) एवं कुष्ठ' and when absent as 'तद्विमील। दीक्षितेऽस खमव' &c. Of Gaut. II. 28 Haradatta gives two explanations (समानतो; either means नामेव तरं or तस्मि आतत) and he takes 28 to refer to the pupil's name. Vide मेधा, on मग. II. 128 for explanations. श्य. व. 492 explains समानतामेव हृदारात्मण। Vide मग II. 199 and विष्णुपरमाय 28. 24.
to refer to these by name the student should not pronounce the name and gotra of his teacher as they are, but by means of a synonym (e.g. if the teacher’s name is Haradatta or Devesvara the pupil should respectively say Devarāta or Suresvara). Ap. Dh. S. I. 2. 8. 15 says that even after returning home a snātaka should avoid touching his former teacher with his fingers (to call his attention), frequent muttering of something in his ears, laughing into his face, calling him out loudly, taking his name, ordering him about. Manu II. 128 and Gaut. VI. 19 say that a man who has been initiated for a śrauta sacrifice should not be addressed by his name, even though he be younger than the person addressing, but that one should use the words ‘bhoh’ 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.

Upasāṅgrahāṇa 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

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810 3.25; vide also Viśṇu Dh. S. 32. 1; Aṣṭāṃga Upaniṣad p. 27 (but in Abhidhāna one has to take one’s name) and on p. 119 (1st ed.) it quotes from nāstak ‘yogyajñakalpaśrut śātuṣṭṣṭam sākṣm. ‘ खाद्यदानी न एकीकामालायणस्य च ।’
may or may not touch the feet of the person to be honoured. Abhivādana must always be preceded by pratyutthāna.

Very detailed rules were laid down about pratyutthāna (rising from one's seat to receive a person), abhivādana (saluting a man), upasamgrahāna (saluting by clasping the feet of the teacher or another with one's hands), pratyabhivāda (returning a salutation), and namaskāra (bowing with the word 'namah'). 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 upasamgrahāna 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 Paithānasi 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. acārya, upādhyāya) and of persons venerated by one's gurus. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 4. 14. 7-9) says that even after finishing

812. उपसंधान नाम अनुसंधान इवसः स्तव! क्षण । वृक्षेऽन्तरार्थम् प्रक्षण श्रवन च यथा श्रुतिकृति महासूरक्षो लक्षित्स। पालास्वस्तः कार्य व या। सुरेश्वर प. ७; भृ. व. सृ. (५. २६ असावह भो इति ओऽ संशयः मनः समाप्तंतः) स्वाभाविक प्रर्द्धृवं व या। विश्वस्त्र प्रयत्न च ये। च अनुसंधान स्थूलं च या। दृश्यम् पूर्व च इति विश्वस्त्र प्रयत्न च ये। च अनुसंधान स्थूलं च या। दृश्यम् पूर्व च इति। अनुसंधान रूपम् तथा। स्वाभाविक प्रवर्त्तान्तः पूर्वाभिवादनः अराप. व. सृ. ४. १४. १६।
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 Baudh. Dh. S. I. 2. 26). Manu 816 (II. 120 and 121) says ‘the pṛānas (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 Baudh. 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. सदृष्ट श्रवणसहायचित्रितमव्याख्यातिभिन्नः प्रेमाद्वारा भी इति। समानासमेत वस्तसमवेशसानीतवशस्तासात। आप.प्र. यू. I. 2. 5. 12-13; compare मनु II. 122, 124.

814. दृष्टि प्राण श्रवणसहायमेव च दिप्तिः स्मितिः अययति । प्रेमसहायचित्रितमव्याख्यातिभिन्नः प्रेमाद्वारा इति । मनु II. 120. This verse occurs in उद्घोषिः 38. 1 and आदेशात्मः 104. 64-65 and also in the महानावयाय vol. III. p. 58, where we have समानासमेत वस्तसमवेशसानीतवशस्तासात। आप.प्र. यू. I. 2. 5. 12-13; compare मनु II. 122, 124.

815. अतिवाक्बधिभिन्नप्रेमाद्वारा इति । तृणमृ भोपालभ्रोडः ययात। अथ यू. यू. I. 4. 14. 10-11; चै। प्र. यू. I. 2. 44 अतिवाक्बधिभिन्नप्रेमाद्वारा महानावयेत। (but some mss. read अतिवाक्बधीभिन्नप्रेमाद्वारा)। मनु II. 130 says अतिवाक्बधिभिन्नप्रेमाद्वारा, while भौम बल. VI. 9 is अतिवाक्बधि... अतिवाक्बधि...
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 Áp. 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-sarma-ham bhoh' (vide Áp. I. 2. 5. 12, Gaut. VI, 5, Baudh. 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 'bhoh' and simply say 'abhivādaya aham' (omitting one's name).

The manner of abhivādana was as follows: 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 vaśya holding it on a level with the waist and a śudra holding it low (up to his feet) and that the salutation shall be by joining one's hands' (Áp. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 16-17). The Madanapārījāta 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 śruti-pārśāvat p. 7 says that in upapradhāna (and in abhivādan also) the person saluting says adusāyāde haramutramāhan bhū abhivādathe, mṛtya on mañj. II. 122 says the words are abhivādaye haramutramāhan bhū; hārāra on mañj. VI. 5 states that abhivādan should be 'abhivādaye haramutramāhan nāmaṃmahātmān bhū'; while kṣubh on mañj. II. 124 says it should be abhivādaye hramutramāhan bhū: (i.e. he omits the word nāma, which mañj. II. 122 appears to require and which mañj. VI. 5 does not require)


818. bhūbhīyāh rājāसम मन्त्र दाँडाण्योः निवासिनीर्विद्याधीनार्धसम मन्त्राः सबसबसं जैन्यो नीर्विद्यो नीर्विद्यो: भुवः। मात्रावि। āa. ā. ś. I. 2. 5. 16-17; vide ś. m. p. 454.

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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 acârya and leaves him, which are here passed over for want of space. Vide Âp. Dh. S. I. 2. 6. 29-32, Manu II. 205.

A brâhmana who does not know the form of returning a salutation must not be saluted by a learned man; he is like a śûdra (Manu II. 126). Similarly a brâhmana was not to perform abhivâdana to a ksatriya or a vaiśya however learned the latter may be, but one should simply say 'svasti'; those who are of the same caste should do abhivâdana. The Mit. on Yâj. III. 292 and Aparârka p. 1188 quote sūtras of Hârîta prescribing as prâyaṣcitta a fast of one, two or three days respectively for a brâhmana saluting a ksatriya, vaiśya or śûdra and also for saluting when the persons saluted or the man saluting are in such a condition as to make them unfit for abhivâdana. One should not salute with the shoes on or when one's head is wrapped up or one's hands are full (Âp. 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 āśauca or other causes) no salutation is to be made or returned (Âp. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 17). Gaut. IX. 45 says that one should not occupy a seat or perform abhivâdana and namaskâra 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 (Âp. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 14). Âp. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 23, Manu II. 135 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 32. 17 say that a brâhmana ten years old is like a father to a ksatriya even 100 years old and so deserves salutation from the ksatriya.

819. भाषितव्यासात् विशेष कृत्यियः: कथितं। ज्ञातकर्मणां वेदं सुदृढः पदार्पणं। उल्लम्बनं सर्वान्त्यदेशं गदायती नाभासितव्यासात्। सातात् उल्लम्बनं कर्मणि सर्वान्त्यदेशं वासिलिकस्य पदार्पणं। उल्लम्बनं सर्वान्त्यदेशं गदायती नाभासितव्यासात्। उल्लम्बनं कर्मणि सर्वान्त्यदेशं वासिलिकस्य पदार्पणं। उल्लम्बनं कर्मणि सर्वान्त्यदेशं वासिलिकस्य पदार्पणं। उल्लम्बनं कर्मणि सर्वान्त्यदेशं वासिलिकस्य पदार्पणं।
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\textit{Ap. Dh. S. (I. 4. 14. 12)} gives a special rule that a friendship kept for ten years as fellow citizens, a friendship contracted at school for five years, the fact of a śrotṛiya being three years older entitles the friend or śrotṛiya to a salutation. But \textit{Gaut. (VI. 14-17)} and \textit{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 śrotṛiya studying the same Vedic school as oneself who is three years older are to be addressed similarly. \textit{Manu} adds blood relations to the list when the difference in age is very small. The \textit{Smṛtyarthasāra} p. 7 gives a long list of persons whom one should never salute viz. a heretic, a person guilty of grave sins, an atheist, gamblers, thieves, ungrateful persons, drunkards. \textit{Vide also Manu IV. 30} and \textit{Yaj. 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. \textit{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 ksatriya though the latter be younger). \textit{Haradatta} explains that the word śūdra in \textit{Gaut. VI. 10} is only illustrative and that an old vaiśya must be honoured by a young ksatriya or brāhmaṇa by simply rising from his seat and an old ksatriya by a young brāhmaṇa in the same way. \textit{Ap. 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 \textit{Ap. I. 4. 14. 12}, and \textit{Manu II. 134}); similarly a brāhmaṇa need not rise to receive a ksatriya or vaiśya (except on the same ground of age).

The rules about returning a salutation (about \textit{pratyabhivāda}) are made somewhat intricate and obscure by the varying interpretations of commentators. \textit{Pratyabhivāda} consists in pronouncing a benediction in the proper form given by a gurt.
340

History of Dharmaiastra

who has been

or other person

saluted.

Ch. VII

[

the oldest 8 *

Among

is

*

when returning the salute of
the rule in &p. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 18
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',
Vasistha's rule (XIII. 46)
*

when

is

standing

)

the salute is returned, the last vowel ( of the noun
in the vocative is protracted to the length of three

moras and

is a diphthong ( i. e. e or o but not of the dual
becomes ay or av e. g. bho becomes bhav f
Manu II. 125 prescribes " a brahmana should be thus saluted in
and the vowel
return, mayst thou be long-lived, O gentle one
*
a or any other vowel at the end of the name ( of the person
if it

'

number

'

'

'

'

it

)

.

*

'

!

'

addressed

and
is

)

the

if

should be made pluta (i.e. lengthened to three moras)
name ends in a consonant, the preceding vowel

made pluta"
That these rules are very ancient follows from Panini's

sutra

a sudra

name

'

when the salutation of a person who is not
returned by the person saluted, the final vowel in the
that occurs at the end of the sentence of pratyabhivada )

VIII.

(

83

2.

)

is

(

becomes

1

9

The MahabhSsya comments on

pluta.

and two

this

vartikas thereon say that this rule does not apply
a woman to whom the salutation is returned and

when

is

it

it

applies
returned is a

when the person whose salutation is
All these rules are exemplified in the
ksatriya or vaisya.
821
foot-note below.
Ap. 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 akara* is only
optionally

'

;

820.
453;

sTc^riwi^t ^snnrerf^far *J*MI^HT

$re4 ^ TT^TstHWr^ff^rq^f^
sftrer

i

XII I. 46
nc:

;

H u?cf ^T^TT^^H ^

^ S^?t WfP*

I

3?fT.

ST.

STT^WTF^ &*q{iT *rft fWVsPfcn^r
*g II. 125. Some MSS. read

*T.

i

I.

^.

p.

*r.

2. 5.

18

;

i

WT-

one word.
821.

<nf5(ft VIII.

83

is a sn^TT who
pratyabhivada is
an*r*Tl^fa ^^rr * (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 srr*mr*T^ will be 37T5<Tp*nr OTJTSTOTS^. If a woman

S^TvrerfS^t

performs

salutes

there

(

atftftT^T

as in

(

as

arwrr^

in

anvr^T^

2.

;

^Ter'ifTW

li*$j Ht: ) the return is

if

it

tft: )

3*13**^! vrw

npf

( i.

o.

no

If a k?atriya f^^^q; salutes the return is either
33 ).
3
or arr^iWTr^rT^^c.
If a ^r ^^rr^T salutes, the
^
w?^ul3fi^*JT?
is

m^^i^ is aniwrnfrtfternfam 3 or-iDrepnfito.
alutes, the *Frivhn<f is

sn^m^ft 5T3T9T

( i. e,

If

it is

a

^ ^^^ w

there is no pluta

).

ho


illustrative and stands for all vowels. The ancient commentator Medhatithi interprets Manu so as to agree with Panini and says 'in the realm of the use of words and their senses Panini has higher authority than Manu, that the pratyabhivāda words containing the benediction about long life are not stereotyped, that when a kṣatriya returns the salutation of a kṣatriya or a vaisya of a vaisya, the same rules hold good'. As a person of a higher varna was not to do abhivyādana 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). This view is opposed to Panini, the Mahābhāṣya, the Kāśika, Āpastamba and several writers of digests. Aparārka and the Sm. C. condemn the interpretation put upon Manu's verse by commentators like Haradatta.

What great importance was attached to the correct utterance of the return salutation can be seen from the fact that one of the miscellaneous reasons assigned for the necessity of grammatical studies in the Mahābhāṣya is that (as stated in a verse) a person who returns from a journey will perform salutation to ignorant persons (who do not know how to utter pratyabhivāda) as if to women with the words 'abhivyādaye

823. The versification according to śrutam will be 'आयुष्मान भव सीम्य देवव्रता 3 अर्थ जो नामेक्षे या विषयम भव सीम्य चक्रवाया 3 या विषयम 3 का. यहैतुकासे तल नामस्य अतिः 3 दूर (the name is अतिः and so वि is made पूर्व and अर्थ is added to the consonant त). Vide संस्कृतम्. pp. 451-454.

824. आयुष्मान भव सीम्य देवव्रता 3 अर्थ जो नामेक्षे या विषयम भव सीम्य चक्रवाया 3 या विषयम 3 का. Vide संस्कृतम्. pp. 451-454.
ayamaham \textsuperscript{825} (\textit{i.e.} grammar is to be learnt by men for fear that they may be treated as women when a person salutes them).

\textit{Ap. 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. \textit{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 or shampoo them. \textit{Manu II. 211}, \textit{Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 37}, \textit{Viṣṇu Dh. S. 32. 6} have the same rule. But \textit{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 \textit{Manu II. 217} and \textit{Viṣṇu Dh. S. 32. 15}). \textit{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' (\textit{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 (\textit{Manu II. 212} and \textit{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 amukaśaṁraṁ-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 husbands\textsuperscript{827} (\textit{Ap. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 18} and \textit{Vas. Dh. S. 13. 42}). \textit{Viṣṇu Dh. S. 32. 2} gives the same rule, but restricts it to wives of the same caste. \textit{Ap. 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 \textit{Ap. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 9} extends the rule to elder sisters. \textit{Gaut.} (VI. 7-8) states that the feet of the wives of (elder) brothers or of one's mother-in-law.
need not be clasped on any occasion; and the feet of a paternal uncle’s wife or of elder sisters need not be clasped except when one returns from a journey. But Manu (II. 131-132) gives different rules. A maternal or paternal aunt, a maternal uncle’s wife, a mother-in-law are equal to one’s teacher’s wife and must be honoured like her; one’s elder brother’s wife’s feet must be clasped every day if she is of the same caste, but the feet of the wives of one’s other paternal and maternal relatives need only be clasped on one’s return from a journey. Visnu 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’ (abhivadaye 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’.

Äp. Dh. S. I. 2. 7. 30, Vas. Dh. S. XIII. 54, Visnu 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. Äp. Dh. S. I. 2. 7. 30 only mentions as prohibited the eating of the leavings of food, but Visnu 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 Äp. Dh. S. I. 2. 7. 28 and I. 4. 13. 12830 it appears that the system of pupil teachers (who were called ‘samādiṣṭa’)
obtained in ancient times and Āp. prescribes that the student shall behave towards a pupil teacher who teaches him at the teacher's command as towards the teacher and shall honour him also by clasping his feet, as long as he is giving instruction.

Further rules are laid down about showing courtesy to a person who is not a relative or who is not a teacher &c. Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 26–29 and Manu II. 127 lay down that one should, on meeting a brāhmaṇa, ask after his health with the word 'kuśala,' a kṣatriya about his health using the word 'anāmaya,' a vaiśya by using the word kṣema (or anāsta 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' (bhavatī) or 'beloved sister' and (Āp. Dh. S. I. 4.14.30) that one should not pass a learned brāhmaṇa without addressing him nor a woman whom he meets in a forest or other lonely place and Vīṣṇu 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 Udvāhātattva 832 (p. 144) that the word 'śrī' is to be prefixed when referring by name to a deity or a teacher, to the place of one's teacher, to a holy place or to the presiding deity of a holy place, to one who has secured Yogic siddhis or to those who have secured by sacrifices the worlds of bliss; and Raghunandana adds that according to the usage of respectable people 'śrī' is prefixed to names of such persons while they are alive. The same work also tells us that women of the dvijātis were to have the honorific suffix 'devī' added to

831. According to the questions would be in the case of members of the four varṇas respectively, अर्थ कुञ्ज भवन्त, अप्यनामयं भवत्, अपेरणस्यादन्ति, अप्यरोगी भवन्त।'कुलधनयात्रारीतायामामयह्यक्ष: । अन्तौयण्य श्रुत्यः।' गा. V. 37–38; हर्षाच on these says 'अर्थ कुलनामायात्रारीतायामामयह्यक्ष: भवत्; अपेरणस्यादन्ति श्रित्यः; अपेरोगी भवन्ति प्रेतः; अपेरोगी भवन्ति श्रुत्यः;'

832. द्वेषं यदद्वस्थायार्थं श्रेयथि अन्तौर, भवन्ति। वर्गनामायाहारायामामयह्यक्ष: । आर्थ कुलनामायात्रारीतायामामयह्यक्ष:। अपेरणस्यादन्ति, अपेरोगी भवन्ति। अपेरणस्यादन्ति श्रुत्यः।
Grounds for showing respect

their names and of the śudra caste the word 'dāst'. This is still the practice particularly in Bengal and Northern India.

The works on Dharmaśāstra give very interesting rules about the grounds on which respect was to be shown to a person. Honour consists in saluting a person, or rising to meet him or allowing him to walk in front of one or giving him a garland, sandal-wood paste on festive occasions and the like. Manu (II.136) and 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 śudra 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 Āṅgiras gotra who taught his pītrī and addressed them as 'little sons' and whose action was supported by the gods with the remark that a man destitute of knowledge was a child and he who taught him the Veda was his father. This story is referred to expressly by Baud. Dh. S. I. 4. 47 and tacitly by Gaut. VI. 20. It is borrowed from the Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa.

833. पूजा वर्णधार्मवस्त्व कार्यः। इत्तरुण च। अप. भ. I. 4. 13. 2-3; हर्षत् सायः 'अनुमयुद्वस्यविवका उत्सवचित्रु च गन्धरयविवका । सिद्धस्वर्णमार्जिनिवधावत्स्ति मार्जिनिव पुरस्तावस्ति । श्रुतं हृ सर्वभ्यो मार्जिनिव। तत्वलोकलक्ष्यत्वं श्लेष्यतं। सौ। VI. 19-20.

834. सिद्धां आन्तिनलेन सन्त्रक्षस्ति सन्त्रक्षस्वस्यस्वस्य सिद्धु पुष्करा ह्रायंमश्यत। ते पितामहापरसं करोदि यो म: निदुस्तयं पुष्करा ह्रायंमश्यत। इति सोबरीक्रस्वद्रव्यवस्तृति। इति सोबरीक्रस्वद्रव्यवस्तृति। ते केवलविपण्यते ते वेषां अङ्कुश्केत वातिरिति। तस्रे स उज्जवलस्यायति श्रैवस्यं तुव्रव्यति। तत्त्वसमावत्त्य तात्त्वसमावत्त्य सिद्धु। तात्त्वसमावत्त्य 13. 3. 24. सिद्धु ते नामेन सिद्धु।

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(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.

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, saṃnyāsins and the like. The Śrīmārthaśāra p. 8 prescribes a fast for one day as a penance for not bowing to images of gods, saṃnyāsins &c. Viṣṇu836 (quoted in the Śm. 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.

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. पूज्य सिद्धविद्वानसत्वाशिष्यन कर्म्यतिसत्वाशिष्य पुस्तका। अर्थातः III. 20.
836. शिष्यः समस्तैं मैत्र सर्वांसु यस्ते राजसरिपूला जनस्तानं पुरुषीम् ब्रह्माण्य नामित् वाहिते तीत। सूतिकर। I. p. 38.
837. विद्याकर्षणेष्विन्धुई वचनम्। अनालेष्विन्धुई वति संदुपापितना। सूतः चैवैविष्ठन्तं कमङ्क्ति नामित्वाहिते। से. म. p. 468.
838. देवादेव अपाततः स्थित द चातुर्यथम्। विद्यार्थिकेन सुन्द्रे वेदे सूचः कुय्यात्वापितिसम्। मार्कण्डेर्यपाय 34. 41-42। श्रवणेष्विन्धुई वेदे गोविर चातुर्यथम्। ब्रह्माण्य धारिकं चैवैव नियम्य कुय्यात्वापितिसम्। मार्कण्डेर्यपाय 193. 8। विद वेद आलम 163. 37 for a similar verse and ब्रह्मण 113. 40, धार्मिक पुस्तक 14. 52, सौम तत्तव 14. 56, सौम IV. 39, या. I. 133.
839. संततं विद्यार्थिर्महायं गुढः एव विद्यापितां विने विने वर्तमान। आय. 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 brāhmaṇas above pp. 146–147.

One striking point about the imparting of knowledge (particularly Vedic) in the ancient educational system of India was the great prejudice against learning from books. The greatest importance was attached to handing down the Veda intact and various devices were discovered and employed for securing this end, such as the various modes of repeating the Veda only in padas, in the krama, jata and other formations. Great care was taken to preserve the proper accentuation of the Vedic texts. There is a well known story how Tvasṭer repeating the words ‘Indraśatrūr-vardhasva’ 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 Brāhmaṇ 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. नमः हृद्यः स्वरो वर्णीति वा तस्यास्तुकौ न सम्भवात्। स भवण्यां वज्ञानां हिन्नसमतं यथेते दुर्योगं। स्वतंत्रपरावर्तम्। verse 52 of the पाणिनियासिक्षा; श्रीकी श्रीमी शिर; कृप्या तथा लिखित्तपाटकः। अर्थशिष्योऽस्यकठाययं पद्यतापमाः। पाणिनियासिक्षा verse 32. The legend is narrated in the नै. सं. II. 12. 1 and the समव I.I.6.3.8. तत्त्वः wanted to pronounce the word हनुमः (meaning ‘destroyer of Indra’) as a Tatpurūṣa compound (in which the last syllable of the compound has the udātta accent), while he actually pronounced the word as a Bahuvrihi (meaning ‘whose killer would be Indra’), in which case the first word of the compound has the udātta accent (as in हनुमः). Vide पाणिनि VI. 1. 223 and VI. 2. 1.
was given up. Then Bühler wrote his famous work 'on the
to the conclusion that the Brāhmī alphabet was derived from a Semitic script sometimes about
It never occurred to that learned scholar to advance and carefully examine the other possible hypotheses which any
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 Rigveda (about 10580 verses) by heart, but also commit to memory the pada text of the Rigveda, the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and Aranyaka and the six Vedāṅgas (which include the 4000 aphorisms of Pāṇini and the extensive Nirukta of Yāska) without caring to understand a word of this enormous material.

Par. M. (I. 1. p. 154) quotes a verse of Nārada to the effect 'what is learnt from reliance on books and is not learnt from

841. The pada text of the Rigveda is the work of Śākalya and the padapūtha 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. तुरस्कवचयाधारां नापाणितं छवसन्निधिः। प्रजायेन स समवमये जारूर्म इव किययः। " बालो त्रि. भ. I. part 1 p. 154; स्वातिकः I. p. 51 also quotes this verse.
a teacher does not shine in an assembly'. Vṛddha-Gautama\textsuperscript{843} 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 Caturvīṁśatimātā which prescribe various prāyaścittas for selling the Vedas, the aṅgas (of the Veda), the śāntis, itiḥāsa and purāṇa, the secret pañcarātra (system), gāthās, nitiśāstras &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.\textsuperscript{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 matha 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.\textsuperscript{845} In the Kādambari (para 88) the queen Vilāsavatī is described as surrounded by ascetic women who held books in their hands and read itiḥāsa.\textsuperscript{846} Vide under dāna and matha-pratiṣṭhā.

The teacher was expected to make the student understand by explanations in Sanskrit or in the prākritis or even by employing the current languages of the various countries.\textsuperscript{847}

The Duration of studenthood (brahmacarya):—It appears from certain passages of the Upaniṣads that the usual duration of brahmacarya was 12 years.\textsuperscript{848} Śvetaketu Āruṇeya is said to have become a brahmacārī when he was twelve and to have mastered all the Vedas at the age of 24 (vide Chān. Up. VI, 1. 2

\textsuperscript{843} Vedāntiṣayānāṃ bṛddhāṃ bṛddhāṃ āsām. bṛddhāṃ lekhāṅkṣēyāṃ te bṛddhāṃ līgāMahānīma: bṛddhāṃ p. 582; the same verse occurs in ānuśāsanaṇaparvam 23. 72 (bṛddhāṃ lekhāṅkṣēyāṃ).

\textsuperscript{844} dārmaṃ p. 582; the same verse occurs in ānuśāsanaṇaparvam 23. 72 (bṛddhāṃ lekhāṅkṣēyāṃ).

\textsuperscript{845} Vedāntiṣayānāṃ bṛddhāṃ bṛddhāṃ āsām. bṛddhāṃ lekhāṅkṣēyāṃ te bṛddhāṃ līgāMahānīma: bṛddhāṃ p. 582; the same verse occurs in ānuśāsanaṇaparvam 23. 72 (bṛddhāṃ lekhāṅkṣēyāṃ).

\textsuperscript{846} Vedāntiṣayānāṃ bṛddhāṃ bṛddhāṃ āsām. bṛddhāṃ lekhāṅkṣēyāṃ te bṛddhāṃ līgāMahānīma: bṛddhāṃ p. 582; the same verse occurs in ānuśāsanaṇaparvam 23. 72 (bṛddhāṃ lekhāṅkṣēyāṃ).

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\textsuperscript{848} Vedāntiṣayānāṃ bṛddhāṃ bṛddhāṃ āsām. bṛddhāṃ lekhāṅkṣēyāṃ te bṛddhāṃ līgāMahānīma: bṛddhāṃ p. 582; the same verse occurs in ānuśāsanaṇaparvam 23. 72 (bṛddhāṃ lekhāṅkṣēyāṃ).
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quoted in f. n. 634). Similarly Chāṇ. IV. 10.1 appears to suggest that students left their teacher after twelve years of study. But a long period of brahmacharya 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 brahmacharya) 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 brahmacharya 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 kānda (section of the Vedic samhitās 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 brahmacharya 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 śrutī are to

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849. तस्रा एवंमोन्याचारांचारसर्वाचारसर्वाचाराश्रापर्यं भेदवन्याचर्यां धार्मिकाम् नवयां धार्मिकां धार्मिकां धार्मिकां 

850. अतिचाराचारसर्वाश्रापर्यं वेदस्य धार्मिकाम् वेदस्य धार्मिकाम् वेदस्य धार्मिकाम् वेदस्य धार्मिकाम् ।

परंसर II. 5; अतिचाराचारसर्वाश्रापर्यं वेदस्य संसर्गां वेदव्यवहारां नावृत्तिको आवृत्तिको ग्राह्यां नागृहां ग्राह्यां नागृहां ग्राह्यां।

Vide also śrāvyāstikābhāṣya I. 9; vid. also śrāvyāstikābhāṣya I. 8. 14; खेत्रम II. 51-53; धार्मिकां धार्मिकां II. 10; साधिकां स्वामिकां I. 2. 6, अधिकां धार्मिकां I. 1. 1. 2. 12-15 अधिचारसर्वाश्रापर्यं। ग्राह्यां अधिकां विविधां।
be disregarded\textsuperscript{851} 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.\textsuperscript{852} The very orthodox Kumārilabhaṭṭa could not tolerate this light-hearted statement of Śabara and rebukes the latter by saying that there is really no contradiction between the śruti text and the smṛti passage, since the smṛtis themselves prescribe other lesser and alternative periods, since it is possible to hold that smṛtis speak of brahmacarya for 48 years only with reference to him who wants to become a samnyāsin immediately after brahmacarya or who desires to become a perpetual student.\textsuperscript{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 Yaj. I. 36 and 52 for the various alternatives. Spending 12 years for Vedic

\textsuperscript{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 śruta fires. So if the man was to marry after fifty-six his hair would be turning grey and by following the smṛti rule he would run counter to the Vedic injunction. Thus smṛtis would be opposed to śruti and Jaimini's conclusion in I. 3. 3 is that when that is the case smṛti is to be disregarded.

\textsuperscript{852} 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 Yaj. I. 36 and 52 for the various alternatives. Spending 12 years for Vedic

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study must have been found even in ancient times impossible for many among the brāhmaṇas and therefore the Bhāradvāja gṛhya (quoted above in note 850) allowed the alternative that one should study the Veda till the Godāna ceremony (which as we shall see later on) took place in the 16th year. Āśv. gr. 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. 16 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. Jaimini lays down that it is only he who knows the Vedic portion necessary for a Vedic sacrifice, that is entitled to perform that sacrifice.

Subjects of Study:—The study of the Veda means the study of the Mantras and the Brāhmaṇa portion of the particular sākha or śākha. 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 dharmāstrāṇa 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. विवेक नानित्येयसिद्धिः पक्षे नानित्येयसिद्धिन नानित्याःमिश्र्यात्ममरम्यस्यते। दु:देश वेदास्य वीणिः व्व्रणिः मुद्यविंग्यहं भावेयः यथार्थस्य सिद्धम्।... ब्राह्मणविकसाय वा( मदु 3. 1) उत्तर एकमात्र विवेकम उच्चमिश्रितायमी न्यायगृह्यम्। हरस्वतृत्र त्व आप. पृ. 1. 1. 2. 16।

854. ज्ञातं व वाषेनं न ब्राह्मविद्याम विभिन्नलिङ्गम। जै. III. 8. 18 on which सत्तोष says ‘असरयस्य करोडः ब्राह्मविद्यायं प्रकय तस्मात् सदापराधन्दं दृष्टि।... किंतु द्वितीयविकारं द्वितीयविकारं । वाष्ट्र विभिन्नज्ञानं भवति यथार्थं कुमारभित्तिः सारं विभिन्नतीलुक्तायं ताप। वेद सत्ता सत्तानातिुकि लिङ्गम।’।

855. Vide आप. पृ. 24. 1. 31 and श्रो. पृ. 11. 6. 3 ‘सत्याविद्यायंम् पवनात्मेयम्।’; सत्यत्र पृ. 1. 1. 33 ‘सत्याविद्य वेदं वेदं।’.
and reliance is placed on certain Upaniṣad passages and on Manu I. 21, Śānti-parva 233. 24 and other smṛtis. The Br. Up. IV. 5. 11 says that the Vedas are the breath of the great Being (i. e. the Supreme Spirit, God); in Br. Up. I. 2. 5 the Creator (Prajāpati) is said to have evolved all this viz. Rgveda, Yajurveda, Sāmaveda, yajñas and so forth. The Śvetāsvātara 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 sākhaṣ (branches or recensions) of the Veda, named Kāṭhaka, Kāḷāpaka &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 Rgveda itself (X. 71. 11) reference is made to the verses learnt by the four principal priests (ḥotā, adhvaryu, udgātā and brahmā), it is also said that persons who studied together showed great disparity in their mental advancement (Rg. X. 71. 7) and that co-students feel elation when their friend wins in a debate in an assembly. The Śat. Br. (XI. 5. 7. 4-8, S. B. E. vol. 44, pp. 97-98) enumerates under ‘svādhyāya’ rks, yajus formulae, sāmans, Atharvāṅgrīsāh (Atharvaveda), itihāsa-purāṇa, gāthās in praise of heroes (called Nārāyamsis)’. The Gopatha Brahmaṇa II. 10 also says ‘in this way all these Vedas were created together with kalpa, rahasya (secret doctrines),

856. ये महामाज्ञ निद्धयाति पूर्वी यो ये वेदांश्च प्रक्षमिति तसमे | तं ह देवमात्रस्विदि-प्रकाशां द्यूमिताः यात्रामर्यादीयम् सप्तमे | स्वेतास्वव | उप. VI. 18 quoted by ब्राह्मणम् on वेदांश्च उप. I. 3. 30.

857. अनाविसिद्धना निसर्गा वायुस्वरूपस्वरूपार्था। आदि चेतुस्यी क्षिप्य समा तत्रवर्गम: || स्वामिनिष्ठस्मार्थम् || शास्त्रार्थम् 233. 24; सुपरिन्यायसाथि वेदांसंहितासाधाराम् सहस्रायम्। केतसिरे तपस्या पूर्वे महृद्याति स्वरूपस्वरूपार्था || शास्त्रार्थम् 210. 19. Both these verses are quoted by ब्राह्मणम् on वेदांश्च प्राकृतेऽर्थम् I. 3. 28 and 29 respectively.

858. सद चोरस न हि चृद्धस्ति किमते नियमिति चृद्धस्तिति। चृद्धेष्वर निषये या तथा वर्णाऋवरी साधित्याय। त्रेशब्राह्मणवियत कालस्य कालाप्यं मूर्खे पैद्यतावक्ताम्बिति। महाभाष्यम् on पाथिनिष्ठ च. VII | Greatness of the Veda 353

856. ये महामाज्ञ निद्धयाति पूर्वी यो ये वेदांश्च प्रक्षमिति तसमे | तं ह देवमात्रस्विदि-प्रकाशां द्यूमिताः यात्रामर्यादीयम् सप्तमे | स्वेतास्वव | उप. VI. 18 quoted by ब्राह्मणम् on वेदांश्च उप. I. 3. 30.

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858. सद चोरस न हि चृद्धस्ति किमते नियमिति चृद्धस्तिति। चृद्धेष्वर निषये या तथा वर्णाऋवरी साधित्याय। त्रेशब्राह्मणवियत कालस्य कालाप्यं मूर्खे पैद्यतावक्ताम्बिति। महाभाष्यम् on पाथिनिष्ठ च. VII | Greatness of the Veda 353
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Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads, itihāsa, anvākhyaṇa, 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 Chāṇ. Up. VII. 1. 2 Nārada tells Saṅatkumāra that he had studied the four Vedas, Itihāsa-purāṇa as the fifth Veda, the Veda of Vedas (grammatical), pītrya (treatise on śraiddhas), rāṣi (arithmetic), daiva (portents), nīḍhi (finding out hidden treasures), vākovākya (dialogue or dialectic), ekāyana (politics), devavidyā (Nirukta), brahmavidyā (metres and phonetics), bhūtavidyā (exorcising ghosts), kṣatrapavidyā (dhanurveda), naksatrapavidyā (astronomy), sarpavidyā (snake charms), devajanavidyā (arts like dancing, singing, preparing unguents &c.). The same list is repeated in Chāṇ. Up. VII. 1. 4 and VII. 7. 1. In the Br. Up. 859 II. 4. 10 and IV. 5. 11 there is a similar smaller list. In the Mundaka Up. I. 1. 5 it is said that the acārya Áṅgiras told Śaunaka who was a great householder that the four Vedas and the six āṅgas (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, dharmaśstra, the āṅgas, Upavedas and Purāṇa for regulating the conduct of his subjects. Āp. Dh. S. (quoted above in note 775), Vīṣṇu Dh. S. 30. 34-38, Vas.III. 19 and 23, VI. 3-4 mention the āṅgas of Veda. Pāṇini shows acquaintance not only with the Veda and Brāhmaṇas but he knew ancient Kalpasūtras, Bhikṣusūtras and Nātasyātras, secular works on various subjects (IV. 3. 87-88, 105, 110, 111, 116). Patañjalī 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, Nārāsāṃsi. 861 Gāthā, itihāsa, vidyās if he desired to

859. एवं वा अर्घश्रय सहस्त्रय समावेश, सामावेश, धार्मिकानि सम्बन्धम्

860. अतिसारम् यति ।

861. Mit. on Yāj. I. 45 takes गाथास as distinct from 'नाराषा: नक्षत्राचन्द्रावमस्वाद गाथा यज्ञानुप्रयासादानि:।'
please the gods and manes. Fourteen vidyās are generally enumerated as in Yāj. I. 3 (= Matsya 53. 5-6), Vāyupurāṇa vol. I. 61. 78, Viśdha-Gautama (p. 632) and other works, viz. four vedas, 6 āṇgas, purāṇas, nyāya (logic), mīmāṃsā and dharmāstātra. Some added four more to these, viz. the Upāvedas of Ayurveda, Dhanurveda, Čandogya, and Arthāstātra (which were affiliated respectively to the four Vedas) and thus the vidyās are also spoken of as 18. Kālidāsa in the Raghuvamśa (V. 21) expressly says that Varatama taught his pupil 14 vidyās. In E.I. vol. VIII. p. 287 (in an inscription of 199 Guptasaṁvat i.e. 517-18 A. D.) it is said about Sūrašman, an ancestor of Mahārāja Śāmksobha, that ‘he knew the highest truth because of his proficiency in the 14 vidyā-sthānas’. Kumārila in his Tantravārtika (p. 201) says that vidyā-sthānas that are looked upon as authoritative in knowing dharma are 14 or 18. The Vārahagṛhya (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 śrotṛiya 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 Vīrānarasiṁhadeva in 1290 A. D. which provided that each teacher of the Rgveda and the other Vedas was to receive a salary of six gadyāṇakas of gold a year and the teacher who taught the boys to read Nāgara, Kannada, Tigula (Tamil) and Ārya (Marathi) was to receive the same salary. The Gadag inscription of the time of Vikramādiyā VI. (1098 A. D.) refers to the founding of a school for teaching Prabhākara’s system of Mīmāṃsā at Lakkugūndī (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-stātra 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. Vāyu Purāṇa vol. I. 61. 79, Gṛh Purāṇa 223. 21, Vīṣṇu Purāṇa (quoted by Aparākah p. 6) name the 18 vidyās.

863. Purāntavācyey hi ātyudhātād ca vidyāsāgānā ca dharmānāmśeṣaṃ śiṣṭe! Pari- śītiśvatābhincheyāvavatādubāhyakaśīśvratvātpratiśvāntaraśāntaśāntaśāntaśāntyāśāntaśāntyāśāntyāśāntyāśāntyāśāntyāśāntyāśāntyāśāntyāśāntyāśāntyāśāntyāśāntyāśāntyāśāntyāśāntyāśāntyāśāntyāśāntyāśāntyāśāntyāśāntyāśāntyāśāntyāśāntyāśāntyāśāntyāśāntyāśāntyāśāntyāśानि। तत्तत्वातिक p. 201 on श्रे, 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 Maitri 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 Śāṅkha-Likhita 865 '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 rta, satya, tapas,866 dama, sama, fires, agniḥotra 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. Śāṅkara in his bhaṣya 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. viniyoga, 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 pātha) but one had also to understand

864. यथेवमात्रीपति तस्मां पद्मेव पुरुषं तत्तद्वारं उपाजयति। तस्मादव्राह्मणो नापेतिकावृष्टतात्त्वमिथ स्वाभिविधिः मैत्री उप. VII. 10.

865. अतं एव शास्त्रविषयति न ब्रम्हनत्तद्वात्त्व विद्याधीवात्त्व तत्तद्वात्त्वसत्त्वतिः। कृत्यतुक जति शुद्धतत्त्व तत्तद्वात्त्वसत्त्वतिः। दि. ये मूढो न संभाषणो वेदाभाष्यो हितात्त्वतिः। आशानस (Jiv. ed. part 1 p. 517).

866. कतं च स्वाध्यायमचं य इति। स्वाध्यायमचं पेषे ततानाम मौद्रवस्य इति। शब्दं तेषां। मैत्री उप. I. 9.

867. श्रयतिरं आश्रयानुपपुरुषं मन्त्रेनाद्रां इत्यति। यथं हि भावविवाहं वर्गिकावृष्टतात्त्वमेव राजयत्त वाच्यपति च वाच्यं सद्यं वर्गिकावृष्टत्त च वाच्यं सद्यं वर्गिकावृष्टत्त च वाच्यं सद्यं वर्गिकावृष्टत्त। तस्मादव्राह्मणो मन्त्रेन मन्त्रेन विधात। इति। शोकर on वेदात्त्वम 1. 3. 80.
the meaning. The Nirukta (I. 18) quotes two verses which condemn in very strong language one who only commits to memory the Veda and does not know the meaning 'that man, who having studied the Veda, does not know its meaning, is indeed a tree, a stump, a mere carrier of a load; he alone who knows the meaning secures all happiness; his sins being shaken off by knowledge, he reaches heaven'. Dakśa II. 34 says that the study of Veda involves five things viz. first committing to memory the Veda, then reflection over its meaning, keeping it fresh by repeating it again and again, japa (inaudibly muttering by way of prayer) and imparting it to pupils. Manu XII. 103 says 'those who have committed to memory the Veda are superior to those who are ignorant of it, those who retain their Veda (i.e. who do not allow it to be forgotten) are superior to those who only studied it (and then forgot it), those who know its meaning are superior to those who simply retain it in memory, those who perform what the meaning of the Veda dictates are superior to those who know its meaning'. Śabara 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. Viśvarūpa on Yaj. I. 51 says that he alone is really vedaparaga 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. Vide also Medhālithi on Manu III. 19.

868. त्यानाचरण. भाराजां मित्रासुधिन्थि देवं न विज्ञानालैं योर्मुखः। यो अर्थेन द्वद्वं सकलं भजनकृतं नाममेति णानविशुद्धापरम्परा। यथौ दृढःतमप्रज्ञातं निम्नोभवं ज्ञापित। अन्नग्राहित्य शुद्धापारं न तत्त्वं तस्यकिचिदि निषेध । भार्त 18.

869. बेदेश्वकरण पूर्णी विचाराद्विपसं ज्ञपः। तदहरां चेत्त मित्रायेयों नेतृययायासो नी पंजयः। तुष्क II. 34 quoted by the śiata on या III. 310 and अपराकां p. 125.

870. बुद्धी हि तस्याः। कर्ममेकोधमदुः। न च तस्वाल्यननात्सत्यभवसो बक्षकाः। कई सशस्त्रविकलित। शाश्वान p. 6. This passage is quoted by नेतृ भार्त 311. 1.

871. बेदस्य पारस्वस्वर्थस्य ग्रामत्वम् स्वावलम्बनं न प्राप्तम्। तथा च यजार्थविविवको ज्ञात्मकरं न वेदस्तां देश्ववति। विशेष भार्त 1. I. 51.

872. द्वार अवर्मावर्मणस्य संतोषं स्वार्थविवेकं स्वघं विज्ञान। पालणसेरसासं हि पलागे गोतिका स्वेश्यति। ...भीरीस्य विशेषाद्विनेत्रेण वेदार्थम् न विचारस्य। स शास्त्रोऽवस्य यज्ञसमस्य पुरस्तां न प्रयत्नम्। पालणात्सद्गीतिर्म्म्मिनि विन्नितार्यं च्वितितात। लघुनिव च तत्वार्थसु बध्यते। अपराकाः pp. 74-75 quoting यशस्त। printed एक्साम्पल र (उत्तराय एंग्वेलोक्र करमर्य जिकिल बिङ्केद) तथा भें विदेशभें। अरमलसंस्कृति (Jiv. I. p 517) has the first two verses quoted here.
In spite of these excellent precepts it appears that from very ancient times the Veda was only committed to memory and most men learned in the Veda never cared to know its meaning. The Mahābhārata speaks disparagingly of the śrotriya as having an intellect dulled by the constant repetition of the anuvākas of the Veda. Further there was always an undercurrent of the belief that the mere memorizing of the Vedic texts conferred great sanctity on the memorizer and removed all sins. As time went on these ideas became supreme and the neglect of the meaning of the Veda has gone so far that among many modern orthodox brāhmaṇas there is a belief that the meaning of the Veda cannot be known and it is futile to try to find its meaning. The Tai. Br. says that a man's sins are destroyed by the Veda and by svādhyāya. In Vas. Dh. S. 27, 1, Manu XI. 245, Yaj. 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 Aghamasaṇa, Rg. X. 190) by silently muttering which a man is purified of his sins; but Vas. Dh. S. 27, 4 is careful to add that Veda study only removes such sins as are committed through ignorance or carelessness. Similar provision for removal of sins by the muttering of the Vedic mantras is made in Viṣṇu Dh. S. 56. 1–27, Yaj. 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. Īp. Dh. S. I. 7. 21. 8 makes 'brahmajīha' (i.e. abandoning what is learnt) a grave sin along with drinking wine and others. Similarly Manu XI. 56 and Yaj. III. 228 also treat it as equal to drinking wine or the murder of a brāhmaṇa.

Similarly Manu IV. 163 forbids nāstikya (holding that there is no soul or no Hereafter) and the reviling of the Veda and In

873. ओतिििसिि नि राजस्मस्यमािित्विति: अनुप्रकटता विद्यमानस्यप्रकरण:। उधेश्यार्थं 132. 6 and शास्तिसंहः 10. 1.
874. अ नेत्वस्मांहििप्रयाप्तकार्मितथास्मालत्वेत। अन्तनास्य मानवायेव समाहििते कर्म नेतरतथ॥ बहुम 27. 4; this verse is also अभिषेषु (Anan. ed.) v. 102.
875. Even in the Rgveda reference is made to people who did not look upon Indra as a god 'नेत्र नेत्र देवमास्त्वम्' Rg. X. 86. 1. We saw above (p. 26) that the dasyas are often spoken of as 'avata, ayajä and aśraddha' (vide Rg. I. 51. 8, I. 75. 3, VII. 6. 3). In the Kaṭhopaniṣad (I. 20 Naciketas says that people existed who thought that there was no
XI. 56 regards the latter as a grave sin equal to drinking wine, while Yaj. 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 sāstrānām 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 māṇḍik is derived by the meaning being (the meaning being) māṇḍik parītek hriti māntyāyam. The bhūti (of bhūtas) on the pūrvarāṣṭratā p. 284 (Madras ed.) regards bhūpatī as the founder of materialism and the com. Āraṇīyānā on the same quotes a verse (p. 285) 'विद्वानद्वारे बैद्याध्यायां महासीमाय आत्माकपयू स्वयम्भुजाता coral pranavātī । इद्याध्यायानां आत्माकरण्यां बहुपर्वम्। This verse is quoted in the sarvadeśasamghā (वाणार्कुशन्द) also. Madras on May IV. 163 says 'वेदमात्राणामाध्याद्वारे निधानायायां आत्माकपयू मातिर्वायुः । तथादेव पलिपुरुसः तितात्तुदा वेदार्थात्स्थायान्त्र नाथ युगसार्चारी', while pṛthūcyah (II. p. 395) explaining Manu III. 150 says 'नातिहि कालान्तङ्कर्ते भुवाव नातिहि वृद्धितेनायात्मावत्याः. नात्तिकाः'. Manu IX. 225 prescribes banishment from the capital for heretics (पश्चाधस्था). Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 18. 27-28 speaks of the teaching of māṇḍik as yāyesvāveर्गायमाहेिे भुवाति। पथादं गति 'बैद्याध्यायां तत्तथा एटुम् परमस्य ध्रुवमायादिर्भूमि । स्वप्नत यज्ञमहेन कि ध्रुवमायादिर्भूमि हर्षाति। नारदः (आपातान वर्षाक 180) regards a māṇḍik as an unfit witness in general. The Sarvadarsanāsamgraha gives a synopsis of the views of Cārvaka and the Bhūpatīnāmasamgraha of Āravīni composed about 528 (A. D.) also summarises the views of lokāyata (od. in B. I. series by L. Sualī). The Mahābhāṣya (vol. III. pp. 325-326) refers to Lokāyata. The well-known verse 'यामाजीवं सवम् निविदा हृदयं पुनः विषयं। ममृत्युस्तं देवस्म युंत्रायमम सुतं।' occurs in the sarvadesanātesanā in its summary at the end of the section on वाणार्कुशन्द. The Bhūpatīnāmasamgraha verse 80 succinctly expresses the lokāyata view 'लोकायता व्याघ् वेदस्य पतिष्ठा जीवं न निर्भूहिते। धर्मं धर्मं न वियोगे न फलं हृदयांपति।'. निर्भीति 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’. Gaut. (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. (I. 2. 7. 19-23) requires the student to offer at the end of his studies, whatever their extent may be, a dākṣiṇā 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 dākṣiṇā (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 Chāṇ. Up. (III. 11. 6) eulogises brahmavidya by declaring it to be more valuable than the gift of the whole earth together with all its wealth. The smṛtis declare that even if the guru teaches a single

876. सत्प्रचारं पालकस्वरः पञ्चामन्त नानादिकश्यं हरेति। भुव. उप. IV.1.2.
877. विच्छलने जुध्रभयं निमंत्रणं। ज्ञुवाकसुझनः तथा स्नाययः। भी. II.54-55; विच्छलने जुध्रभयं निमंत्रणं। ज्ञुवाकसुझनः तथा स्नाययः। अष्ट. ग्र. III. 9. 4.
878. ज्ञुवाको विकासवर्ती हेवनुक्षिप्तामाहाचेत्ततो विच्छलने। ब्रम्हविद्या ज्ञातः शुद्धितो दशरथार्थः। सृष्टिहरू ज्ञातः। अष्ट. व. I. 2. 7. 19-23.
879. यथार्थः समाजं तत्तवं परिशीलमेव ज्ञातः काहार्थेऽवर्तः। भुव. । अष्ट. व. I. 2. 7. 19-23.
880. एकमन्त्रस्य यथ्य भुवं निच्छे निर्विकल्पेऽपि। भुविष्यं नासितं तथा ज्ञातं ज्ञातस्य ज्ञातस्य ज्ञातस्य ज्ञातस्य according to स्ङ्कुष्टं I. p. 66 and हरिमं according to पृष्ठ 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 (Āsvamedhika 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 Aparākṣa (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 Nrpatunāgarvarman 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 Somesvara I at Sudi in Dharwar District in take 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, Śaṅkhasmrī 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, Anuśāsana 23. 17 and Yāj. I. 223 say that he who is a hired teacher (bhrātakādhyāpaka) and he who learns from such a teacher are not fit to be invited at a śrāddha. But Medhatithi (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

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881. दृष्टिणम् परिचितो वै दृष्टिणां सत्चिरवर्त्ते। आद्यमेधिकार्य 56. 21.

882. भौर्मविन्यासः स्वरी धानो राजन्यवस्याः। वैष्णवस्य कात्यपवने। आद्यमेधिकार्य वर्णित 76. प्राप्तं हिंदू विज्ञान धार्मिक सत्त्व कालात्मक सत्त्व कालात्मक 56. 21.

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were paid or delivered. In distress, Manu X. 116 and Yaj. III. 42 allow even such stipulations for the purpose of securing one's livelihood.

The Mahābhārata (Ādi. 133, 2–3) shows that when Bhīṣma appointed Drona 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 brāhmaṇa died of hunger in his kingdom (vide Gaut. X. 9–12, Viṣṇu Dh. S. III. 79–80, Manu VII. 82–85, Yaj. I. 315, 333). So a student, when the teacher demanded a heavy fee at the end of studies, could theoretically at least approach a king for the fee. Kālidāsa draws in Rāghuvamsa V a graphic picture how Vara- tantu demanded a daksīṇa of 14 crores from his pupil Kautsa who approached Rāghu for the same and would not take more than his requirements. Sometimes the teacher or his wife, according to legends, demanded fanciful daksīṇās. For example, Utsāṅka 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 Ādīparaṇa chap. 3 and Āśvamedhikā-parve 56).

It would be interesting to see how far corporal punishment of pupils was allowed in ancient India. Gaut. (II. 48–50) lays down that pupils are to be regulated (ordinarily) without beating; but if it is not possible to control the pupil (by words &c.) then he may be struck with a slender rope or with a split bamboo; that if the teacher struck (the pupil) in any other way (e.g. with the hand &c.) the teacher should be punished by the king. The 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. The
Mahābhāṣya\(^{886}\) (vol. I. p. 41) refers to the fact that when a pupil pronounced a wrong accent (e.g., anudatta in place of udatta) the upādhyāya slapped him (on the back probably). Manu VIII. 299–300, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 71. 81–82, Nārada (abhupetyā-suśrūṣā, 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 ksatriyas, vaśyas and śudras. According to Gaut. XI. 3 a king should be well-grounded in the three Vedas and in Ānvikṣiṅk (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 dandaṅkṛiti (the art of government and statecraft) and in vārtṭa (economic life and production of wealth). These directions were probably meant to be an ideal and very few kings ever went through all this. If any conclusions are to be drawn from the stories in the Mahābhārata, we may say that princes at least hardly ever went to a guru's home, but teachers were engaged to teach them (as Drona was engaged by Bhīṣma) and they became proficient in military skill. Alberuni (tr. by Sachau 1888, vol. I. p. 125) says that brāhmaṇas taught the veda to ksatriyas, 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. Kauṭ. in his Arthaśāstra after

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886. य उद्वासे कर्मजयावति करोति सर्विकोपाध्यात्मस्य चैव विद्वयुद्धिश्च करोपीति। महाभाषयं vol. I. p. 41.

887. भगवान च पुरुषोद्वित विद्यार्थिवायायेश्च। शासनं शमथुवम् तपस्विनिः। तत्रप्रेमत्तेन करोति। सी. 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), gananā (finance and treasury accounts), lekha (official correspondence) and nyāyabhāra (law and judicial administration) as the subjects which Kharavela 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 Kādambarī also Bāna shows that prince Candrāpiḍa did not go to a teacher's house but that a school was built for him outside the capital where he learnt from his 7th to the 16th year.

As to the education of ksatriyas in general we have hardly any directions in the dharmaśāstra works. But that there were several learned ksatriyas and vaiśyas who sometimes became teachers cannot be denied. Kumārīlabhaṭṭa says (on Jaimini I. 2. 2) that adhyāpana888 is not a special characteristic for recognising that a man is a brāhmaṇa, since certain ksatriyas 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.

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888. अपमानाद्यमं भिगमात्सांस्यैपविद्यायीगित्वासंबिधयम्। शर्म च रूपः
शृंगपं संबंधमानस्वावलिङ्गिनिष्ठः। नवसाबल्क p. 108.
Yāj. II. 184, Nārada (abhupetyāsūṣrā 16-20) indicate that boys were apprenticed with master artisans to learn several āśīpas (crafts) like preparing ornaments of gold or for learning dancing, singing &c. An apprentice was to stipulate how long he would stay with the master craftsman, that even if he learnt the craft earlier than the stipulated time he was still to stay with the teacher and work for him till the period was over, that the teacher was to give food and lodging to the apprentice and to appropriate the proceeds from his work, that if the apprentice left the teacher before the time fixed even though the teacher was ready to teach him, he was to be compelled to stay with the teacher and to be imprisoned or sentenced to whipping by the king if he would not stay.

As for the education of the 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 Viśvāvāra of the Atri family; Rg. VIII. 91 to Apālā of the same family and Rg. X. 39 to Ghoṣā Kāksīvati. The Br. Up. II. 4. 1. shows that Maitreyī, one of the two wives of Yājñavalkya, the great philosopher of ancient India, was herself a very earnest seeker after true knowledge and she prayed to Yājñavalkya that he should impart to her such knowledge as would make her immortal. In the same Upaniṣad (III. 6 and 8) we find that among the several interlocutors in the court of Jaṇaka, 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. विष्णुमुखिष्व रिलेन्य सिलव टेमकुपयाविशरंकाटित। वलाविक च यवापूर्व कर्म शर्यः

890. सा होवडः मैत्रेयि बेनाइ नाशुता स्वार्कित सिल शर्यः यद्वेग भववामेव तद्वेग

क्षरीति। बुद्ध. 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 Yājñāvalkya hoping to confound him. In the same Up. (Br. Up. VI. 4. 17) there is a rite prescribed\(^1\) 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 Śāmkara, in whose day women were debarred from learning the Vedas, could not but explain the word ‘pandita’ as referring to proficiency in domestic work. It has been shown above (p. 294) that upanayana and veda study were allowed to women by Hārīta. In the daily ṛṣitapana (Āsv. gr. III. 4) among a host of sages water is offered to three women as teachers viz. Gārgī Vācaknavī, Vadavā Prātíthīya and Sulabhā Maitreyī. The very fact that the Kāṣikā on Pāṇini IV. 1. 59 and III. 3. 21 teaches the formation of śācaryā 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 teaches\(^2\) how and why a brāhmaṇa woman is called Āpiśalā (one who studies the grammar of Āpiśali) and Kāṣakṛtsnā (one who studies the mīmāṃsā work of Kāṣakṛtsna). He also states the formation of the appellation ‘Audameghāḥ’ (meaning the pupils of a woman teacher called Audameghyā). Gobhila\(^3\) 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

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\(^1\) See also \(\text{II. V. 4. 17; }\)\(^2\) See also \(\text{II. V. 4. 17; }\)\(^3\) See also \(\text{II. V. 4. 17; }\)
should repeat it substituting the words 'to her' for 'to me'. In the Kathaka\(^{894}\) gr. 25. 23 it is said that the Anuvaka 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 angas (viz. the 64 kalās such as singing, dancing, painting &c.) before they attain youth (i.e. in their father's house) and after marriage with the husband's consent. In the 64 kalās enumerated in that work (I. 3. 16) are included prahelikās (riddles of words), pustakavācana (chanting from books), kāvyasamasyā-pūrana (composing a suitable portion of a verse to fit in with a portion given), knowledge of lexicons and metres &c. We read in the epics and the dramas like the Śakuntala of women writing messages to their lovers. In the Mālatimādhava 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 Rājāsekhara's Sūktimuktāvali we learn that there were poetesses like Viṣṇu, Sīta &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 Dharmaśūtras and Manu woman is assigned a position of dependence and even women of higher classes came to be looked upon as equal to sūdras 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 samskaras (except marriage) were performed in the case of girls without Vedic mantras. Though according to the Purvamāṁśā the husband and wife were to perform Vedic sacrifices together (Jaimini VI. 1. 17-21) still women\(^{896}\) were only associated with their husbands and all the

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894. 'ततो गाथा वाचायति सरस्वति शेषमेत्यह्युवातिः' उमाविद्येके। काठायुष्मा 25.23.
895. धर्मार्थार्थविविधाकालान्तरसूच्यपरं कामपुरं तद्विविधाय दुस्सोधियोत। मार्याइ- वणाथी। प्रत्य च परविभिन्नायात। कातायुष्मा I. 2. 1-3.
896. तथा। पाधकृतमांससिद्धिमांसविद्वत्त्वेत। जै. VI. 1. 24; अतः च भृति दुस्तः। चन्दनाय कुसून बिद्वते पत्नी। भृति चार्यित। च। यस्तवादीयो यथा भृत्तवयो तद्विविधाय दृष्ट:। यथाहस्योऽति यथा पर्याप्तमेवेक्ष्टि। हाथः।
actions to be done by the sacrificer (yajamāna) were to be done only by the husband except where the texts expressly requested the wife to do certain things such as examining the ājya or repeating certain mantras (VI.1.24). Jaimini says that the husband and wife were not equal and Śabara explains that the yajamāna is a male and is learned, while the patni is a woman and has no vidyā. Medhātithi on Manu II. 49 raises the interesting question why brahmācārins when begging for alms used a Sanskrit formula (bhavati bhikṣām dehi) which language ladies do not know. He replies that women can understand that vernacular words which they use being similar to Sanskrit words must be derived from them and that these few well-known Sanskrit words they can easily grasp. Besides even in Vedic times there was a tendency as in many other countries to make sarcastic references to women. The Rgveda VIII. 33. 17 says "Even Indra said 'the mind of woman cannot be controlled; and also her intellect (or power) is slight'; in Rg. X. 95. 15 there is no truth in the friendship of women; they have the hearts of hyaenas'. The Śat. Br. XIV. 1. 1. 3 exhorts a person studying the Madhu-vidyā not to look at 'woman, śūdra, the dog and the black bird that are all untruth'. In Manu II. 213–214, Anusāsanaparva 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 Mālatimādhava) 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. कु: पु: तंदृकाक्ष्मपायानो पाया स्रिय: संधोपन्ये ताथा संध: तान्य नाव- द्वारशे इति: ...एवं स्रिय: साहुद्वायातार्ययोक्षायातासाधवसंबधान स्वतः लेख्योऽधिक प्रतिवध्यस्ति सर्वाश्च वैद्यवृत्तम सयर्वसिः स्वीतिवर्भ स्मासायम्। मेघः on Mad. II. 49.

898. इति:सु: तत्वकेचतुः स्रिया अध्यार्य वनः ...ततो अह क्रमुः 18 अः VIII. 33. 17.

899. न वे त्र्याणामि सक्षायामि सविन सागरायां इत्याप्यते। श्र. X. 95. 15.
The house of the ācārya where the student learnt was called ācāryakula (vide Chân. 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. Kanva is so referred to in the Śakuntala, vide note 134 above).

It is outside the scope of this work to show from the numerous inscriptions and copper-plate grants that have been published so far, how ancient kings and rich private persons made substantial grants to famous schools, colleges and universities. There were famous universities at Takṣaśilā (modern Taxila), Valabhi, Benares, Nālandā, Vikramaśilā &c. For an account of the university of Nālandā in the 7th century reference may be made to the accounts given by the two Chinese travellers Yuan 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 Nṛpatunga-varman (Bahur Plates, E. I. 18 p. 5) whereby three villages were bestowed as a source of revenue (vidyābhoga) for the promotion of learning to the residents of a seat of learning (vidyāsthāna, a college) at Vāgūr. The Kāvyamīmāṁsa 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, Sātavāhana, Śūdraka, Śāhasāṅka. It also says that in Ujjayini such poets as Kālidāsa, Menṭha, Bhāravi, Haricandra were examined and in Pātaliputra (modern Patna) such famous śastraṅgas as Pāṇini, Vyādi, Vararuci, Patañjali, Varṣa, Upavarṣa, and Piṅgala were examined.

The salient features of the educational system outlined in the Dharmaśāstra works are the high and honourable position assigned to the teacher, the close personal contact of the pupil with the teacher and individual attention, the pupil’s stay with the teacher as a member of his family, oral instruction and the absence of books, stern discipline and control of emotions and the will, cheapness (as no fees were stipulated for). The Indian system compares most favourably with any system of education of the West, whether in Greece or Rome or any other country. It gave to the students a more or less literary education, particularly of the Vedio 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. 20 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 Mahānāmī vrata, Mahāvrata (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 Śaṅ. gr. (II. 11-12) describes, after the student is instructed in the sacred Gāyatrī, four vrataṣ (observances) called Śukriya (which precedes the study of the main part of the Rgveda), the Śakvara, Vṛṭiṇā and Aupaniṣad vrataṣ (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 (Śaṅ. gr. II. 11. 10-12, S. B. E. vol. 29

900. एवं वाचनादि परिस्थानां व्रतवृत्तिः व्याक्यातः। आनं. प्र. I. 22. 20.
At the beginning of each of these three vratas there is a separate upanayana, followed by a ceremony called Uddik-
śanikā (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 yajnopavita and
a new girdle. The Gobhila grhyā III. 1. 26-31 (which is
connected with the Śāmaveda) mentions the vratas as
Godānika, Vrātika, Āditya, Aupanisada, Jyeṣṭha-sāmika, each
lasting for one year. It adds that some do not observe the
Āditya-vrata. The godāna vrata is connected by the Gobhillya
with the sāmśkāra 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 Purvarcika of the Śāmaveda
(i.e. the collection of verses sacred to Agni, Indra and Soma
Pavamāna). The Vrātika was introductory to the study of the
Āraṇyaka (excluding Śukriya sections); the Āditya vrata to
the study of the Śukriya sections; the Aupanisada-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 Śākvarta or Mahānāmīnt verses.
Vārtika on Panini V. 1. 94. (tadasya brahmacaryam) mentions
the Mahānāmīns and teaches the derivation of Mahānāmīntkam
(as the period of brahmacarya devoted to the vrata of the
Mahānāmīns). There were certain peculiar observances for

901. The vārtikās 1 and 2 on pr. V. 1. 94 are सहस्य ब्राह्मचर्यविधित महाना-
म्बालितः उपसंस्करणार्थ तत्तत्त्वीति च। पत्रिकां वर्णितः महानामिनीं ब्राह्मचर्यं
महानामिनिः। आदिद्वारा विधितः। आदिद्वारा विधितः।
शास्त्रविधितः। शास्त्रविधितः। आदिद्वारा विधितः।
शास्त्रविधितः। तत्त्वाय विधितः। तत्त्वाय विधितः।
महानामिनीं सहस्यविधिः। तत् महानामिनीं वर्तमानात्।
वर्तमानात्। महानामिति। आदिद्वारा। यि 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 Mahānāmī 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 Mahānāmīs 902 (viz. the three mantras, vidā maghavan, āhīṣṭvam, evāhī 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 mahāvyāhītis; 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 Jyeṣṭhasāmīka vrata (introductory to the study of the three Ājyadohas 903 viz. 'mūrdhānam divāḥ, 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 śudra woman, cannot eat bird's flesh, he should not restrict himself to one kind of corn or one country and should always wear two garments, should bathe in water drawn with a vessel and should not eat in an earthen pot or drink water from it.

The Baud. gr. III. 2. 4 ff says that there are vratas of one year each which precede the study of certain brāhmaṇa texts (of the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda); they are hotāraḥ 904, śukriyas, upaṇiṣadaḥ,

902. Mahānāmīs are verses beginning with विदा सम्भवं विदा which occur in शैव आर्यपत्रो IV, in the जैनिन्यसंहिता of the सामवेद at II. 7 (ed. by Dr. Raghu Vira) and also in several other संहितास.

903. The mantra तुषैन्ति विष्णु is at सामवेद I. 67 (and Rg. VI. 7. 1), त्रिविष्णु is at सामवेद II. 491 (and Rg. VI. 7. 4), नाभि ब्रजानाद is सामवेद 2. 492 (Rg. VI. 7. 2).

904. The होतार: or चतुर्वंशार्य: are the mantras in Tai. Ar. III. 1-5 beginning with विष्णु: सुकृ विष्णार्यः.
godānam and sammitam and it describes them in detail. For want of space all these are passed over. The Sāṁskāra-kauśtabha (pp. 571–580) gives in some detail the procedure of the Mahānāmī vrata, Mahāvratā, Upaniṣadvrata and Godānavrata. It states that the Mahānāmīvrata is performed in the 13th year from birth and Godānavrata 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 brahmācārins viz. celibacy, begging for food, avoiding honey, wine and singing &c. For example, the Śrīmaṭārthasāra (p. 6) refers to Śāvitrivrata, then the vrata for Vedic study and then the Āranyaka vratas. The Mit. on Yāj. I, 52 (vedam vratāni vā pāram nityā) explains ‘vratam’ as simply the duties of the student already enumerated by Yāj. (among which the specific vratas of Mahānāmī &c. do not figure).

If the student failed in observing the specific vratas, he had to perform praṇyāscītta by undergoing the praṇāpataya penance thrice or six times or twelve times. If the brahmācāri is guilty of failing in his daily duties of observing saucā and ācāmāna, of the performance of samādhyā prayer, of using darbha, of begging for food, of offering fuel stick to fire, of avoiding the touch of śudras and the like, of wearing the cloth (for covering his private parts), the loin thread, the yajnopavita, the girdle and the staff and deerskin, of not sleeping by day, of not holding an umbrella over his head or of not wearing shoes, or not putting on garlands, of avoiding luxurious bath, sandal paste, collyrium, of not sporting in water, of avoiding gambling, and addiction to dancing, singing and music, of not engaging in conversation with heretics, he had to undergo the penance of three kṛcchras (according to Baudhāyana) and to perform a homa with the vyāhritis separately and together (i.e. four oblations of clarified butter were to be offered). If he was guilty of other more serious lapses he

905. उपनयनायुपायकर्मान्यः साविकीत्तत सत्सूर्ययिन्य विवासविधानन्यन्त्राः स्वतपियमुः। ततो वेदस्वरूपं सत्यवायपकात्मानं प्रतितदिवं दुःखं च। ततपि भोजने भैरवसम्बाह्यम्। एवेकु ततुद्यो लोपे तत्स्प्येन शीत्य खस्त्र वा खावस वा मान्यपस्थायिरुष्म इत्यत्व जते गारुमेत। ततोत्तरे चोव्याच्यास्य अस्त्रस्य च दुःखस्य धनेश्वरे स्वाध्यार्य मारदमे। स्वर्यवर्तर p. 6.

906. भोजनय:। अन्य भोजनसमन्वितं वर्म्मिकायिकार्याविकाशिल्य-ध्राक्षिव्रान्तकोष्टिकेन द्वारस्याद्वायिकार्याविकाशिल्य-पाद्यायिकार्याविकाशिल्य-तोरणनामाधारायुपायकर्मान्याः तत्स्प्येन अन्य भोजनसमन्वितं अन्य भोजनसमन्वितं गहरायुपायकर्मान्याः तत्स्प्येन। भोजनसमन्वितं गहरायुपायकर्मान्याः। सत. प. 563.
had to undergo heavier penance. The most reprehensible act in a brahmaçarin was to have sexual intercourse with a woman. The Tai. Ār. II. 18 speaks of the prayāścitta for such a brahmaçarin who is called avakirñin. Gaut. 25. 1-2 quotes the Tai. Ār. "they (the sages)¹⁰⁷ say ‘in how many (deities) the avakirñin enters; (the answer is) he enters the Maruts with his breath, Indra with his strength, Bṛhaspati with his spiritual eminence and fire with the rest (of his senses)’" and Gautama further provides that he should kindle fire at midnight on a new moon day and then offer two ājya oblations by way of penance with the two mantras ‘kāmava-’ and ‘Kāmāvadrughdosmi’ &c., place a fuel stick on fire, sprinkle water round the fire, offer the yajñavāstu oblation (for which see Gobhila gr. I. 8. 26-29) and standing near the fire should worship fire thrice with the verse ‘sam mā śiścantu’.

Baud. Dh. S. (IV. 2. 10–13) contains the same rules. Jaimini¹⁰⁸ (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 Śabara quotes a Vedic passage that ‘a brahmaçarin who has become avakirñin 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 brahmaçarin 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 brahmaçarin who without being ill gives up begging for food and offering fuel to fire continuously for seven days. Prayāścitta is prescribed for loss of yajñopavita or its being torn, or its being polluted by impure things

¹⁰⁷. ने. आ. II. 18 is ‘कातिष्कारिणी प्रवत्निः भुजप्रयास्वल्पवाचारिनिः मस्त: मानीश्च शतेन बुद्धसति बुद्धपर्वस्यनिर्मितेवतोरेण सर्वं...... यो बुधचार्युक्तिं दुर्माया यहाँस्तिः मण्डीपस्यनाधीन हिरायस्योपपलवान्अष्ठैहृति काविकाः स्थापितं भवति। कामस्य कामैयम् स्वाभाविके दुभुद्वयोऽस्मि कार्म कामद्रष्टवमाया दुवृहति। ...... द्वृहा निर्रताति: कामविहर्यं भवति सं भवति: सन्निध्यति सं मायमायमं: दुभवयमाया च ब्रह्मायमायमं: हृतिं चित्रितिं भवति। वरी दुश्किः ...... ।

¹⁰⁸. अवकीर्तिपञ्चकृत्त तद्वृष्णमायामायकालस्य। ने. VI. 8. 22; अन्यवेदनीयेण-पुष्य। बुधचार्यवृत्तिः नैस्कृत गामीभावमतेरेति तत्र संस्कृतिः किन्तु तद्वृष्णमायान्तत्तथ्यस्तु लोकितेष्यश्रयु नवतिरेति। ...तस्मात्तिस्वरूपं कर्म लोकितेष्यथिति। हाः.
like blood &c. It consists in offering homa and wearing a new one. Vide Samskāra-ratnāmālā pp. 365-367 for details.

Naiṣṭhikā brahma-cārīn (perpetual student).—

Brahmacārīns were of two kinds, upakurvāṇa (the student who offered some return to the teacher, vide Manu II. 245, for the word upakurvita) and the naiṣṭhikā (the student who remains so till his death). These two names occur in Harita Dh. S., Dakṣa I. 7 and in several smṛtis. The word ‘naiṣṭhikā’ occurs in Viṣṇu Dh. S. 28. 46, Yaj. I. 49, Veda-Vyāsa I. 41. The idea of perpetual studenthood is very ancient. In the Chāndogya 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, Harita Dh. S., Vas. VII. 4-6, Manu II. 243, 244, 247-249, and Yaj. I. 49-50 say that if the student likes he may stay with his teacher till life lasts and should serve his guru and in the rest of the time repeat the Veda; that if the teacher be dead he may stay with and serve the teacher’s son if he is worthy or the teacher’s wife or he may worship the fire kindled by his deceased guru; he should thus wear out his body; he obtains the highest worlds of bliss and is not born again. He has to perform throughout his life the duties of offering fuel sticks, Veda study, begging for food, sleeping on the ground (not on a cot), and of self-restraint (Brhaspati quoted in Sm. C. I. p. 62).

According to Viṣṇu quoted in Aparārka (p. 72) and the Sm. C. (I. p. 63) quoting the Brahgrahā persons who are

909. नित्ता means ‘end or death’ and नीतिक is derived by the Mit. on Yaj. I. 49 as ‘अन्तान्त मित्र उत्कालितकां नयतीत मैतिक’.

910. चार्व प्रसंस्कर्वत्व चालैस्वर्ण व्रान्तमिति मथमस्वर्ण एव च हिंतायो ब्रह्मचार्यान्य-कृच्छासव दुर्गीयेयस्तिर्मात्मानमात्मार्थापुक्तेऽसातुष्व तर्थ एव युवयोक्ता भगविति ब्रह्मसंस्थ-शुवतमिति जान्योय उप. II. 23. 1. This is quoted by ब्रह्मज्ञपं 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. हिंदित्वो ब्रह्मचारी उपकृतियों नेितिकं । ते ते पुक्किष्यों भावावः । निंदा नेदुदुद्वेदास्यरिनिर्मातुरावर्तस्ति। भविष्यति quoted by अपरार्क् p. 71. ब्रह्मचार्यान्य विस्तारित विश्वासोदरोदीमनोक्तानु:। आयतं ते भेदं अर्धिपरित्वेदं। विश्वासो मार्गश्राकारप्रथमश्वेति। वसित्व VII. 4-6. The words ‘आयत्राध्यापत्त’ occur in the upanayana ritual; vide पारस्कर II. 2.

912. कुट्जानामनात्यस्यकुट्जास्वारतोविष्णु। विषयं गंगेश्वं पापपीतंनामानं: । विषयु quoted in अपरार्क् p. 72 and स्वतिष्ठ I. p. 63; पापकृत्व अन्यायायास्वास्ताना- स्वाज्ञा शास्त्र:। नियमं नैविकं यथास्वास्तास्मोहिकारः। संप्रभ भक्तिष्ठ श्चतिष्ठ. I. p. 63.
dwarfs, ill-formed, congenitally blind, impotent, cripples and those suffering from incurable diseases should become perpetual students, as they are not entitled to perform the Vedic rites and are not entitled to inherit. We saw above that Kumārilabhaṭṭa accepted this view (vide note 852a). But this does not mean that the blind and other partially defective people could not marry at all. They could marry if they had sufficient wealth. For example, Dṛtarāṣṭra, though congenitally blind, married and had sons. Aparārka (p. 72), the Sm. C., the Madanaparījāta (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 sāṁyāsin and then gives up that mode of life; while others like the Samskāra-prakāsa (p. 564) interpret it as meaning that the prāyaścitta is double of what the upakurvāna 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 grhya 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, ksātriyas 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. आय्यघो मैत्रिकं धम्मं वस्तु परपत्ते त्यज्यः। यापविचं न पपवासि ग्रं वार्तिलि
रामणिगु अय्य VIII. 16; the संस्कारप्रकाश p. 564 ascribes a very similar verse to जातितत.

914. आ वोदकारः माजामास्वानस्वात माजास्वानिषिव: कालः। आ द्राविनालस्वा स्वालीग्य आ जातिवामा-ड्यस्य। अत उच्चे पतिष्कारिका भवित। सेवामानयापापायेष वापयेजभिष्यव्यह्रेत्तु।
अध्य. सं. I. 19. 5-7; भृ. सं. (reads शिष्येष्ियं for शिष्येष्ियं), विलिन्द reads शिष्येष्ियं for शिष्येष्ियं; पार. सं. 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). Ṇp. 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 *patitasavitrika* should either perform the Uddālaka vrata or should take a bath along with the performer of an Aśvamedha sacrifice or should perform the Vṛātyastoma sacrifice. Both Vasiṣṭha 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 prayācitta for *patitasāvitrikas*, viz. three prayājapataya penances; while Yāj. I. 38, Baud. gr. III. 13. 7, Veda-Vyāsa I. 21 and several others prescribe only the Vṛātyastoma for those who are *patitasāvitrikas*. Viṣvarūpa (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 Vṛātyastoma is to be performed for him whose upanayana is not

915. पतितसावित्रीको उद्धालकस्य चर्यें । वा मासी याकोऽन वर्धवियांतं पससावित्रायां।
मातिक्यायायां पुजेन पद्मास्तपाविः दस्तेन सरिसारस्तपाविः।
अन्येनाद्वियुः गद्दुः । प्रायाज्ञपात्येन वा यज्ञेः । वसिष्ठ XI. 76-79.

916. For the प्रायाज्ञपात्येन vide न. XI. 211 and घ. 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. परस्त्र गोविन्द विषयार्थम् देवं भिजावान । वेदिति । एतद्व वर्तितास्वित्रायां ब्रह्म्याद्वयं ।
परि त्वायायुः पद्मास्तपाविः वद्यायुः पदस्तपाविः। च्यां नीपला
तल्लोण्यां वर्तस्ते । विब्यक्त on घ. III. 262.
performed for forty-eight years from the first prescribed period (viz. 8th year, 11th year or 12th). The Mit. on Yaj. III. 262 also tries to introduce vyavasthā (order) in the contradictory dicta of the smṛtis. According to Gaut. 21. 11, Yaj. III. 234 and others vrātyātā (being patitasāvitrīka) is only an upapātaka and Manu XI. 117 prescribes an easy penance for all upapātakas.

Āp. Dh. S. 918 says ‘if a person’s father and grandfather also had not the upanayana performed for them, then they (i.e. the three generations) are called slayers of brahma (holy prayers or lore); people should have no intercourse with them, should not take their food nor should enter into marriage alliances with them; but if they desire then penance should be administered to them’. It then prescribes that they have to perform the penance (observing rules of student-hood) one year for each generation (that had not the upanayana performed), then there is upanayana and then they have to bathe (thrice or once) every day for a year with certain mantras viz. the seven Pāvamāṇi verses beginning with ‘yad anti yacca dūrake’ (Rg. IX. 67. 21–27), with the Yajuṣ pavitra (Tai. S. I. 2. 1. i = Rg. X. 17. 10), with the sāmapavitra and with the mantra called Āṅgirasa (Rg. IV. 40. 5) or one may pour water only with the vyāhrtis 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. अप ध पिता पितामह ह्युपथ्वक स्वतां ने ज्ञातसंतुन्ति। तेषामपवामाति विवाहितं व ज्ञातसंतुन्ति। तेषामच्छत्राः पायाविष्ठितु। यथा वथमेकतकम कर्तुथभ संवक्षण। कर्मोपययनम। तत उपकीपस्पष्टं। पायाविष्ठ संवक्षण संवक्षणायायानातापेनवीतः। स्यू। वसतिः। पायाविष्ठाभिन्युपन्नति यथा द्वारक हस्तेयाभिपुवित्त्विविष्ण सतापविष्णुपिष्णुपिष्णुपिष्णु। अदि वा स्वाहुभिरें। अद्याध्ययनम। अध. ध. I. 1. 1. 28–I. 1. 2. 1–4. पायाननी 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 ‘वाद्यिष्ठायां मदिष्ठायां’ (vide Haradatta on Gaut. 19. 12 and Medhatithi on Manu V. 85). The युध्येन्द्रिय is the name ‘आपांसमस्मामातः सुर्चुलम्। सामसंग्रहि is the Sūman beginning with ‘कयाः नास्त्रत्र न्यूतवार’ which is Rg. IV. 31. 1 and occurs in all other Saḥhitās and the Āṅgirasa mantra is ‘हस्तात् सुबिज्जाद’ (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, पिता and the man himself.
upanayana may be performed and then the person so desirous of upanayana will have to bathe with the Pāvamāṇi 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 saṃśekāra performed as in the case of one who is himself patitasāvitrīka and then his son will be one like other āryas'. Haradatta\(^{921}\) 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 dharmasastra 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\(^{922}\) 'when three generations are patitasāvitrīka, their offspring (i.e. the fourth generation) is excluded from the sacrament of upanayana and he cannot be taught the Veda.' So Pār. is more restrictive than Āpastamba.

There is a famous historical example of the application of these rules. 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 Telang\(^{923}\) have found fault with Gāgābhaṭṭa.

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921. वर्ष भविष्यात्र विभुत्साहित्य वातुस्यर्थं उपनायनं तत्र मायि संस्त्रितो नोकरं। धर्मेन्द्रहितस्य। वर्षं तत् पुष्पकपि हस्तनं आपं दु. 1. 2. 10.

922. चिरुचयं परित्साहित्यकाणामपेशसंस्त्रितारो नाथ्यायनं च। पारं दु. 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

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and the other brāhmaṇas of that time; but these scholars are wrong and Gāgabhaṭṭa had behind him weighty and ancient authorities like Āp., Pāraskara, Viśvarūpa and Haradatta as shown above.

The Vaik. sūtra (II. 37) adds that in the case of the man who is himself patitasāvitrīka the sanskāras (from Garbhādbāna) have to be again performed (with Vedic mantras) and then the upanayana is performed.

One very important question that exercised the minds of some writers in medieval times was whether ksatriyas and vaiśyas existed in the kali age. In some of the purāṇas it is said in a prophetic vein that Mahāpadma Nanda will destroy the ksatriyas and thereafter rulers will be of the śudra caste. For example, the Viṣṇupurāṇa IV. 23. 4-5 says 'Mahāpadma Nanda, the son of Mahānandi, born of a śudra woman would be extremely greedy (of power) and will destroy the whole ksatriya race as if he were another Paraśurāma; thereafter śudras 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 Pūrū, 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 ksatriya race when the kṛta age will start again after the present kali age comes to an end and that some ksatriyas exist on the earth like seed even in the kali age. Vāyu (vol. I. 32.39-40), Matsya (273. 56-58) have similar verses. Relying on such passages some medieval writers stated that there were no ksatriyas in their times. The Svādhītattva923a of Raghunandana (p. 268) after quoting the Viṣṇupurāṇa IV. 23. 4 and Manu X. 43 declares that ksatriyas existed till Mahānandi, that the so-called ksatriyas of his day were śūdras and that similarly there were no vaiśyas also. In the Śudra-Kamalākara occurs this verse ‘The varnas are brāhmaṇas, ksatriyas, 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’. Nāgēśabhaṭṭa (first half of 18th century 923b) in his Vṛatyatāprāyaścittanirnaya (Chaukhamba Series) examines all the relevant Purāṇa passages and states as his conclusion that real ksatriyas do not exist and so those, in whose families no upanayana had been performed for ten or twenty generations, are not ksatriyas even though they rule over kingdoms and no upanayana can be performed for such kings. It must be stated that such views, though held by some rigidly orthodox writers of extreme views, were not shared by most writers. All the 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 Mitākṣarē, who is rightly described as the best of all nibandha-kāras, nowhere says that ksatriyas do not exist in the kali age. Numerous kings claimed to be descended from the Sun and the Moon. Hemādri in his Caturvargaścintāmaṇi states that his patron was a scion of Somavarmśa (vide H. Dh. vol. I p. 356 for quotations). The princes of Rajputana and Central India claimed to have sprung from the Agnīkunda on Mount Abu, viz. of the

923a. इवाग्रीन्तनकाशिविविवादमोहियादिपि शुचिमाहः सह। श्रमकैः। श्रमपालसनेन च। अत एव विष्णुदुराण्यिः। महानाविविकः। श्रुतायान्तस्यज्ञे। जिवितस्य नास्ति। परमेषाम इवपतितज्ञाविविविविवादितस्य अभिविविविवादितस्य अभिविविविविवादितस्य इति। तेन महानन्तिविविविविवादित्वभाष्यमेव आदित्वितस्य एव च। किलिविविवादितस्यश्च। तथा। श्रुचिल्लक च।

923b. अत कालवास्पदयते सति कामश्रमावपातनसाधनयोग्य विज्ञानसाधिहस्यक्षिप्य आदित्वित्वप्रपत्तिः। विद्वित्वप्रपत्तिः। श्रुचिमाहं। श्रुचिमाहं अदृश्यतामहं अविविविविवादमोहियादिपि आदित्बमेव। अदृश्यतामहं। अदृश्यतामहं। श्रुचिमाहं। श्रुचिमाहं। अदृश्यतामहं। अदृश्यतामहं। अदृश्यतामहं। अदृश्यतामहं। अदृश्यतामहं। अदृश्यतामहं। अदृश्यतामहं। अदृश्यतामहं। अदृश्यतामहं। अदृश्यतामहं। अदृश्यतामहं। अदृश्यतामहं। अदृश्यतामहं। अदृश्यतामहं। अदृश्यतामहं। अदृश्यतामहं। अदृश्यतामहं। अदृश्यतामहं। अदृश्यतामहं। अदृश्यतामहं। अदृश्यतामहं। अदृश्यतामहं। अदृश्यतामहं। अदृश्यतामहं। अदृश्यतामहं। अदृश्यतामहं। अदृश्यतामहं। अदृश्यतामहं। अदृश्यतामहं। अदृश्यतामहं। अदृश्यतामहं।
four clans of Chohan, Parmar (or Paramāra), Solanki (or Cālukya), Padihar (or Prathāra). 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 Pūrṇapāla dated saṅ. 1099 (1042-43 A. D.) in E. I. vol. IX p. 10 and the inscription of Cāmunḍarāja dated saṅ. 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 ksatriyas 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 ksatriyas. 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 ksatriya 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 ksatriyas. 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 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 Śāṅkha 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. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 15 quotes Bharadvāja to the effect ‘one should not study the language of the mlecchas, for it is declared (in the Brāhmaṇas) that a corrupt word is indeed mleccha’. Vas. Dh. S. VI. 41 also enjoins that one should not learn the mleccha dialect. Manu X. 43-44 knew that many of the tribes called Pundrakasas, Yavanas, Sakas spoke mleccha languages and also the language of the Āryas (mlecchavācās-cāryavācāh sarve te dasyavāḥ 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), tāmarasa (a red lotus) are to be understood in the sense in which mlecchas use them or certain meanings are to be assigned to them by deriving them from some root according to the rules of grammar, Nirukta and Nighaṇṭu and Jaimini’s conclusion is that they are to be understood in the same sense in which mlecchas employ them. Pāṇini derives the word yavanāṇi

923c. तेषुरा अस्त्रयचासे हेतुपो हेतुबं इति व्युटः पराभूतुः। तत्रेतमावि वाचनूः। उपविद्यायत स भेष्यतस्मात् भाषणी भेष्यतुद्वूः हेतु वाचन। शास्त्रम III. 2. 1. 23-24.

923d. अथ पश्चान्त्वतारायं कार्लिकचिंदुर्यं आदारित स्वेच्छातु कार्लिकचिंदुर्यं यथ चिन्मेतासताष्टासादासान्यायेऽदृशेऽ तं किं चिन्मेतासताष्टासादासान्यायेऽदृशेऽ भाष्यवधुः कल्पविद्यम उत पय वेष्यता आपराजित स हावार्णि इति। स्वर on अ. I. 8. 10.
and Patañjali speaks of the siege of Sāketa and Madhyamikā by the Yavana by whom scholars generally understand Menander. Aśoka in his Rock Edict No. 13 refers to Yona kings and it appears from his reference that brāhmaṇas and śramaṇas were not found in the Yona country. A Yavanarāja Tusāspha is mentioned as the governor of Kathiawar under Aśoka in the inscription of Rudradāman at Junagadh (E.I. vol. VIII at p. 43). In the Prakrit Inscriptions the Yavanas are referred to as Yavana (vide E.I. vol. VII. pp. 53-55 at Karle No. 7 and 10) or Yona or Yonaka (E.I. VIII. 90 Nasik cave No. 18). In Kharavela’s inscription also the form is Yavana (E.I. 20 p. 79). In the Mahābhārata the words Yavana and Śaka occur very frequently. Vide notes above on these words. In the Dronaparva 119. 45-46 Yavana, Kamboja, Śaka, Śabara, Kīrāta and Barbara are mentioned as one group fighting against Śatyaṇika. In Drona 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 Kamojoja 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, āhīnṣā, satya, absence of fury, śauca, adroha, maintenance of wife and child. Atrī 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, Khaṇḍas, Dravidas 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 cāndāla, Bhilla and Pārāśika.

Prof. D.R. Bhandarkar in a very learned and scholarly paper in Indian Antiquary vol. 40 pp. 7-37 endeavours to establish that many non-Aryan persons belonging to tribes like the Yavanas, the Śakas became absorbed in the general mass of Hindu society, that even several of the princely families such as those of the 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 Vṛātyastoma. The Tāṇḍya-Mahābrāhmaṇa (or the Paṇca-viṁśa, as it is called from the number of Adhyāyas) describes four vṛātyastomas in chap. 17. 1-4 (khandas). The meaning of many words and passages in that chapter of the brāhmaṇa is uncertain and somewhat cryptic. The four vṛātyastomas 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 vṛātya life were left behind on the earth. Then through the favour of the gods the dependents got at the hands of Maruts the Śoḍaśastoma (containing 16 stotras) and the metre (viz. anuṣṭubh) and then the dependents secured heaven. The Śoḍaśastoma is employed in each of the four vṛātyastomas, the first of which (17. 1) is meant for all vṛāyas, the 2nd is meant for those who are abhiśasta (who are wicked or guilty of heavy sins and so censured) and lead a vṛātya life, the third for those who are youngest and lead a vṛātya life, and the fourth who are very old and yet lead a vṛātya life. Some of the passages convey a tolerably clear idea of what the vṛāyas were like. Those who lead the vṛātya 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 Śoḍaśastoma that they
can attain this (superior status). This shows that the vṛatyas 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 brāhmaṇas,' who call good words bad, who strike with a stick him who does not deserve to be beaten (or punished), who, though not initiated, speak the speech of the initiated. The Śoḍāsastoma has the power to remove the guilt of these. That (in this rite) there are four Śoḍāsastomas, thereby they are freed from guilt." This passage indicates that the vṛatyas 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 Vṛatya-stoma described in the Tāṇḍya. The origin of the word vṛata is lost in the mists of antiquity. The 15th Kapça of the Atharvaveda glorifies the vṛata and identifies him with the Creator and Supreme Being. The word is probably derived from vṛata (group) and means 'he who belongs to or moves in a group.' It is possible to derive the word from vṛata. Originally vṛatyas appear to have been groups of people who spoke the same language as orthodox āryas, but did not follow their discipline and habits. The word vṛata occurs in Rg. I. 163. 8, III. 26. 6, V. 53. 11. Sayana also perceived the difficulty raised by the glorification of the vṛata in the Atharvaveda 15. 1. 1 and his note is interesting, since he says that the description does not apply to all vṛatyas, but only to some very powerful, universally respected and holy vṛata who was, however, not in the good books of the brāhmaṇas that were solely devoted to their own rites and sacrifices. Katyāyanaśrauta XXII. 4. 1-28 and Ap. Śrauta XXII. 5. 4-14 also deal with Vṛatyastoma. Katyāyana describes the four vṛatyastomas and adds "by performing the vṛatyastoma sacrifice, they should cease to be vṛatyas and become eligible for social intercourse with the orthodox āryas.' The Pār. gr. II. 5 quotes the last sūtra of Katyāyana with the
remark "for such persons he who desires to have the sacrament (ṣaṁskāra 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 Vṛatyaś-śuddhisaingraḥa provision is made 928 for the purification of vrāyas even after twelve generations (vide pp. 7 and 22–24) and that work adds (p. 42) that the Vṛātya-stoma like the penance for an avākṛta is to be performed in the ordinary fire (laukika āgni). It also suggests easy substitutes for the lengthy and trying penance of twelve years prescribed by Āp.

Hinduism has not been an avowedly proselytizing religion. In theory it could not be so. For about two thousand years the caste system has reigned supreme and no one can in theory be admitted to the Hindu fold who is not born in it. A Hindu may lose caste, be excommunicated and driven out of the fold of Hinduism, if he be guilty of very serious lapses and refuses to undergo the prāyaścitta prescribed by the śṛtas. 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 brāhma-murder, drinking spirituous liquor and incest. Even as regards these three, lesser penances were prescribed by some śṛtas 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. शेषं संस्कारितस्यर्प्तस्यनिन्मेश्वरायां काममधीयत्वं भवेतार्यं भवतीति चचनात।
928. एवं तोक्काकारितस्यवाचस्यपिनिन्त्यवप्रतिनिश्चीतिः प्रायस्ततोपमस्य स्यातांश्च सास्ति

पतनन्त्ययतिततः। ब्राह्मणवाहिनीवंसंयम: प. 42 (Chaukhamba series); ब्रह्मवर्ग:-

वायुक्तवाचस्यविनासाति नानावानर्मादिभिः सयंस्य

कारणो चेत तत्तत्त्वस्य स्यात्मकस्य भावार्थाविवकारः। ... कात्याति उपद्रवसेव पाणिक:-

महाशास्त्रादिकाहरुर्त्त्ववहा वालं प्रथायतुपयथायां

वहन्तु: कालवेधेन्यस्यविनासाद्रिच्छेदः। ब्राह्मणवाहिनीवंसंयम: प. 23.
intercourse when they performed the prescribed penances (patitānām tu caritavrataṁ pratyuddhāraḥ). But if the sinner refused to undergo the prescribed prāyaścitta, then a peculiar procedure called ghāṭasphoṭa (breaking a jar) was prescribed. In such a case the sinner’s relatives (sapiṇḍas) 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, Yaj. III. 294, Gaut. 20. 2-7). In this way the obstinate sinner went out of the Hindu fold. The ancient śruti do not expressly prescribe any rites for bringing into the brahmanic or Hindu fold a person who or whose ancestors did not belong to it. But as Hinduism has been extremely tolerant (barring a few exceptional instances) it had a wonderful power of quiet and unobtrusive absorption. If a person, though of foreign ancestry, conformed to Hindu social usages in outward behaviour, in course of time his descendants became absorbed into the vast Hindu community.

928a. A few striking instances of religious tolerance among kings and common people may be cited with advantage. The Pāla king Mahīpāla I granted a village to a brāhmaṇa of the Vaiśasaneṣaśākhā 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 (Neulpur grant in E. I. vol. 15 p. 1); vide also E. I. vol. 15 p. 293. The famous Emperor Harṣa, whose father was a great devotee of the Sun, and who was himself a great devotee of Śiva, pays the highest honour to his elder brother 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. Ucāvadāta 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 Maheśvara (a Śaiva) made a grant of four villages to a bhikṣu-saṅgha. From the Pftharpur plate of the Gupta year 159 (476-79 A. D.) it appears that a brāhmaṇa and his wife deposited three dīnāras with a city council for the maintenance of the worship of arhatas at a vihāra (E. I. Vol. XX. p. 59). The Mulgund inscription of the time of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II. (of 902-3 A. D.) shows that to a temple of Jina at Mulgund a field was given by a brāhmaṇa of the Belasa 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 Śrīvaiṣṇavas in 1368 A. D.
This process has gone on for at least two thousand years. The beginnings of it are found in the Śānti帕va chap. 65 where Indra tells the Emperor Māṇḍhāтра to bring all foreign people like the Yavanas under brahmānical influence. The Besnagar column inscription shows that the Yona (yavana) Heliodorus (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. 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. Allāta of the Guhilla dynasty married a Hūṇa princess named Hariyadevi (I. A. vol. 39 p. 191), king Yaśaḥkaraṇadeva of the Kalacuri dynasty is said to have been the son of Karnadeva and Āvalaṇadevi, 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.

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 smṛṭikāras 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

928b. The Cutchi Memons Act (XLVI of 1920) as amended by Act XXIV of 1923 now enables Cutchi Memons by observing certain formalties 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.
brähmanas 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-smṛti are very instructive on this point. Verses 7-10 declare that when a brähmana 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 cāndrayāna 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. 'When persons are forcibly made slaves by Mlecchas, cāndālas 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 pṛajāpāta, for one who had consecrated Vedic fires (and stayed one month or less) it is cāndrayāna or parāka; for one who stays a year (with Mlecchas in this condition of things) it is both cāndrayāna 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 pṛayaścitta should be determined by learned brāhmanas when a person has stayed (in the above circumstances among Mlecchas) for over a year; in four years the person (who stays in the above circumstances among Mlecchas) is reduced to their condition (i.e. becomes a mlecha and there
is no prāyaścitta for him).’ The Prāyaścittaviveka states that after four years death is the only purifier for him. 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 Prājāpattyas. 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 uchīśṭa 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 Udvala should not be extended to persons who have been in the condition stated in verses 17-22 for over four years. In the Pañcadaśī (Tr̥ptidīpa v. 239) we have the following very significant passage: 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 Śāṅkarācārya, is the greatest figure among śācāryas, approved of the view that a brāhmaṇa even though enslaved by Mlecchas could be restored to his original status.

Under Shivaji and the Peshwas it appears that several persons that had been forcibly made Moslems were restored to caste after undergoing prāyaścitta (vide notes 2321-2 below for examples). But this was done in only a few instances.

In modern times there is a movement among Hindus called śuddhi or palitaparāvartana (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 vratyastoma. 

928d. तत्सराकृत्तिः तत्सर्ववदं शात्राध्यक्षार्थेण मायाधिभिःमूलीनस्य।

928e. युवितो मात्राणो म्यहोऽधिभिः मायाधिभः चरसुः।

929व. पञ्चाद्वैर्ये तथा पद्माखं प्रभरते।
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 śṛṅti authority in Devala and others and the authority of the Nibandhakāras.

**Punarupanayana** (performing upanayana again)

In certain cases an upanayana has to be performed again. The Āṣv. gr. (I. 22. 22-26) prescribes that in punarupanayana the cutting of the hair and production of intelligence (medhājanana) are optional, there are no rules about paridāna (giving in charge of deities) and about the time (i.e. it may be performed at any time and no paridāna is necessary) and instead of the usual Gāyatrī, he should recite ‘tāt savitur vṛṇmahe’ (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 Āṣv. gr. sūtra is interpreted in this way by some. Haradatta on Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 10 says that as the Sāvitr (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 (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 pṛyāścītta for certain sins or lapses from good conduct. Gaut. 23. 2-5

929. अधोगृह्यपूज्यतः। इवतः केशपयन्ति मेयाजनयनं च।। अति। कर्यवान्।।
930. विन्दुः। वस्तन। कृप्याय आग्राहे।। उपनीसुवनयायेः दुःस्वरक्षायिति।
931. The Sāṅskāroktubh (p. 536 with Marathi tr.) दुःस्वरक्षाः। दुःस्वर- 

नरपायः। विन्दुः।। पृथ्विपायनिनिद्रा मायमहैवेन विन्दुः।। दुःस्वरक्षाय 

पार्श्वप्रविष्ट्य तत्रवासानि तक्ष्णिश्च विन्दुः।। पृथ्विपायनिनिद्रा मायमहैवेन 

विन्दुः।। The Sāṅskāroktubh (pp. 536-558) contains the most elaborate 

treatment of पृथ्विपायनम्.
proscribes the penance called Taptakrocra and punarupanayana for one guilty of drinking wine (sura) 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 varnas unknowingly drinks surā (wine) or fæces, he has to undergo punarupanayana' and says (II. 1. 29) that if a brāhmaṇa carries a corpse (other than that of his parents or teacher) he has to undergo punarupanayana. Manu V. 91 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 22, 86 prescribe the same. In the Baud. gr. paribhāṣāsūtra (I. 12. 4-6) it is said that on partaking of honey, or flesh, śrāddha food or food from those in impurity on birth, or the milk of a cow before the lapse of ten days or the milk of a sandhinī cow, mushrooms or the resin exuded from trees, vilayana (a product of milk?), the food prepared for a number of people in common or the food of prostitutes, a man has to undergo punarupanayana and, according to some, also if he goes to a forbidden country, viz. Saurāstra (Kathiawar), Sindhu, and Sauvīra (Sind and the territory to its south and east), Avanti (Ujjain), Daksināpatha (Deccan), a brāhmaṇa has to undergo punarupanayana (except when he goes on a pilgrimage). It then sets out the procedure (such as a homa, putting a fuel stick of palasa on the fire and oblations of cooked food and ājya) and adds that in punarupanayana shaving, daksina, girdle, staff, deer-skin, begging for food and vratas do not take place.

The Vaik. smārta (VI. 9-10) contains similar rules for punarupanayana. Aparārka (p. 1160) quotes Paśṭhunaṣi to the effect that if a grown-up person drinks the milk of sheep or of a she-ass, she-camel or of a woman, he has to undergo punarupanayana and also the penance called prajāpatya.

Anadhyāya:—(cessation from Vedic study; holiday).

932. पतिक्षिादयेवान्त्यमनतिःप्रेयेराय । अवात्युत्रहरति । सोरासं सिन्धुराशोर-मण्डली दुक्षिणापथम । एतत्ति ब्राह्मणो गतवा युनं सर्वकान्तरहि ॥ भै. स. परिभाषायुं I. 12. 5-6.

933. नितिव्येषयागरीप्रयासमहिक्षितभोजते मधुरत्यांसत्सृष्टपक्षाधभोजयोजामे क एवपदपनयं करीति । भै. स्म. VI. 9.

H. D. 50
It appears that from very early times Vedic studies were stopped on various grounds. The Tai. Ar. 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 vāsaṭkārass 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 vāsaṭkāras; 936 therefore when.....fruitless”.

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 śūtras 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, Yāj. I. 144-151. The subject is also treated 937.

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934. तत्सा एतस्य यज्ञस्य द्वावनस्यायौ यज्ञादायिः सिद्धिः। तैं आं II. 15.
This is quoted by अघो. य. III. 4. 7 ‘विज्ञाप्ति तत्स्य द्वावनस्यायौ यज्ञादायिः
देशः’. 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 उचिद्र).''

935. तत्सा एतस्य ब्रह्मयज्ञस्य चतुर्विंद्री यज्ञकाराः यज्ञादायेऽवति
विवाहोत्तेजोत्तेजः लोगो सत्सवयति अवशेष्टति। तस्मातेऽविवाहोत्तेजः विवाहोत्तेजः लोगो सत्सवयति अवशेष्टति अवस्तुर्जर्जर्जीतीव यज्ञकाराणां
मध्यस्वयत्काराः। शतारथ्यायांग्र XI. 5. 6. 9. The words तस्मातेऽविवाहोत्तेजः &c. are quoted by विवाहोत्तेजः on या. I. 145.

936. The word ‘vāṣṭ’ or svāhā is uttered when making an offering to a deity. Thunder and lightning are said to be the vāsaṭkārās of brahmayajña. Just as when the word vāṣṭ is uttered some offering follows, so, when it thunders some Vedic text by way of brahmayajña should be repeated.

937. अपरीत च वर्षेऽदिस्तं द्विवेकेनानाध्यायेनास्तिर्यात्। एतं आं V. 3. 3.
at length in the Sm. C., Smṛtyarthasāra, the Saimskara kausṭubha (pp. 564-570), the Saimskara-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 (Paurnamāsī 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 Hārīta. Patañjali in the Mahābhāṣya (vol. II. p. 386) refers to anadhyāya on amāvāsyā and 14th tithi. There is a famous verse of the Rāmāyana 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 Āṣādha, Kārtika and Phālguna. The Baud. Dh. S. I. 11. 42-43 quotes a verse (Vedic study on) the eighth tithi kills the teacher, 14th kills the pupil, 15th kills learning'. Manu (IV. 114) has a similar verse. Aparārka (p. 189) quotes from the Nṛsiṃhapurāṇa verses to the effect that there is to be no teaching (of the Veda) on Mahānavami (9th of Āsvina, bright half), on Bharani (i.e. the tithi when the moon is in Bharani nakṣatra after Bhadrapada full moon), Aksatatrītiya (3rd of Vaiśākha, bright half) and Rathasaptarātri (7th of Māgha, bright half). Similarly there is to be anadhyāya on what are called Yugādi and Manvantarādi tithis. Yugādi tithis according to Viṣṇupurāṇa and Brahmaṇapurāṇa quoted by Aparārka (p. 425) are Vaiśākhaśuklaṛtriya, Kārtikaśukla navami, Bhadrapada kṛṣṇa trayodāśi and Māgha Pūrṇimā (they are respectively the beginnings of the four yugas, kṛta, tretā, dvāpara and kali). The Sm. C. (I. p. 58) quotes the Nārādiyapurāṇa ‘on the day when uttarayāṇa and daksināyāṇa first take place, on Visuva (the two...
days in the year when the day and night are equal), on the
tithis when Visnu sleeps and awakes from sleep (i.e. Agadha-
sukla-ekadaSI and Kartika-sukla-ekadaSI), on Yugadi and
Manvadi tithis there is anadhyaya. The tithis on which the
fourteen manvantaras are supposed to begin are quoted
below. According to a purana passage quoted in the Sm. C.
(I. p. 58) there is anadhyaya on Sopapada tithis (viz. Jyestha
sukla 2, Asvina sukla 10, and Maha sukla 4 and 12).

Sometimes on the same day there are two tithis; hence the
rule laid down is that if on any day a particular tithi (which is
declared to be anadhyaya) is shown in the calendar as
extending for three muhurts at sunrise or at sunset, then the
whole of that day is anadhyaya.

Yaj. (I. 148-151) speaks of 37 tatkaliika anadhyayas (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 siman, 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 sudra or
antya (i.e. one of the untouchables), cemetery, a patita (one
guilty of mahapataka); 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. आवद्युक्तप्रवस्य नवभूमि कालिक्या भ्रवस्य सिता। तुलसी वैश्वनासयं तथा भावपुर्वस्य
च कल्याणस्य समासर्यं पुष्पस्यकालस्य सिता। भावस्यपविन दम्मास्य समासस्य सत्त्विम्‌
कालिक्य वाल्लुनी वैश्रव्यं जोशी पञ्चदशस्य सिता। मनस्तारावसयं कल्याणस्य बालसकार्यकः। मनस्तारावसयं 17. 6-8 quoted in the
सुध्वितिकाः I. p. 58; vide also स्थुतर्यथीम्बारस्य p. 9.

943. उपेश्यं पुष्पस्य न्यायं तं आविष्कारिन्यं दस्यस्य सिता। चतुर्दशं भ्रवसिः माययं पाठं संसंपन्नं। सुध्वितः। संस्कारमुखः।
 quoted in स्थुतर्यथीम्बारस्य p. 8; संस्कारमुखः।

944. उदयसर्यस्य वामण्य शुद्धितत्र गाणितं यह। तहृतनं तद्विवर्गमनः स्थुतर्यथीम्बारस्य। विनः।
स्थुतर्यथीम्बारस्य p. 8.
be added. According to Ap. 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 bāna (a kind of vīpā), bheri (a drum), mṛdanga, gartu (a chariot) and the distressed. Manu (IV. 123-124) explains that when a sāman is heard, one should not study any portion of the Rigveda or Yajurveda, because the gods are the devatas of Rigveda, 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. Ap. Dh. S. I. 3. 11. 27 prescribes that there should be no Vedic study as long as there are clouds when it is not the season for clouds, when there is a halo round the sun or moon, when there is a rainbow, or when there is parhelion or a star with a tail (like a fish). Gaut. 16. 19, Ap. Dh. I. 3. 9. 14-15, Vas. 13. 11 say that there is anadhyāya as long as a corpse or a cāṇḍala 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, Visnu 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...
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 (Ap. Dh. S. I. 3. 11. 28) or when there is the howling of salāvṛka (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 Yaj. 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 Samhitā or Brāhmaṇa (of the sākha one is studying) or when one finishes the study of the Āranyaka 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 Yaj. are held to refer to repetition. Raising the banner in honour of Indra was a festival prescribed for kings in the Kauśika śūtra 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 uttarāṣādhā, śrāvana or dhanisthā constellation and it was taken down in the same month on the bharani constellation (vide Sm. C. I. p. 59). According to the Brhat-Samhitā (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 Āṣṭakā days946 and on the last day of each of the six rūs (seasons).

946. The āṣṭakā homa was performed on the 8th of the dark half of the four months from Mārgāśīra (according to Āsv. gr. II. 4. 1) or (according to others) of three months of Paṃsa, Maṅga and Phālghuna. Gaut. 16. 38-39 prescribed three days' anadhyāya on each of the three Āṣṭakās or according to some only on the last Āṣṭakā.
In a few cases the anadhyāya was ākālika, i.e. lasted for one day (60 ghatikās) 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 this anadhyāya for 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. 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 this anadhyāya for 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.

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 Aṣṭakas and on the death of near agnates (like brother, nephew &c.) there is anadhyāya for three days (Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 10. 2–3). Gautama 6. 38–41 is similar to Āp. The Harita dharmaśūtra prescribes anadhyāya for three days on the death of one's upadhyāya, or of the king or of a śrotiṣṭya 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 acārya.

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947. The अनिद्धाय अनिद्धाय in यू. I. 147 derives the word as follows ‘नितिनिद्धाय अनिद्धाय अनिद्धाय: आकाल: तत्र भव आकालिको अनिद्धाय:’.

948. The अनिद्धाय अनिद्धाय अनिद्धाय in यू. I. 147 derives the word as follows ‘नितिनिद्धाय अनिद्धाय अनिद्धाय: आकाल: तत्र भव आकालिको अनिद्धाय:’.

949. The अनिद्धाय अनिद्धाय in यू. I. 147 derives the word as follows ‘नितिनिद्धाय अनिद्धाय अनिद्धाय: आकाल: तत्र भव आकालिको अनिद्धाय:’.
Maunu (IV. 110 and 119) prescribes anadhyāya for three days on accepting invitation for ekoddīṣa śṛuddha, on the death of the king, on eclipses and on upākarma or utsarga. Yaj. I. 144 contains similar rules.

Āp. Dh. S. (I. 3. 10. 4) prescribes 12 days' anadhyāya on the death of one's parents and ācārya. Baud. Dh. S. I. 11. 32 prescribes three days' anadhyāya on the death of one's father. This rule must be taken as referring only to a brahmacārī. Vas. (13. 39–10) 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 Yama that there can be no Vedic study under the shade of certain trees like Śleṣmātaka, Śālmalī (silk-cotton), Madhuka, Kovidāra and Kapiththaka.

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.

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

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950. वित्तुपरते विराजम्। गी. ध. I. 11. 3–2; आचार्यं पेते विराजम्। आचार्यंपुन–
शिशिश्वभायार्थहेतुर्म्। वित्तुप यस कुमार । ।

951. श्रेण्मातृकसम्बन्धः श्रायार्थं श्रामदेस्मुपकर्षः। च। कथाविचारि नाथवियं कथाविचार–
कविचारवयः॥ यस quoted by Āparākṣe p. 192. In the परा. मा. I. 1. p. 158 this
is quoted as from the कुमार्यसर्वः।

952. श्लेष्मात्तसम्बन्धः शालमलायकः। मी. 16. 49; यथोक्तमप्रज्ञः परिक्ष्यः। आप. ध–
द्रष्ट्र, I. 3. 11. 34.
the Veda in the mind). Baud. Dh. S. I. 1.11. 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. Ap. Dh. S. I. 11. 20 allows (in general) mental study (not vocal) on anadhyāya days. Vide also Ap. Dh. S. I. 11. 32. 12-13.

The Āp. Śrautasūtra (24. 1. 37) says that the rules about anadhyāya apply only to the learning of Vedic mantras, but have no application to their employment in various rites. Jaimini (XII. 3. 18-19) establishes the proposition that the rules about anadhyāya being prescribed for acquisition of the Vedic mantras have no application to their employment in sacrifices. The Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 12. 9 has a sūtra which shows remarkable agreement with the words of Jaimini.

We saw above that according to the Tai. Ār. the rules of anadhyāya do not apply to the daily performance of 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 loreś (the sāṅgas like grammar, Nirukta &c.) helpful to (understanding of) the Veda, the obligatory svādhīyā (i.e. brahmāyajnā) and the mantras to be used in homa. Śaunaka 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 pārāyāṇa (repeating the Veda already learnt); the anadhyāya rules apply only to the first learning of Vedic mantras and to their teaching. The Smṛtyarthasaśāra (p. 10) says that those who have a slippery memory or those who have to commit to memory extensive Vedic texts


954. स्वाधीयायेनन्दाघरी निश्चितं न कर्मयथान्तरवादः । आप. श्री. 24. 1. 37.

955. मन्त्राः कर्मसंयोगमात्रपेयं भयोः: स्वाधीयेत तत्सततिमत्रातः निला वनि विधानना अवर्जनां प्रयोगः: स्वालक्षण्यात्तपेयगतिः । लै. XII. 3. 18-19. The first sūtra contains the पूर्वपंशिव view; compare निला वनि विधाननां अवर्जनां: शुभंतने तत्कमयोगेन मन्त्राणाम । आप. ध. IV. 4. 12. 9.

956. निला जपे च कामे । कर्मकामोपेदित वेदाणां श्रवणे श्रुतिः । नात्समधवायित वेदाणां श्रवणे श्रुतिः । शोकनक मद्वेदित । पूर्ववेदेसार I. p. 61; vide similar verses in स्तुतिपेदेसार p. 11.

957. तथा विबुद्धितिहाः । छहुदेशवाद विदिननमस्तमहे । छहुदेशवाद विदिननन्दमलिप्पचित्ते दुः । छहुदेशवाद विदिननन्दस्य श्रवणार्थाय आम्ब्यसेतु । स्तुतिपेदेसार p. 10

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should study the Vedāṅgas, nyāya (logic), mīmāṃsā and dharmāstātras on all anadhyāyas except on 1st, 8th, 14th and full moon and new moon days. Some digests quote a verse from the Kūrmapurāṇa\(^\text{958}\) that there is no anadhyāya for the study of Vedāṅgas, of itihāsa, purāṇas, dharmāstātras and other sāstras; but on parva days the study of even these should be dropped. This shows that these ētihīs 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 that\(^\text{959}\) if a person taught the Vedic lore or studied it on anadhyāya days, he incurred loss as to (long) life, offspring, cattle, intelligence and the merit accumulated by him.

*Keśānta* or godāna:—This sainskāra 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 Āsv. gr., Śaṅ. gr., Gobhila and other grhyasūtras employ the word godāna. In the Śat.\(^\text{960}\) Br. while speaking of the dikṣā (consecration of the performer

\(^{958}\) अनवधायस्त नाकेंद्र नेतिहासपुराणाः। न धर्माशस्त्रः स्पन्देति मार्गे येव || quoted from कृष्णपुराण दिन्यायसिद्धुः। तस्ये मृगेन्द्रस्य (उत्तरार्ध) 14. 82-83 and अवलोकनस्वूती (Jiv. ed. I. p. 517)

\(^{959}\) गम्यन्त। आयुः जनाः पहुँचन सैयाः क्योः दिं दृश्यते च वच्छत। अनवधायस्त्यशस्त्रस्तो ब्रह्म प्रागहस्तलया || स्वल्पितं I. p. 61. Vide two similar verses quoted in स्वर्यवर्ध-सार p. 8.

\(^{960}\) स वृक्षिल्लगेष्ये गोवारस्मयः सित। श्रवणं 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 sāṃskāra was performed in the 16th year. According to Śān. gr. (I. 28. 20, S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 57) it may be performed in the 16th or 18th year. According to Manu II. 65 keśānta is performed in the 16th, 22nd or 24th year respectively for a brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya or vaiśya. The Laghu-Āṣvalāyana 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 Uttarārāmacarita 661 (Act. I) makes the heroine Sītā 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 662 (54. 15) godāna precedes cūḍākarma and the commentator Keśāva 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. 663 Following this rule the Mit. on Yāj. I. 36 and Kullūka on Man II. 65 say that godāna should be performed in the 16th year from conception in the case of brāhmaṇas, 664 while Aparāśka says that it is to be performed in the 16th year from birth. Viśvarūpa 665 on Yāj. I. 36 says that whatever the period of brahmacarya that a student was going to observe (whether 12, 24, 36, 48 &c.) keśānta must be performed in the 16th year and if any one had his upanayana performed later than the 16th year, then keśānta will not take place at all. Nārāyana on Āśv. gr. I. 22. 3 notes that according to some godāna takes

961. एते खङ्गू तत्काल्कर्तमोदितमक्षरान्तराता ब्राह्मो विवाहविक्षिता गुप्तम्।
उत्तरामर्चिरि I.

962. पूर्वाकारणं च गोदामनेन व्यास्यातः। कौशिकत्वम्। 54. 15.

963. गभारिद्वंशस्य च वर्णाणि तदब्जेतु ब्राह्मणशून्यपीति। चौ. ध. वृ. I. 2.7.

964. केशान्तम्। पुष्योदिताभि कर्म गभारिद्वंशं गोदेन वर्णविश्वकार्यस्।
एव व्रज द्राक्षवायिके वर्णविश्वकार्यस्। एवादिन्यायिके वर्णशास्त्रसे भूतवस्यं।
अर्जुनवैश्वेषवृद्धीपावमात्रकालावर्ग हृदाविवेचतं प्रहस्य स्वामने। 
सिद्धा 666 on या. I. 86.

965. On केशान्तम्। गोदेनं। केशान्तस्तु सर्वप्रक्षुं गोदेन्त्र एवादिन्यायं।
चालाबुयस्त्व-शालवस्यं। एवादिन्यायिके। 
...
यद्य पुनः प्राणं। गोदेन्त्र वृद्धिकालमयीयुगंतस्ततोऽकालात्यान्तत्वतिर्थं तदभाव। विवेचनम्। 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 kesānta follows the procedure of cūdākarāṇa 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 kesā 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."  

Nārāyana notes that being grown up he should not sit on his mother's lap as in caula (but sit to her right) and that the instruction is to be on the next day. Nārāyana says that the instruction referred to is the one mentioned in 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 (mentioned 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., Śānkhaṇyana and several others allowed the fee of only one cow. Gobhila (III.1.5) and Khādira (II.5.3) allowed optionally the gift of a pair of horses or a pair of sheep for ksatriyas or vaiśyas respectively. According to

966. In Āśv. y. I.17.7 the mantra in caulā is अद्विति: केला मपि; instead of it the mantra in godāna is अद्विति: हस्मचुनि वपि. In caulā Āśv. (I.17.8) prescribes the laying of kūsa bunches on to the right side of the hair; in godāna the kūsa is laid on the beard (before it is cut). In caulā the edge of the razor is wiped with the mantra 'सशुचिं शर्वित्वा खशस्त्रा वत्ता वप्ति केलार. हस्मचुनः हिर्मोदिण्यताः समोदीतः (आङ्क. य. I.17.15); instead in godāna, the mantra is यत...वप्ति हस्मचुनि। हस्मचुनि हिर्मोदिण्यताः मास्या &c. In this way ऊँ (necessary changes in the words) is to be made. In caulā in Āśv. I.17.16 the direction to the barber is 'शीतोपायिन्तिः हर्षवषुघणितः त्रिषालिकर' in godāna it is 'सीती... शुचिः हुज्जलः केलास्तीहुज्जलमर्नस्यस्यन्युसर्वसंस्माति हुज्जः'.

967. अद् वर्त्तमानार्थवात् ब्रजाचार्यब्रजाचारी ब्रजार्थार्थ ब्रजार्थार्थ संबंधम् च। आङ्क. य. I.22.17.

968. गायेकालाश्रेण ब्रजाचार्यब्रजाचारी ब्रजाचार्यब्रजाचारी संस्कारस्य च। आङ्क. य. I.11; संस्कारस्य शुमलोचनानि ब्रजाचार्यं चरति। ब्रजास्त्रस्य I.10.
Gobhila and Khâdîra shaving the beard precedes a vrata called godanika for one year and both state at length the observances of that vrata (Gobhila III. 1. 11-29, Khâdîra II. 5. 7-16).

Saṅ. gr. (I. 28. 22) expressly says that the keśânta 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 godâna the removal of all the hair on the head (including the sikhā 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 Samavartana:—(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 Āsv. gr. III. 8. 1, Baud. gr. (II. 6. 1), Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 7. 15 and 31, Bhār. gr. II. 18 employ the word samavartana. The Khâdîra 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 'samavartana' 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 samavartana. 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 brahmācārin all his life need not undergo this saṁskāra. Samavartana 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. Samavartana is not a necessary anīga (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 marriage. Some hold that Samavartana is an anīga of marriage and consists

969. न तु समावर्तनं विवाहाधृतम् । तेन य: पितृशुश एवाधीतवेदमां योगसंस्कृतस्य सामन्तस्य संभवेच्छु विवाहः । केवलसमावर्तनं विवाहाङ्गुरु स्वाभं समस्ये । कयुशुशः नेतृविषयसत्तिति वेदः तद्भवधेतस्य स्वस्वस्याज्ञातिः कदयति । एव यमात्मस्यामाभिनि प्रस्तुतिः मेधा. on मह. III. 4.
in the ceremonial bath. If it be said that the gerundial termination (tva in snātavā in Manu III. 4) conveys distinction between snāna and samāvartana, the reply is that Manu will later on speak of samāvartana as the samskāra of snāna.

Āp. gr. 12. 1 begins its treatment with the words ‘vedam adhitya snāsyant’ (after learning the Veda and when about to undergo the ceremonial bath). Having these words in mind Baud. gr. 970 (II 6. 1) remarks that in the words ‘vedam adhitya snāsyant’ 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 Upanisad 971 IV. 10. 1 we read that Upakosalā Kāmalāyana became a student of Satyakāma Jābala and tended his teacher’s fires for twelve years; the teacher while making his other pupils return (to their parental home) did not make Upakosalā return. Here it is clear that the Upanisad 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 brahmacārin (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. वेदमधीयन न्यासपञ्ञितत्वं समार्थ्यतम्। सौः सू. II. 6. 1. अधित्व न्यासव शब्दभिसंज्ञेन अष्टांगदेशतः।

971. स ह न्यासपञ्ञितसिनः समार्थ्ययतस्त्वे स सिद्ध न समार्थ्यत्। छायवृत्तमIV. 10. 1। आचार्यकृतवृद्धिवारणीयम्रस्याविधानं द्विती: कर्मलिंग्यमार्थयसहवृत्तमः कुतुम्बे।

972. न व व व्रत्वाभिश्वतः न्यातेन म्य. XI. 3. 3. 7। तस्य ब्र. XI. 3. 3. 7। तस्य ब्र. XI. 3. 3. 7। तस्य ब्र. XI. 3. 3. 7। तस्य ब्र. XI. 3. 3. 7। तस्य ब्र. XI. 3. 3. 7। तस्य ब्र. XI. 3. 3. 7।

973. तस्य ब्र. XI. 3. 3. 7।

974. वेदमधीयन न्यासपञ्ञितत्वं समार्थ्यतम्। सौः आ. V. 3. 3। महान् यूति स्नातकस्त्वमस्तिः विज्ञापते। अभि. यू. III. 9. 8।
has not studied this (mahāvrata) does not become a (true) snātaka, even though he may have learnt a good deal else." The Āsv. gr. III. 9. 8 summarises a Brāhmaṇa passage to the effect that a snātaka is indeed a great being.

Snāna (the ceremonial bath) was ordained by the sūtrakāras after a student finished his Vedic study. The Āsv. 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.' 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), 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), vrata snātaka and vidyā-vrata snātaka (or veda- vrata snātaka as in Baud). One who has finished Veda study, but has not gone through the vrata (described above) is called vidyā-snātaka; one who has finished the vrata, but has not finished his Veda study is styled vrata-snātaka; while one who has finished both is named vidyā-vrata snātaka. Yāj. I. 51 in saying that a student after finishing Veda (study) or the vrata (observances of brahmacarya) or both, and after giving to the teacher what the latter chooses to ask should take the ceremonial bath with the teacher's permission' impliedly refers to the three-fold division of snātakas. These three alternatives are due to the fact that a student may not have the ability or the time to go through the full Vedic curriculum and the

975. विद्यासंताने युद्ध्मर्चः निममन्तः हृद्वायुज्ञतत्त्वयं न स्वारम् । आभवः यः III. 9. 4 ।
चेव समाज्य स्नायाद्वः क्रथ्यवृत्ताय महायतार्थविरिक्षोक्षिप्येकं युद्धानुज्ञतः । पारस्तर्भग्न II. 6।

976. ब्रह्मस्तनात्त्वि विद्यास्नात्त्वि व्रतस्तनात्त्वि विद्याव्रतस्तनात्त्वि इति । समाज्य
वेबुमस्तनात्त्वि यः समाज्यसिटि विद्यास्नात्त्वि समाज्य ब्रह्मस्तनात्त्वि चेवः यः समाज्यसिटि
स्तनात्त्वि स्तनात्त्वि उभयं समाज्य चः समाज्यसिटि स विद्याव्रतस्तनात्त्वि इति । पारस्तर्भग्न II. 5;
हारिति as quoted in स्मृतिस्त्र, I. p. 66 is the same.
vratas. Medhatithi on Manu IV. 31 notices that according to some vrata-snātakas are those who without finishing Veda study take the ceremonial bath three years after upanayana. Gobhila (III. 5. 23) says that of these, vidya-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 grhastha. As long as a person is not married after he takes the bath, he has to follow the observances prescribed for snātakas and grhasthas so far as applicable to his position but not those of a student. Gaut. (IX. 1-2) makes the position quite clear by prescribing the same rules of conduct for grhasthas and for snātakas. He also states (in III. 9) that whatever rules laid down for brahmacārins 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 brahmacārī 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 Aśv. 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 जायास्त्रुक्तमात्स्तलको भवन्यत उर्वरे शूरस्थ:। भृ. यू. पारिभाषा 1. 15. 10.

978. Vide हस्त्रत्न on मौलन IX. 2 (स्नातकक्ष) व यथायिन्यमानवेत्तवेश्वरस्य-पारिभाषाय भार्यायिन्यमात्स्तलस्यतिः उर्वरेश्वरतिः । हस्तक्षेत्रात् भार्यायिन्यमात्स्ये यात्रार्थिः शूरस्त्रयां एतत्तुल्लेत् तः तत्स्थितस्य 1. हस्त्रत्न on आप. यू. I. 11. 30. 6 (अथ नाल्कात्) says that some of the स्नातकक्षs are common to शूरस्त्रs. According to हस्त्रत्न on आप. यू. I. 11. 30. 3 तत्स्य in ब्राह्मण does not stand for the special ब्राह्मण like महानाराणी, but for the general observances such अंशीन, मेराजयोऽयन.
should prepare them only for the teacher. He should procure a fuel-stick from the north-east side of a sacrificial tree (like palāśa); the fuel-stick may be undried if he wishes for the enjoyment of food or for prosperity or for splendour; it may be dry if he wishes for spiritual lustre; or both dry (in part) and undried in the remaining part if he desires both. Having placed the fuel-stick on high (not on the ground) and having made gifts of food and of a cow to brāhmaṇas, he should perform the actions prescribed in godāna ceremony (and not the observances like remaining silent). He should alter the mantras (of godāna) so that they refer to himself. (He should rub himself) with the powder of Ekaklltaka.

Having bathed himself in lukewarm water and having put on two garments which have not yet been washed (or used) with the mantra 'You two (Mitra and Varuṇa) put on garments' with fat splendour' (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 sraj (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 'अष्टप्र ब्राह्मणे स्नापिते मैने हिसी:' (Aṣṭ. S. I. 17. 8-9) repeated in चौल and गोद्रान (by the आचार्य) the student should himself repeat the mantra as 'अष्टप्र ब्राह्मण मां स्नापिते मा मा हिसी:' Instead of the mantra 'सन्ति सिरी श्रव्य सार्वायुः: समेती:' repeated by the आचार्य in गोद्रान, the student should himself say 'सन्ति सिरी श्रव्य मा मे आहु: समेती:'

980. ‘कर्क्कवीर्य यथैः भीते तत्सद्भावतः। तत्स्थवच्च तथेऽपि नारायण कायस्यतः ’ बाराणण on अष्ट. S. III. 8. 8. It is the seed of the कार्क्क binary tree which contains only one grain that is to be powdered.

981. The mantra युं यमाचे 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 jewel with the hymn beginning with 'ayusyam', 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 Prajapati, 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 Apsaras, with wild and domestic animals, the vow belonging to my own self, dwelling in my own self, that is my entire vow. O Agni! I shall on all sides become this vow, svāhā'. With the hymn 'mine, O Agni, be the glory' (Rg. X. 128. 1) he should put fuel-sticks on fire one for each verse. He should stay for the night at a place where the people will do honour to him (by offering Madhuparka)'. Madhuparka will be dealt with under marriage.

The Baud. gr. paribhasā says (I. 14. 1) that the smāvartana rite for him who is only a vratasnataka (and has not studied the Veda) is performed silently (i.e. without the mantras prescribed). The other grhya sūtras have a similar procedure in smāvartana, only the mantras sometimes differ and a few details are added.

982. Nārāyaṇa on Áśv. gr. I. 8. 16 says that the 'maṇi' is 'suvarṇamaya (made of gold). Āp. gr. 12. 8 speaks of 'maṇiṁ suvarṇam 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 अथ. अ. प्र. II. 8. It is in praise of gold.

984. Nārāyaṇa adds on Áśv. gr. III. 8. 16 that he should keep aside his shoes and then offer the fuel-stick. Stenzler conjectures सिं for सिं in sṛṣ. q. 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 'ayusyam' which is the first verse of the Khilasūkta after Rg. X. 128. The erstwhile student is to offer samidhas sitting and not standing and end the rite with the offering to Śvīṣṭakṛt Agni.
For example, Śaṅ. gr. (III. 1. 2) makes the student sit on bull’s hide. Pār. gr. (II. 6) prescribes that eight jars full of water are to be placed on kuśa grass and water therefrom is to be poured over the head and the body of the student with certain mantras, that he is to worship the rising sun, to partake of curds or sesame seeds, to cleanse his teeth with an udumbara twig, he sees himself in a mirror (after adorning himself). Both Pār. and Gobhila (III. 4. 23) say that in this rite the girdle is taken off. Gobhila (III. 4. 31–34) says that at the end of the rite the student should mount a chariot drawn by oxen, drive some distance in an eastern or northern direction, should then come back to the teacher who honours him with madhuparka. Hir. gr. (I. 9. 10) says that the girdle, the staff and the black antelope skin that he wore as brahma-carin 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 Rgveda should unloosen the girdle of muṇḍa grass with the mantra ‘ud uttamam munugdhi’ (Rg. I. 25. 21). It is for this reason that in the Maratha country samāvartana is called ‘soḍmuṇḍa’ (rite in which the muṇḍa 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 Rohini, Mr̥gaśīras, Tiśya (Puṣya), Uttarā Phalguna, Hasta, Cīrā, or Viśākhā. The Baud. gr. paribhāṣā (I. 13. 3–9) omits Mr̥gaśīras out of these, while Bhār. gr. (II. 18) omits Rohini and Mr̥gaśīras 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 Sāṁskārāprakāśa pp. 576–578 for some of these details.

Numerous rules are laid down in the smṛtis and digests about snātakas (snātakadharmah). Many of these rules are applicable to grhasthas 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.
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(III. 9. 6-7) which has the shortest treatment and adding a few interesting items from other works. Āsv. 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 śrutī)'. 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 anadhīyāyas, 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 śudra 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, cāndalas and other untouchables, with fools or persons puffed up with the pride of wealth &c. (Manu IV. 79); he should
not be restless in his sexual desires or with his hands and feet, speech and eyes (Gaut. IX. 50, Manu IV. 177, Vas. VI. 42); he should go round (perform pradaksinā), when he meets on his way a cow, images of gods, a brāhmaṇa, ghee, honey, a square, well-known trees (Manu IV. 39, Gaut. IX. 66); he should not engage in wordy quarrels with his parents, guests, brothers, sisters, persons connected by marriage, maternal uncles, dependents, relations, sacrificial and family priests, children, wife, slaves (Manu IV. 179-180 = Sāntiparva 244, 14-16, Yāj. I 157-158); he should carry a bamboo stick, a water jar, kuṣa grass, wear two yajnopavītas, two garments (upper and lower) and two golden ear-rings (Manu IV. 36, Yāj. I. 133, Vas. XII. 14, 37-38); if he has money enough he should not wear old and dirty clothes, his garments should be white, he should not wear garments that are dyed and black cloth even when that is its natural colour (Āp. 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 pādūkas 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 kulāṅkula985 and should not

985. कुलाङकुल is variously explained. हस्तर on Sri. 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 'manidhanuḥ' (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 'punya or prāṣasta'; what is not 'bhadra' he should speak of as 'bhadra' and should not use the word 'kapāla', but the word 'bhagāla' for it (Gaut. IX. 20-22, Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 31. 11-14); he should not inform a person when a cow does some damage or allows her calf to have milk without the owner knowing it (Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 31. 9-10, Gaut. IX. 24-25); he should enter or leave his village from the east or north (Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 30. 7) and should not enter a village or a guarded house by a by-path (Manu IV. 73, Yāj. I. 140, Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 32. 23); at the two twilights he should be seated outside the village and should be silent (Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 30. 8); he should not wander about by day with the head covered, but he may do so at night or when answering calls of nature (Gaut. IX. 35-37; Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 30. 14); he should avoid finding fault with a cow, a fee given or a maiden (Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 31. 8); he should not 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. भुवने भुवनाचरिताः देवानां न स्थितं। समाजः समाजांश्च। आप. ध. I. 11. 32. 18-19. Compare आप. ध. च. I. 1. 3. 12 सम्म: समाजांश्चांगम (भाष्यारी). समाज is defined in the कालदत्त I. 4.27 as 'पशुण्य मस्तक वा पशुर्थिति सरस्वति बलपणे नियुक्तां नियमं समाजः। कुशिल्वाणांश्च ब्रह्मां स्वयं दुःि। ' In the Rock Edict No. 1 at Girnar (C. I. I. vol.1) Devamāṁ Priya orders that no samāja be held as he saw grave faults in it 'न च समाजो कलेखयो पाहकं वि वोरं समाजानिः पसति देवानां मियो &c.' In the Nasik cave Inscription No. 2 Gotamiputra is described as समाजकार (E. I. vol. VIII. p. 60). समाज may mean 'festival'. Vide Yāj. I. 84.
engage in dalliance with his wife, engage\textsuperscript{987} in yoga practice\textsuperscript{\dagger} 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 vāisiya 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 Śāmkāraśaustubba (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 śrātrīya and placing it on some place according to the rules, then contemplating on Prajāpati and putting the samidh (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). (\textit{Vide} Manu V. 88 = Viṣṇu Dh. S. 22. 87).

\textsuperscript{987.} \textit{Aṣṭāṣṭiśatāśaśārddhārṇēṣvaya:} \\ \\ \textit{वर्गत्वा धर्मिनिर्माणे तु कारणे:} \textit{परवर्त्तितकीयम्} तय- \\लच्चिक धर्माथ्वि यत्रतने तु कार्ये \textit{परिषेष्ठ VI. 9}; \textit{अत्ति रस्विनिं सर्वो सर्वाचन्तिकम्} \textit{\&} \\परमात्मायामहत्सम्य \textit{समाधिशिक्षा} जीवनसर्वाधिकारम्; \textit{कर्भवान} \\हर्षोत्स्वाः \textit{सह: धर्मिनिसतां दुः बुध III. 15-16. All are quoted in the गृहस्वरलालकर्ष \\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 sāṃskāra, 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. Ap. Dh. S. II. 9. 21. 1 says 'there are four āśramas, viz. the stage of householder, (staying in) the teacher's house, stage of being a muni, the stage of being a forest dweller.' That here mauna stands for the āśrama of saṃnyāsa is clear from Āpastamba's own words in II. 9. 21. 7 (atha parivrājāḥ) 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 brahmacāri, grhaṭha, bhikṣu and vaikānasa. Here also Gaut. speaks of bhikṣu before vaikānasa and Haradatta explains this departure from the usual sequence of āśramas as due to the words in Gaut. 28. 47 where we read 'prāg-uttamād traya āśramināḥ' (persons belonging to the three āśramas except the last may constitute a pariṣad), i.e., to exclude vaikānasa from the pariṣad he is mentioned last. Why the vānaprastha is called vaikānasa will be discussed later on under the former word. Vas. Dh. S. (VII. 1-2) names the four āśramas as brahmacāri, grhaṭha, vānaprastha and parivrājaka.

988. Vide above p. 3 where āśramadharma is said to be one of the six-fold divisions of dharma. चत्वारः आश्रमः ग्रहस्थस्याश्रमांप्रायं किंतु न वैकानसम्

989. धातुः रावणः वैकानसस्तुतीयो मित्रव्यपूर्तं आश्रम: इह दू क्रमेन्द्र: माग्नाकार आश्रमिण हर्षवः वैकानसस्तुतिनारः। हर्षवः on गोलस्थ 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. 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 'śamnyāsa' (in VI. 96). It would thus be seen that a person who belongs to the last āśrama is variously called parivrāṭ 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 (*ṣatāyur vair puruṣāḥ*). 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 brahmacya 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 vānaprāśa (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 śamnyāsīn (Manu VI. 33). Similar rules are found.

990. एकाश्रयं धव्यायं अभगनन्दन्तात्सिन्यं। सर्वोत्तराति। पाण्डवाम्नेन कष्टले नामसुप्र आस स पालनेहुँवंचकर दुःखः। स्वर्गमासवस्तनवीयी नाधियते। ब्र. भ. ख. II. 6. 29-31.

991. शाब्दितिकं असैतिण्यं अभगनन्दन्तात्सिन्यं। सर्वोत्तराति। पाण्डवाम्नेन कष्टले नामसुप्र आस स पालनेहुँवंचकर दुःखः। स्वर्गमासवस्तनवीयी नाधियते। ब्र. भ. ख. II. 6. 29-31.

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in many other smrtis. Baud. (Dh. S. II. 10. 5) states as his own opinion that the sages prescribe samnyasa after the 70th year.

The word āśrama does not occur in the Sarhhitās or Brāhmaṇas. But this cannot be stretched to mean that the stages of life denoted by this word in the sūtras were unknown throughout the Vedic period. It has been shown above (p. 268) that the word brahmacārī occurs in the Rgveda and the Atharvaveda and that 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 Agui is said to be ‘the gṛhapati in our house’ (Rg. II. 1. 2) and the fact that in the famous verse (Rg. X. 85. 36) which is employed even today in the marriage ceremony the husband says to the bride when taking hold of her hand that the gods gave her to him for gārhapatya (for attaining the position of a house-owner or householder) establish that the second stage of the householder was well-known to the Rgveda. There is nothing in the Vedic Literature expressly corresponding to the vānaprastha. It may however be stated that the Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa 14. 4. 7 says that vaikhānasas sages were the favourites of Indra and that one Rahasya Devamalimluc killed them in a place called Munimarana. Vaikhānasas means ‘vānaprastha’ in the sūtras and it is possible that this is the germ of the idea of vānaprastha. ‘Yati’ used in the sūtras and smrtis to indicate the fourth āśrama of samnyāsa does occur in the oldest Vedic texts. But there the meaning appears to be different. In the Rg. the word ‘yati’ occurs several times. But the sense is doubtful. Rg. VIII. 3. 9 runs ‘whereby when wealth was bestowed on Bṛggu and on yatis (or ‘on Bṛggu from yatis’) you protected Praskanva’. Rg. VIII. 6. 18 reads ‘O Indra, the yatis and those who were Bṛggu praised thee’; Rg. X. 72. 7 says ‘O gods,
when you filled the worlds as the yatis (did) you brought the sun hidden in the sea'. In the Tai. 998 S. VI. 2. 7. 5 we read 'Indra threw yatis to the sālāvrkas (hyenas or wolves), they devoured them to the south of the Uttaravedi.' The same words and story occur in the Kāthaka samhitā VIII. 5, the Ait. Br. 35. 2 (prādāt) and the Kauṣitaki Up. III. 1; in the last Indra said to Pratardana 'do know me only; I regard this as the most beneficial thing to man that he should know me. I killed the three-headed Tvāṣṭra, I gave to the sālāvrkas the Arunmukha yatis.' In the Kāthaka samhitā (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 kharjuras (date palms). Atharvaveda II. 5. 3, says 'Indra, who is quick in his attack, who is Mitra and who killed Vṛtra as he did the yatis.' In the Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa VIII. 1. 4 Brhadgiri is said to be one of the three yatis who escaped from slaughter and who were then taken under his protection by Indra. All these passages taken together suggest that the yatis were people who had incurred the hostility of Indra, the patron of the Āryas, that they were slaughtered by the Āryas with the help of Indra and their bodies were thrown to the wolves and that they seem to have something to do with a country where the date-palm grew and that a few of them who escaped slaughter subsequently were won over and became the worshippers of Indra (and therefore in Rg. VIII. 6. 18 they are described as praising Indra). So originally they were probably beyond the pale of the Vedic Āryans. If there is any connection between yati and yātu (sorcery) which seems possible, the yatis were probably non-vedic sorcerers.

In the Rg. X. 136. 2, there is a reference 997 to munis, who are wind-girt and who put on brownish dirt (dirty garments). In Rg. VIII. 17. 14 Indra is said to be the friend of munis (Indro munān saklā) 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

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996. Uṣṇ. Yati varṇa, sālāvrka, sūrya, svarchā. T. S. VI. 2. 7. 5. Sūrya-vrata may be seen in the Vaiśāṅva Br. and Śākta Br. and in the Vaiśāṅva Br. it means 'to worship the sun god'.

997. In the Rg. 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 brahmacarya, śmaśrūni to vānaprasthas (since according to Manu VI. 6 and Gaṅg. III. 33 the vānaprastha had to grow his hair, beard and nails). Therefore 'maḷam' and 'tapas' must be taken respectively as indicating the householder and the saṁnyāsins. A much clearer reference to three āśramas occurs in the Chāndogya\(^{999}\) 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 brahmācārī 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 parivṛtikā. Therefore in this passage it is possible to hold that the three āśramas (of student, householder and vānaprastha) are mentioned. The last clause about 'brahmasamstha' differentiates the three āśramas from him who has knowledge

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998. फिक छ मल किमाजनिन्निकुंदुद्वृण्णः फिक यययः। पुरुषं भ्रामणं कच्छंवं स दै तैत्को वदाख्यः। यस्मादि 33. 11। मलं यां कीवस्यि भ्रामणस्य। कामस्यि क्षितं वेदार्थस्य।' त्यतनं परस्य ब्रह्मचर्यस्य। वर्गोज्ज्ञानस्य। क्षितं वेदार्थस्य।

999. यद्यो धर्मस्त्रोधनं द्वाराश्रयं द्वाराश्रयं। तद्वर्जिनिर्द्वाराश्रयं। कुतस्तासी तुतीयोद्वाराश्रयं। अतिरिक्तं भविष्यं। अतिरिक्तं भविष्यं। भविष्यं। तद्वर्जिनिर्द्वाराश्रयं। कुतस्तासी तुतीयोद्वाराश्रयं। अतिरिक्तं भविष्यं। अतिरिक्तं भविष्यं। भविष्यं। कुतस्तासी तुतीयोद्वाराश्रयं। अतिरिक्तं भविष्यं। अतिरिक्तं भविष्यं। भविष्यं। कुतस्तासी तुतीयोद्वाराश्रयं। अतिरिक्तं भविष्यं। अतिरिक्तं भविष्यं। भविष्यं। कुतस्तासी तुतीयोद्वाराश्रयं। अतिरिक्तं भविष्यं। अतिरिक्तं भविष्यं। भविष्यं। कुतस्तासी तुतीयोद्वाराश्रयं। अतिरिक्तं भविष्यं। अतिरिक्तं भविष्यं। भविष्यं। कुतस्तासी तुतीयोद्वाराश्रयं। अतिरिक्तं भविष्यं। अतिरिक्तं भविष्यं। भविष्यं। कुतस्तासी तुतीयोद्वाराश्रयं। अतिरिक्तं भविष्यं। अतिरिक्तं भविष्यं। भविष्यं। कुतस्तासी तुतीयोद्वाराश्रयं। अतिरिक्तं भविष्यं। अतिरिक्तं भविष्यं। भविष्यं। कुतस्तासी तुतीयोद्वाराश्रयं। अतिरिक्तं भविष्यं। अतिरिक्तं भविष्यं। भविष्यं। कुतस्तासी तुतीयोद्वाराश्रयं। अति...
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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 parivṛjaka 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 viñapraśṭha and saṁnyāsa and they rather coalesced into each other.\(^\text{1000}\)

In the Br. Up. III. 5. 1 there is a reference to brāhmaṇa who on apprehending correctly the Suprema Spirit turn away from the desires of progeny, wealth and of securing holy worlds and practise begging. Begging is 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 pravrajyā from being a householder. Mundaka Up. I. 2. 11 refers to begging for him who has knowledge of brahma and Mundaka III. 2. 6 mentions ‘saṁnyāsa.’

In the Jābālopaniśad\(^\text{1001}\) (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.\(^\text{1002}\) The very day on which he becomes desireless, he should renounce the world (become a saṁnyāsin)’. Probably this passage\(^\text{1003}\) was not

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\(^\text{1000}\) Probably this passage\(^\text{1004}\) was not not.

\(^\text{1001}\) Vide Iif. n. II. 10. 1. \(^\text{sākhar explains ‘he says... passtes’ as ‘he who apprehends the Brahma and has knowledge of Brahma as a Vedic Yajnavalkya in the Br. Up. IV. 5. 2, tells his wife Maitreyī that he was going into a life of pravrajyā from being a householder. Mundaka Up. I. 2. 11 refers to begging for him who has knowledge of brahma and Mundaka III. 2. 6 mentions ‘saṁnyāsa.’

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\(^\text{1000}\) Probably this passage\(^\text{1004}\) was not not.
before the author of the Vedāntasūtra or he did not regard the Jābalopaniṣad 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 Jābalopaniṣad. In the Śvetāsvatara Upaniṣad (VI. 21) we have the word ‘atyāśramibhyah’. It is said there that the sage Śvetāsvatara, 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 Karmanda\(^\text{1003}\) and he tells us that the word ‘maskarīn’\(^\text{1004}\) 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, Sāṁkhya or Nyāya) held that liberation from the never-ending cycle of births and deaths, and escape from the three kinds of duḥkha were the highest good. The summa bonum consisted in non-return (anāvṛttī) to the world of pleasures and sorrows. The Chān. Up.\(^\text{1005}\) 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’.\(^\text{1006}\) This state of liberation or release is variously called mokṣa or mukti, amṛtatva, niḥsreyas,

\(^{1003}\) पाराशारिकलितां विख्यतंद्वत्रयोः। कर्म्युक्तकार्यादिविनः। पाणिनि IV. 3. 110–111.

\(^{1004}\) महत्स्वकारणी वेद्यप्रख्याताऽधिकरः। पाणिनि VI. 1. 154.

\(^{1005}\) न तदुभवती। च। उ। VIII. 15. 1.

\(^{1006}\) ममापि च श्रापवधे वैहत्तोहितः। शुभर्षेण परिबक्षितानिर्मयूः। दाकुलस्वत VII.
kaivalya (by the Sāṁkhya-s) or apavarga (Nyāya-sūtra I. 1. 2).

For attaining this state man must know and realize that there is only one Reality underlying all existence (and no plurality) and become disgusted with the passions and temptations of the world i. e. he must have nirveda and vairāgya (as stated in the Br. Up. III. 5. 1 or Mundaka I. 2. 12). Merely reading from the books that desirelessness is necessary for release and immediately giving up the world would not serve the purpose. The man would be hankering, as the Bhagavadgītā says, after pleasures he has renounced. Therefore the ancient Indian writers devised according to their lights a scheme which is embodied in the theory and practice of the āṣramas. In brahmacarya the individual goes through the discipline of the will and the emotions, makes himself acquainted with the literary treasures of the past and learns obedience, respect, plain living and high thinking. Then he marries, becomes a householder, tastes the pleasures of the world, enjoys life, has sons, discharges his duties to his children, to his friends, relatives and neighbours and becomes a useful, industrious and worthy citizen, the founder of a family. It is supposed that by the time he is fifty years or so he has become convinced of the futility of human appetites and the pleasures of the world and is, therefore, called upon to resort to a forest life for pondering over the great problem of the life hereafter and to accustom himself to self-abnegation, austerities and a harmless life. This would lead on to the last stage, viz. saṁnyāsa. He may succeed in this very life in realizing the supreme goal of mokṣa or he may have to continue to rise in spiritual height until after several births and deaths the goal is in view. The theory of varṇa dealt with man as a member of the Aryan society and laid down what his rights, functions, privileges, responsibilities and duties were as a member of that society. It was addressed to man in the mass. The theory of āṣramas 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 āṣramas 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 āṣrama) 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 (pākṣas) 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 Dākṣa I. 8-9, Vedāntaśūtra 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 house-holder 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 parivrūjaka 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 dharmaśūtras of Gautama 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
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 relies upon the fact that the āśramas other than that of householder do not beget offspring and quotes Vedic passages viz. 'may we, O Agni, attain immortality through progeny' (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 Brahmāsūtra III. 4. 18 Jaimini held this view, while Bādarāyana seems to have been of the opinion that all āśramas are enjoined (ibid. III. 4. 19-20). Those who hold this view (bādha) rely on such Vedic passages as 'one should offer āgniḥotra as long as life lasts' or 'indeed āgniḥotra 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. Ap. 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 Ap. arrives at the conclusion that there is no distinction due to superiority among the four āśramas. There were some who thought that the householder's life was the rule and the other āśramas were for the blind and other incapable persons. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 56 refutes this view.

The word āśrama is derived from 'śram' to exert, to labour and etymologically means 'a stage in which one exerts oneself'.

1008. "एकाकार्णः व्याख्यानां अमृतनवादित्रिकराः। ...पञ्जामिवः अभुतत्वंकामयौ जायमानस॥ वान्यविषिंद्रभवं जाते वान्यविषिंद्रभवं च ज्ञेन वेत्येष्म्॥\n\n1009. एवम् जागृतं सर्वं यहित्योत्त्रम्। अर्थम् XII. 4. 1. 1; युक्तेऽविष्ठं कर्माणि जित्तितिविश्वास्त समात्म॥।
\n1010. तेषु सर्वेऽविष्ठं हि। अर्थम् शु. II. 9. 21. 2 and '...... न तु तद्यथा अवस्थामादापि।' अर्थम् शु. II. 9. 24. 14.
\n1011. अवस्थायधितिः अस्मिन्ह ब्रह्म ह्रद्विः अर्थम्: i. 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 samskaras. 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 samskāra 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 pradaksinā to fire), upayama (to bring near and make one's own), and pāṇigrahaṇa (taking the hand of the girl). Though these words express only one component element of the rite of marriage they are all used in the śāstras to indicate the totality of the several acts that go to make up the ceremony of marriage. The word 'vivāha' occurs in the Tai. S. VII. 2. 87 and Ait. Br. (27. 5). In the Tāṇḍya Mahābṛāhmaṇa VII. 10. 1 it is said that "heaven and earth were once together but they became separate"; then they said 'let us bring about a marriage, let there be a co-operation between us'."

Before dwelling upon the various aspects of marriage, the question, whether our authorities point to a state of society when there was no institution of marriage, but there was only promiscuity, requires to be considered. The Vedic works contain no indications about a society in which the relations of the sexes were promiscuous and unregulated. In the Mahābhārata, however, Pāṇḍu is made to state to his queen Kuntī that women in former ages were under no control, indulged themselves as they liked and that they left off one man and

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1012. एवमप्रयमनपपित्तिमन्वितणस्वचरणार्मार्तारणमत्तारणेव कर्मसंस्कारेय शाक्षेषु महुःपवे अवसारा p. 91.
1013. इन्म वै लोको सहस्त्रो तो विवाहवृत्ती विवाही विवाही वर नामसंस्कार। 

1014. Vide आदिश्रयं chap. 122 (chap. 113 of cr. ed. Poona). Some of the verses may be quoted 'अजातो जिनु गुरु जिनु आत्म बलावने। कामचार- 

विलोक्ति: स्ततत्राध्यायाकलिति ॥ ४ ...उत्तराटे द्र सदभेषं कुरुक्षेत्राणि वर्तते। ७; तत्वाध्यायं 31. 37-38 'वधुहरितस्मादाचर्यम्। येष्वितान्यस्मव: किल। एवमपिरं पावट। क्रीणामतितिकायः॥'
went after another, that this state of things continued to his (Pāndu'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 Māhīṣmati did what they liked and could not be restrained. These passages cannot be relied upon for proving promiscuity of intercourse. In the first place, the country of Uttara Kuru is more or less mythical. This passage rather gives expression to what the poet imagined about remotest ages and not what he knew was the real state of society thousands of years before him. The theory of an original state of promiscuity once advanced by several sociologists has now ceased to be respectable (vide Mrs. M. Cole in 'Marriage, past and present' p. 10.

The purpose of marriage, even according to the Rgveda, was to enable a man, by becoming a householder, to perform sacrifices to the gods and to procreate sons. The verse in Rg. X. 85. 36 shows that the husband took a woman as a wife for 'gārhapatya'. Rg. V. 3. 2., V. 28. 3 speak of the co-operation of husband and wife in the worship of gods. Rg. III. 53. 4 contains the emphatic assertion 'the wife herself is the home' (jāyed-astam). In later literature also the same statement occurs. A wife was called 'jāyā', because the husband was born in the wife as a son (Ait. Br. 33.1). The Śat. Br. V. 2. 1. 10 says 'the 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 Ap. 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. अर्थे इ वा एव आत्मनो यजया तस्मादायः जार्गम न विकृते तेषां सात्वत्जाययः
असमां हि सात्वत्जाति अप्र् यवैव जार्यां विकृतेऽधृ जायते तत्र हि समस्य भवति। शास्त्रम्
V. 2. 1. 10. Vide शास्त्रम् VIII. 7. 2. 5. also. The words अर्थे इ वा एव आत्मनो
वयसस्त्री occur in स्रू. VI. 1. 8. 5. तस्मात घूणयो जार्यपिता कुस्मनकिन्तु तातानि
मन्तव्ये। ए. आ. I. 2. 5. न गृहौ गृहिमण्यपूर्व्यी हृदन्युपते। शास्त्रिष्कृतत 144. 66;
अर्थे भार्यो मन्यपयाभार्यो अभ्रो न्यायम्। सः। भार्यो मूलो तिर्याब्यभार्यो मूलो तिर्यापः।
अविष्कृत 74. 40; आत्मनये स्वत्तिष्कः च तेकास्ते च ब्रह्मिः। सतरायेप स्वतः भार्यो
पुष्पावशादस्ते समा॥ ब्रह्मसति quoted by अपराखः p. 740.
that the main purposes of marriage are two, viz. the wife enables a man to perform religious rites and is the mother of a son or sons who were supposed to save a man from hell. Manu (IX. 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. dharma, prajña and consequent freedom from falling into hell and rati (sexual and other pleasures) are the principal purposes of marriage according to the smṛtis and nibandhas. Yaj. I. 78 is to the same effect. Jaimini (VI. 1. 17 ff) establishes that husband and wife have to perform sacrifices together and not separately and Āp. Dh. S. 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.

The first consideration is: how to choose a bridegroom and what qualifications make a person a very desirable bridegroom. Āśv. gr. (I. 5. 2) says 'one should give a maiden (in marriage) to a man endowed with intelligence'. The Āp. gr. (3. 20) remarks 'the accomplishments of a bridegroom are that he must be endowed with good family, a good character, auspicious characteristics, learning and good health'. Baud. Dh. S. IV. 1. 12 states 'a maiden should be given in marriage to one who is endowed with good qualities and who is a celibate (till then)'. Even the Śākuntala (IV) echoes the words of

1016. तत्तथानुसारं बुले नार्यां कुष्ठिलः। आप. ध. II. 5. 11. 12; the सिद्धांि on यर. I. 78 quotes this and remarks 'तथा चापस्तथेऽ धार्मिकाः: प्रज्ञानेन बुले रासम्वर्त्तेऽधर्म...कुष्ठिलिः। रतिफलनं तु लक्षिकेनेऽव'.

1017. आपात्योऽनि स्वाभाविके विद्याते। पाणिज्ञानिकसहस्त्रं कर्मिकाः। आप. ध. च. II. 6. 13. 16-17.

1018. कः गुणरं विवृत्तोऽभानि। उपयोगः: प्रातापः कल्याणः व्रतस्तुर्यां: संसारः गतिक्लेशस्यामप्रायसः सतायताः विचारे: पाणिज्ञानात्क्रिया:। आप. ध. सह II. 20; तत्त आर्यां व्यासार्यानुकू लणं विवाहः। राजनुग्रुहं in उद्यासपथः।

1019. शुद्धस्तरं कर्मणा प्रवर्तितः। आप. ध. I. 5. 2; दुःखाद्वारे कल्याणं महर्षिकां बजाष्ट्रार्थे। श्री. ध. IV. 1. 20; व्रतस्तुतिसत् तरर्यां कोनिन्दित गतिः प्रवर्त्ततः। आप. ध. I. 3. 20; गुणेऽत् कल्याणं महायतस्त नीतिर्यां तस्ताविहः च; सकलसः। शास्त्रात् III (said by अन्तर्याः)। कुल व ब्रह्म व वैषयिकः विचारं व विचारं च समावतां च। एतत्स्तुतिसत महायतः एव विषयः कर्मणा दुःः संबंधितस्त नीपाः। यस्म न स्वल्पितः। I. p. 78.
Baudhāyana 'the best idea is to give one's daughter to a man endowed with good qualities'. Yama quoted in the Śr. 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 Jīv. ed.) enumerates eight qualities in a bridegroom viz. caste, learning, youth, strength, health, support of many (friends &c.), ambitions (arthis), and possession of wealth. Āsv. gr. (I. 5. 1) and others place kula (a good family) in the forefront in the case of both the bride and the bridegroom.\(^*\)

'The Asv. 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 sanskāras 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. Hārita 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.

\(^*\) These qualifications were laid down for those who were to partake of the čamasa offering in Rṣjasuya. Čulavāhata: मना संभविति। हरिति quoted in संस्कृतरूपायां p. 589; प्रायेन च सर्वस्यभेदु परभेदोक्षिणमेवातद्वपायसे धीमतः। हरि। IV.
Marriage and good family

Yaj. (I. 54-55) emphasizes the importance of a good family famed for ten generations and freedom from diseases that are hereditarily transmitted and adds that the bridegroom must be young, intelligent, a favourite among the people and his virility must be carefully tested. The Mit. on Yaj. 1. 55 quotes Nārada (strīpurīsa) who mentions some characteristics of the virile man and enumerates fourteen varieties of impotent persons (verses 11-13). Kātyāyana mentions what defective bridegrooms are to be avoided viz. the lunar, one guilty of grave sins, leprous, impotent, one of the same gotra, one bereft of eyesight or hearing, an epileptic and adds that these defects are to be avoided even among brides. The Mahābhārata observes ‘friendship and marriage should take place between those alone whose wealth is similar and whose learning (i.e. the learning in whose families) is of equal status, not between opulent (well-off) and the poverty-stricken’.  

Though Manu and Yaj. indicate that impotent persons are not eligible for marriage, yet such persons rarely married. Their marriages were held valid by Manu, Yaj. and others and their sons (by niyoga) took property as if they were aurasa sons. Vide Manu IX. 203 and Yaj. II. 141-142.

The Sāṁskāraprakāśa (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. Even the Śat. Br. (I. 2. 5. 16)
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gives expression to the then view that broad hips and slender waists make women attractive. Āsv. 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’. Sān. 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 (lakṣāṇas) are of two kinds, bāhya (visible or bodily characteristics) and abhyantara (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 D. 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 Revati, Ardra &c.), trees or rivers, she must not bear a mleccha name or that

1024. ब्रह्मसूत्रसारसंपन्नसामार्गसायपथ्य सिद्ध होत । अथवा यु ह. 5. 3; वनपुराण इत्यादिहृत ।

1025. । यथा मनोहरवेदनयतस्यतस्यवाविष्यतेऽत्कोनसेर । अथवा यु इत्यादिहृत ।

1026. तथा शृंगस्वत वृहदसमस्ताः सम्बन्ध न च समवेदन्यतः तत्यात्र प्रयुच्कसिति पोषकनुजः । कामसूत्र III. 1. 8.
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, Sālī, Kamalū). Nārada (strī-pumisayoga 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 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 prajñā. Vide also Vārāha gr. 10.

Some of the grhyasūtras propose a peculiar mystical method of selecting a bride. The Āśvā. gr. (I. 5. 3) after stating that one should select a girl endowed with good characteristics (lakṣāṇas) proceeds ‘lakṣāṇas are very difficult to discern’ and therefore prescribes (I. 5. 5-6) that eight lumps of different kinds of earth should be taken respectively from a field that yields two crops a year, from a cow-stable, from a vedī (sacrificial altar, after sacrifice is performed), 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. स्रोतेकुसिततेऽरोगात्तं भग्ना संवृद्धमैदुः। हुदान्यन्तरभवाच कन्यावन्धेऽः। भक्तिः। नात्रु (श्रीमुनि) 56.)

1028. भवायति विवाहकाल्पना विभवं सुभाषी च महामृतमिति। वालिः वेदेयवाच न सषुभ- याविन्यस्तेऽरुपयोगानां लीला महारथिं च तु वान्धे च विचरइः। वान्यवाहसुविशेषं आदुरप्रेमं दिः क प्रमाणं। भावायतं श्री 1, 11.

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' 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 Laugaksi gr. 14. 4–7 contains the same rules as in Gobhila. Ap. gr. 1029 (III. 15–18) prescribes a somewhat different method. If both sides agree, the bridegroom (or his friends) should place in one lump of earth several kinds of seeds (such as rice, barley &c.); he should take (a lump having in it) the dust from an altar, a third having a clod from a ploughed field, a lump having cowdung inside and (a fifth having) a clod of earth from a cemetery and keeping them before the girl ask her to touch one of them (the five). If she touches any one of the first four, that is an indication of future prosperity (of the nature of the object touched), but the last (viz. clod of earth from cemetery) is objectionable. The Vārāha gr. 10 and Bhār. gr. I. 11 speak of only four lumps of earth viz. from a field, from an altar, from a cow-stable, and from a cemetery and say that one should not marry a girl who takes up the lump of cemetery earth. Mānava gr. (I. 7. 9–10) speaks of eight lumps but substitutes a lump of earth where dūrva grows and a lump from under a tree filled with fruit for earth from a pool of water and one from a gambling place and adds that the eight lumps should be placed in a temple and if the girl takes up the lump from a cemetery or from a barren spot or from where four roads meet she should not be married. Many digests like the Gr. R. (pp. 13–22) contain long quotations which dilate upon the indications about the auspiciousness or otherwise of girls from their several physical features:

Gaut. IV. 1, Vas. 8. 1, Mānava gr. I. 7. 8, Yāj. I. 52 and several others say that the girl must be younger (yavlyast)
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 ‘yavilyasī’ 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, 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 Manava 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 paternal 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...
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 putrikiṇā and according to Gaut. 28. 17 some teachers went so far as to say that a daughter became a putrikiṇā 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 putrikiṇā. The Nirukta (III. 5) quotes another Vedic passage ‘one should not marry a brotherless woman, for she becomes the son of him (her father)’ and remarks that in this passage there is a direct prohibition against marrying a brotherless maiden (while in the passage of the Atharvaveda it is indirect, being involved in a simile) and it is also expressly said that she becomes the son of her father. In medieval times this prohibition against marrying a brotherless girl gradually was ignored and in modern times the pendulum has swung the other way, a brotherless girl being a coveted prize if her father be rich. In course of time popular feeling changed and no girl could remain unmarried if she wanted heavenly worlds. There is an interesting story in the 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 Śrīngavat 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. अतिसंधिपतारुदिकोदिकेकथाय:। गौ. 28. 17.
1035. नामस्यध्यायमेवविनिविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविवি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵िविवি঵ি঵िवি঵िवি঵ি঵ি঵िविविविविविवি঵ি঵िविविविविवি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵िवি
gr. I. 7. 8, Vārāha gr. 9, Śaṅkha 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 gṛhya-sūtras like Āśv. and Pār. say not a word about sameness of gotra and pravara. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 24. 9, Vaik. III. 2, Yaj. I. 53, Nārada (stripumśa, 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 sapindā 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), Yaj. I. 53 and others restrict the prohibition against marrying a sapindā 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, sapravara or sapindā girl are extremely important, as the following considerations will show. It is a canon of the Pūrva-māmsa that if there is a seen (drśta) 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 (adrśta) 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 sapravara 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. हरवृत्त on अप. ध. छ. II. 5. 11-16 quotes श्रुत ‘बारानारे यस साप्रवरसात्‌-मानायेत्वा पश्चात्‌ हि यमस्तम ग्रामितामितुमावतपुष्पम्;’. The words ārṣeya, ārṣa and pravara mean the same thing. Manu is silent about the prohibition against marrying a sapravara girl.
is a sagotra or sapravara or sapinda (within prohibited degrees) she does not in law become his wife at all. These principles are very lucidly set forth by Medhatithi on Manu III. 11, by the Mit. on Yāj. I. 53, the Madanaparijāta 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. As regards men there is no special rule as to the age before which a man was obliged to marry. A man could remain celibate all his life, while at least in medieval and modern times marriage has been absolutely necessary for every girl. A man was to marry after he had finished his Vedic studies; but the period of Vedic study was fluctuating (i.e., it could be 12, 24, 36, 48 years or as much time as was necessary to master one Veda or a portion of it). Usually twelve years were devoted to brahmacarya in ancient times and as upanayana ordinarily took place in the 8th year (for brāhmaṇas) a man would ordinarily be 20 years old or more at the time of marriage. It is therefore that Manu (IX. 94) remarks that a man of thirty may marry a girl of twelve years or a man of 24 who is in a hurry to become a householder may marry a girl of eight. Basing on this the Visnupurāṇa (III. 10. 16) says that the ages of the bride and bridgroom should be in the ratio of 1 to 3. Āṅgiras says that the bride should be two, three, five or more years younger. In
the Mahābhārata Gautama is prepared to give his daughter in marriage to Uttanka if he could be a youth of 16 years. In another place the Mahābhārata (Sabhā 64. 14 and Vanaprāsa 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 'śoḍāsa-varṣām' as printed should be 'daśa-varṣām').

In the Rgveda there are no clear statements about the exact age when girls were married. But there are indications that many girls were married at a sufficiently mature age (at least they were not married at the tender age of eight). We have already seen (p. 435) that brotherless girls often remained unmarried till old age. One of the benevolent deeds of the Āśvins is that they bestowed a husband on Ghosā 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 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 Naṣatyes (Āśvins) bestowed a wife on Vimada who was an arbhaga (of tender age). But all that is meant seems to be that Vimada was a mere boy as compared with his rival kings who had come as suitors. The two verses Rg. I. 126. 6-7 (which are rather too naive) indicate that girls were married before they had attained puberty. In Rg. I. 51. 13 Indra is said to have given to old Kāksīvat 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 Kāksīvat.
and conveys no idea of her exact age. On the whole one may conclude that in the period of the Rigveda girls were probably married at any age (either before puberty or after puberty) and sometimes remained spinsters all their life. The other Samhitās and the Brāhmaṇas do not shed much light on the question of the age of marriage for girls. In the Chāṇ. Up. Uṣasti Cākṛāyana is described as dwelling in the Kuru country with his wife, who is said to have been ‘āṭikī’ which Śaṅkara explains as ‘a mere undeveloped girl’.

Coming to the ancient grhya and dharma sūtras, it will be seen from several considerations that girls were married just before the time of puberty or immediately after it. Among the several requirements of the bride to be chosen several grhya sūtras lay down that she must be a ‘nagnikā’. Vide Hir. gr. I. 19. 2, Gobhila gr. III. 4. 6, Mānava gr. I. 7. 8, Vaik. VI. 12. The word nagnikā is variously explained by the commentators. Mātrdatta on Hir. gr. explains that nagnikā means ‘one whose menstrual period is near’ i.e. one who is fit for intercourse. Āstāvakra, 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 Gṛhyaśaṃgraha (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 śrītis 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. अद्बृताम  अभी महते  वचस्येक कशीति  वैच्यालिन्र्त सुन्त् ।  श्र. I. 51. 13.

1045. सदीर्धतेतुषु कुच्चुप्रवयिक्यम्  षट्जाययोस्तिष्ठै  चाष्टतयाम् ध्रययामेय मन्ताणक उपास।  छान्दोपण्य I. 10. 1. हंकर explains ‘वाहिक्यं  अनुवाजनायोपरिवर्तितं  ध्यानय’.

1046. ताप्रायानुसारतो  भार्ष्यप्रवचनेत्र सजातो  श्रियका  ब्रह्मायास्वरेणवाचैः।  हिरण्य.  गु. I. 19. 2. ‘निरवाकामाःसा वाचार्याः। ...तरालात्रक्षिपेयाहाय निरीक्षा ौधुनाराययर्थं।’  मातुद्वस्। ‘कन्यामुनेन्द्रुमूनिामित्रायुपचयत ... वर्यसरि निरीका  अंडाय।’  मानवपथ 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. śākha the reading is सजातानिरिका (i. e. the girl should be of the same caste and not a nagnikā). Vide ZDMG vol. 47. pp. 143-46.

1047. निरिकां हि  प्रेतक्षणाय वापुशास्त्यमि अवेित।  श्रतास्ति लनिका  कस  प्रभुत्व निरिकाम्।  अवापति  रज्जाते  गीर्थी  पाते  रजसि  रोहिणी।  अर्जुकिता भूषणः सुप्रभात जनिका।  ग्राहासंसह quoted by com. on नीरितानुसार श्र. 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 grhyasūtras prescribe that the married couple should be celibate for at least three nights after marriage (if not for a longer period). For example, the Pār. gr. (I. 8) says 1038 ‘the married pair should (after marriage) not partake of ksāra and lavana for three nights, should sleep on the ground (and not on a cot, for the same period) and should not have intercourse for a year, twelve nights, six nights, three nights in the last resort’. Vide for a similar rule Āsv. gr. I. 8, 10, Āp. gr. 8. 8–9, Śān. gr. I. 17. 5, Mānava gr. I. 14. 14, Kāṭhaka gr. 30. 1, Khādīra gr. I. 4. 9 and others. Such an injunction against intercourse for three nights after marriage would have been uncalled for and extremely inappropriate if girls had been usually married when they were only eight to ten years old. Such injunctions, by so many authors presuppose that girls must have generally been very near puberty or past puberty at the time of marriage. Haradatta who belongs to about the 12th century A. D. expressly says 1049 that (in his days) in certain countries intercourse was commenced immediately after marriage and that such a usage being opposed to Āsv. 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 grhyasūtras there is a rite called ‘caturthikarma’ (rite on 4th day after marriage). Vide Gobhila II. 5, Śān. gr. I. 18–19, Khādīra 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 marriage...
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 prāyaścītta (purificatory ceremony) is prescribed if the bride has menstruation during the progress of the marriage ceremonies. Vide Baud. gr. IV. 1, 10, Kauṣika sūtra 79, 16, Valk. 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. श्रीश्रीतलाई रस्मय तुपथातांनिश्चतोंतोनेरस्मय विष्णुएळकारानुः \ मद्वान्त मायातोः \ अमयस्थलने दृष्टि \ मायावासस: \ मलिपतेणभयते \ नृः. 18. 20-23.
unmarried. Yaj. I. 64 and Nārada (stripūṃṣa, 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 one 1051 who is devoid of qualities (in spite of Manu IX 89). Vide Baudh. 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 Yaj. smṛti was composed) popular feeling had become insistent on pre-puberty marriages. The reasons for this change are not quite clear. But it is possible to hold that it was due to the following circumstances. Buddhism had spread far and wide during these centuries with its encouragement of the institution of monks and nuns. There was laxity of morals among nuns. A further reason may be adduced viz. that girls had generally ceased to study anything, though some of them certainly did study in the times of Pāṇini and Patañjali, and so society did not like girls to remain doing nothing. From the times of the Rgveda (X. 85. 40-41) there was a mystical belief that Soma, Gandharva and Agni were the divine guardians of a girl and the Grhyāsāṁgraḥa (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. Sānvarta 1052 (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 (8th year) came to be looked upon as the proper age for marriage. Vide Sāṁskārakaustubha quoted below. It came to be believed that there was no hope of heaven for a woman who died unmarried.

1051. व्याहार्यवते कर्तयाम् निभिनां महर्षाबारिश्चित्वम्। अपि वा हुण्डीनाम् नोपदग्धास्याय় 
जস्तत্তদ্য। अविधामाने सत्तेशु युग्मानि अरैतद। वि. द. स. IV. 1, 12 and 15.

1052. रोगकाले तु सम्पासी सोपी ह्रदेय कर्मकाम। रजो हुता तु गर्भवसा कब्जी हुटा
तु पारक। ...तस्मात् बिषायद्वेक्षयो वापिनदुनि मन्दोत। विषायो बालकायोः कर्म्यास्यसः 
मृत्यूस्त। संस्कृतं इसार्यं इसार्यं इसार्यं इसार्यं इसार्यं इसार्यं 
mहस्तवत॥ संलर्गं इसार्यं। ग्रंथं 769; विषाय मन्दतवं ब्रह्मामाह पितामह। तस्मात्सूः तस्मात् तस्मात्
वत्तर।...यम कृयायतु (वैन्द्यनिःपथम्) 4. 2, 136.
In the Salyaparva\textsuperscript{1053} chap. 52 we have the story of a girl, daughter of Kuni 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 Śrīngavat 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.\textsuperscript{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 Laugākṣi\textsuperscript{1055} gr. (19. 2) says 'brahmacarya 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. Aparāṅka (p. 85) quotes the Bhavisyaparāṇa to the effect that nagnikā is one who is ten years old. Vide Sm. C. quoting Saṅgraha. Parāśara, Yāj. and Saṁvartaka go even beyond this. Parāśara\textsuperscript{1056} (VII. 6-9) says 'a girl of eight is called gaurī, but one who is nine years old is a rohinī; 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 pitṛs 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

\textsuperscript{1053}\textsuperscript{1054}\textsuperscript{1055}\textsuperscript{1056}}
brāhmaṇas) and that he becomes the husband of a vrṣali. 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. Saṁvarta (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 (Ānān. ed.) chap. 3. 19-22, but the order is different. Aṅgiras (vv. 126-128, Ānān. ed.) has the same two verses as Parasara (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 (Ānān. ed.) chap. 3. 19-22, but the order is different. Angiras (vv. 126-128, Ānān. ed.) has the same two verses as Parasara (VII. 6 and 8) and winds up (verse 67) by saying that the marriage of a girl of eight is highly commended.

Further the three smṛitis 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. Marloï1057 (quoted in Par. M. I. 2. p. 177) said that choosing a bride who was five years old was best. Even Manu (9. 88) recommended an early marriage if a very desirable bridegroom was available. Rāma and Sītā are said to have been respectively 13 and 6 at the time of marriage (Arṇyakāṇḍa 47. 10-11). But this passage appears to be an interpolation. In the 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. जननी गर्भवतीनि पदपुष्पवालारं द्वारसुम | कुमारीवचनं द्वारा वर्णमण्डाविशवः यथा । नरिष्ठिषये विद्विषये । भविष्यपुराण।

1058. अभिवाद्यात्मविवाहस्वर्ग सर्वं राजस्मात्मकं । रैमसे छविभि: सर्वं भूतुभि: सहिता । रह: ॥ बालकाण्ड 77. 16-17 (in 3 vol. with मोरियलराज' स 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 Mālatī, the heroine of his romantic drama of Mālatīmādhava, was so grown-up that it was practically a case of love at first sight. Vaiṣṇ. (VI. 12) requires a brāhmaṇa bride to be a nagnikā or gauri, but does not prescribe the same qualification for a kṣatriya or vaiśya bride. In the Hārṣacarita 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 Ucchvāsa). The Sāṃskāra-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 Gṛ. R. p. 83 quotes a passage from the Brahmaṇapuruṣa where the injunction to observe complete celi-

¹⁰⁵⁹. सामाजिकार्योऽन्वेषणम् नेवान्वेशक्तम एकाश्यी. १५६०. अभिज्ञास्यान्त एकाश्यी। परंपराभाष्यम्। निष्कर्षस्य। तीनसौहन्ताय। निशाचार्यस्य। पुराणान्त स्विन्देश्यस्मान्।
¹⁰⁶⁰. अत्यद्विव्ययायाम् एकाश्यी मानस्य। २४३। अद्वितीयस्यान्तः तं विषयविषयाय। इति। कथा। कथा। विषयविषयाय। विषयविषयाय। विषयविषयाय। विषयविषयाय। विषयविषयाय। विषयविषयाय। विषयविषयाय। विषयविषयाय। विषयविषयाय। विषयविषयाय। ७७१।
Another important question is inter-caste marriages. It has already been shown (pp. 50-58) how anuloma marriages were allowed, while pratiloma unions were condemned and how it was supposed that numerous sub-castes arose from such mixed marriages.

It is the contention of several eminent scholars (e.g. Senart in his 'Caste in India' translated by Ross p. 124) that caste as implied in modern usage and in its strict sense did not exist in the times of the Rgveda and the other Vedic Samhitās. We have seen, however, that the four varṇas had been recognised in the times of the Samhitās 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 Bhrigu) or Āṅgirasa 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 Rgveda V. 61 are interpreted by the Brhad-devatā (V. 50) as referring to the marriage of the brāhmaṇa sage Syāvāśva to the daughter of king Rathavīti Dārbhya. The story of Kavaśa Ailūsa who was styled 'dāśyaḥ putra' (either meaning 'the son of a dāś or used as a term of abuse) by the sages has been mentioned above (at p. 36).

1061. 1062. 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 Māṇava gr. I. 7. 8 and Gant. 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 śūdra caste (15. 18). Manu (III. 12), Śaṅkha and Nārada 1064 (stripuṣa, 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 ksatriya may marry a woman of his own caste or a vaiśya or a śūdra woman, a vaiśya may marry a vaiśya or śūdra woman and a śūdra woman only a śūdra 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 śūdra woman but without Vedic mantras. But Vasiṣṭha himself condemns it severely by saying 'one should not do so (i.e. marry a śūdra 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 śūdra 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 śūdra 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 śūdra woman can never produce religious

1063. सच्चिद्रवेण्यस्मिनिघितायां दयूऽपरः परहृतम् । कःकः कर्मभिः संस्कारः । पूर्ववर्त्तमांसंस्थितायां वर्णार्थे च मैथुने द्वेषः । भाष. व. II. 6. 13. 1 and 3.

1064. ब्राह्मणान्तःस्त्रियःदुःखातां च अन्तः । समाजः अपेते भाये समाजेतां पति खिया । माहनमापत्तार्थोऽपि स्वपाध्यायाः एव भु । नासुः (श्रीपुष्प वर्ष 4-5).

1065. तिनो ब्राह्मणम भाये वर्णादृश्येकी न रजस्वलयोऽवेकोऽवेकोऽवेकोऽवेकः । या- शेषस्तेन सन्तानजी बदलत । तथा न कुरुक्षेत्र । अति श्री भुव: कुलापक्षः नेवय चाहतमः । वसिद इ । 24-27.
merit; it is from carnal desire alone that he marries her being blinded by lust; and that dvija 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 dvija'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'. Yaj. 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 dvija should not marry a śūdra girl'. It appears however that prevailing public opinion and practice was too much for both Manu and Yaj.; for, both declare (Yaj. 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. Yaj. (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 dvija 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 Viṣṇuvrṣṭha). The Poona plates of Prabhāvatigupta (E. I. vol. 15 p. 39) establish that she was a daughter of Candragupta II. (first quarter of 5th century A. D.) of the Imperial Gupta dynasty and became the chief queen of the king Rudrasena II of the Vākāṭaka line. The Taḷaṅgūḍa pillar inscription of the Kadamba king Kakusthavarman (E. I. vol. 8 p. 24) recites that
the founder of the Kadamba family was Mayūraśarman, a brāhmaṇa, who being exasperated with the Pallavas of Kāṇot took up the sword. His descendants have names ending in varman (as ksatriyas should have, according to Manu II. 32). The inscription mentions that Kakusthavarman (who was 4th in descent from Mayūraśarman) got his daughters married to Gupta and other kings. In the Gaṇotkaca Inscription of Yaśodharman and Viṣṇavardhana (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 ksatriya 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 Harsa 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). Virūpādevi, a daughter of the famous Vijayanagara king Bukka I (1268-1298 A. D.), was married to a brāhmaṇa named Brahma or Bomanna Weḍeya, who was the Governor of the Āraga province (E. I. vol. 15, p. 12). Vide also E. I. vol. 18, p. 87 (dated 894 of the Vikrama era) for Prathāra kings being descended from a brāhmaṇa Harīcandra and the latter's ksatriya wife; the Āṭpur Inscription of Saktikumāra dated in saṃvat 1034 (977 A. D.) which states that the founder of the Guhila dynasty was a brāhmaṇa Guhadatta, whose descendant Bhartrīpaṭṭa married a Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess.

Classical Sanskrit Literature also yields certain well-known instances of inter-caste marriages. The Mālavikāgīṁitra of Kālidāsa shows that Agnimitra, a son of Senāpati Puṣya-mitra of the Śunga dynasty and a brāhmaṇa, married Mālavikā who was a ksatriya princess. In the Hārṣacarita of Bāṇa (Ucchvāsa I towards end) we are told by Bāṇa himself that among the friends and companions of his wanderings there were his two pāraśava brothers Candrasena and Māṭreṇa (i.e. step-brothers from a sūdra wife of his father). Rājaśekhara, teacher of king Mahendrapāla of Kanoj, says in his Karpūra-mañjarī (I. 11) that his accomplished wife Avantisundarī was descended from the Cāhuāna (modern Chavan) family (i.e. from a ksatriya family).

It is extremely difficult to say when exactly inter-caste marriages even between dvijātis came to be prohibited by the
Inter-caste marriages

śṛtis and writers of digests. Viśvarūpa\textsuperscript{1066} 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. Medhāti on Manu III. 14 suggests that about 900 A. D. at the latest marriages of brāhmaṇas with kṣatriya and vaisya girls took place rarely in his day, but not with śūdra women; and the Mit. on Yāj. does not at all say that though marriages among dvijātis (anuloma ones) were allowed by Manu and Yāj. they had entirely ceased to be regarded as valid by its time. Many of the medieval digests and writers like the Sm. C. and Hemādri quote verses stated to be from the Aditya-purāṇa or Brahma-purāṇa on matters forbidden in the Kali age (and so called Kalivarjya) among which inter-caste marriages are included.

The Āpastamba\textsuperscript{1067} śṛti (in verse ed. by Jīvānanda I, p. 549, chap. IX) says that by marrying a girl of another caste a man incurred the sin of mahāpāta and had to undergo the penance of 24 kṛcchras. The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa (113. 34-36) narrates the story of king Nābhāga who married a vaisya 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.

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\bibitem{1066} अनुलम वा अनुलमत्तीभिः क्षत्रिय सत्यस्य. विश्वस्य on शा. III. 283; \\
'नं व विन्यातीनः चूढ़तः न नास्ते यथा तत्तद्विभाष्यात्. सर्वस्य. सर्ववधानस्वयम् हि श्रष्टायतन विभाष्यवर्धेन इत्यादि. ' विश्वस्य on शा. II. 129; सर्ववधानस्वयमस्वयमानिः निर्देश्यते: कृताय: एव: श्रष्टायतन विभाष्यवर्धेन इत्यादि अतिरिक्ते च वर्णविवाह: सर्वस्य: तद्वियत: इते तथेऽद्यते. मेधालिथिथि on मश III. 14.

\bibitem{1067} The इत्यादित्व of रुद्रनवम्र (ed. by Jīvānanda vol. II, p. 112) quotes the verse विन्यातीन चतुर्वर्गमिह ब्राह्मणां सत्यस्य: from the इत्यादित्व of कार्यालय: विन्यातीन: from the इत्यादित्व. The latter is quoted in the परा. मा. (vol. I. part 1 p. 134) and in the Caturvarga-cintāmanī (vol. III. part 2 p. 667). The first quotation (विन्याती ए & c) occurs in the नामानामवर्धिन, पूर्वभाग, chap. 24. 13.
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But *anuloma* marriages have been recognised as valid by some High Courts in India; the Allahabad High Court, however, regards all *anuloma* marriages even as invalid.

The next restriction that the girl to be married must not be a *sapinda* of the bride-groom has now to be considered. *Sapinda* relationship is of special importance in three matters, viz. marriage, inheritance and āśauca* (impurity on birth and death). The prohibition against marriage with a *sapinda* girl applies to all varṇas including the śūdra. There are two schools about the meaning of *sapinda*, one represented by the Mitaksara and the other by Jñātavahana (author of the Dāyabhāga). Both are agreed that a *sapinda* girl cannot be married, but they differ as to the meaning of the word. We shall first understand one interpretation of *sapinda*. The *locus classicus* is the commentary of Vijñānēśvara on Yāj. I. 52–53 a substantial portion of which is translated here: "'asapinda' (in Yāj. I. 52) means a woman who is not a *sapinda* and *sapinda* means one who has the same pinda, i.e. body (or particles of the body). *Sapinda* relationship (between two persons) arises from (their) being connected by having particles of the same body. Thus, the son has *sapinda* relationship with his father by reason of the (fact that) particles of the father's body continue in him (the son). Similarly (there is *sapinda* relationship) with the paternal grandfather and the like (of the

1068. Vide Bai Laksami v. Kalianising 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); Munnilal v. Shisna I. L. R. 48. All. 670 (marriage between a śūdra male and a vaidya 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 brahmaṇa male with a śūdra female was held valid); Nalikasaka v. Rajanikanto 35 C. W. N. 726. Vide Padma Kumari v. Suraj Kumari I. L. R. 28 All. 458.

1069. तेन विचारेः आतीर्थ धनवस्येऽति विधिः सापिञ्ज लिङ्गम्। निर्यातसम्यक् III. पूर्व्यः p. 284.

1070. एषर्गमतसयमदृव्याम अततः हिततः कस्मात् । सपिञ्ज विचारके वर्गोऽपवर्गो विषं नातु नातु विधिं नातुम्। सपिञ्ज विचारके वर्गोऽपवर्गो विषं नातु नातु विधिः p. 108. The printed नातु (श्रीपात्स section 7 p. 108) reads अ सस्मालयसयम्म षयुम्यं। अवित्याः: समयः स्थः नातु नातु विधिः नातु नातु विधिः। तथा असमधा इत्यत्तसयभन्न्यः। सत्त्वः सपिञ्जसृज्जतः। असमधापीत्त्यम्यं। इत्यत्तसयभन्न्यः। सिद्धार्था on Pa. I. 53; छाद्विधिः के छाापाछिन्नारणीं च ब्रांह्यं सयमसयम्म विधिं सनवाच्यं। सपिञ्जः ततः एवर्गमसमदृव्यक्षणस्। निर्यातसम्यक्षणस् III. पूर्व्यः p. 284. The word अस्म्य 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 sapiṇḍa relationship) with his mother because particles of the mother’s body continue in him. Thus (a person has sapiṇḍa relationship) with his mother’s father through his mother; so (one has sapiṇḍatā) 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 sapiṇḍatā) with the paternal uncle, the paternal aunt and the like. Similarly the wife has sapiṇḍa relationship with the husband because she produces (with the husband) one body (viz. their son). In this manner wherever the word sapiṇḍa occurs, there one has to understand connection with (or continuity of)

1071. The words तथा पद्या सह पत्न्या एकवृतिसामान्यकत्वः are translated differently by Golap Chandra Sarkar in his ‘Hindu Law’ (7th ed. of 1936) pp. 81-82 as ‘similarly arises the sapiṇḍa 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 बजांमभाति । आयस्मकपरिवर्ती उभयार्थे एकवृति स्तावयत्वपादिविफ़्यः (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 Viṣṇuśevara 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 sapiṇḍas 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 निर्धारिता (III. पृष्ठ p. 280) shows that G. C. Sarkar is wrong ‘एकवृति हि वितुमार्ड्वं भारिःसारस्याचयः पुनःप्रीताविविड़ साधतान नारायण वा युक्तनिनित्तिविसंवज्यक्षुपता । वचनं पद्यम् पद्याम् सह भानु-पत्नीनां च परसर पैतृकपति तथापि आदिरलेखकसौरवयाचरितस्वतः ।’ A woman’s husband’s brother’s wife is the receptacle (धारा) 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 medially.\textsuperscript{1072} On the word 'asapindam' it was explained that sapinda relationship arises immediately or medially by reason of the connection with particles of the same body; this may prove to be too wide a statement, since in this beginningless saṁsāra, such a relationship might exist in some way or other between all men;\textsuperscript{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 sapinda relationship ceases. These words (viz. sapinda......ceases) are to be taken as understood (in the text of Yaj.). Therefore the word 'sapinda' though it applies everywhere (i.e. to a very wide circle of persons) by the expressive (i.e. literal) power of its component parts, is restricted to a certain definite sphere, like the words 'nirmanthya'\textsuperscript{1074} and 'paṅkaja'. And so the six (ascendants) beginning with the father and the six descendants beginning with the son and the man himself as the seventh (in each case) are sapindas; wherever there is a divergence of the line, the counting shall be made until the seventh in descent is reached including him (i.e. the ancestor) from whom the line diverges; in this way the computation is to be made everywhere. And so the fifth (if a girl), who stands in the fifth generation when a computation is made beginning with the mother and going up to her (mother's) father, mother’s paternal grandfather &c., is styled in an indirect way 'fifth

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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 'सौकाल्यत ढऺ सङ्ग मञ्जरङ्ग....ढऺ सर्वसंस्करङ्ग' and also in Dharmaśāstra VI. 2. 3. This is relied upon for limiting sapindya in Par. M. I. 2. p. 59. The words मातृक and निस्तित of Yaj. are repeated in the Mit. and explained as मातृ: संताने and पितृ: संताने respectively and the Mit. adds that in Yaj. I. 53 (latter half) we have to understand the words सापिष्ठ निस्तिते (sapinda relationship ceases).

\textsuperscript{1074} The word 'paṅkaja' literally means 'springing from mud' and may apply to every water plant, but it is restricted by usage (rūdiḥ) to a lotus plant i.e. the wide literal or etymological (yaugika) meaning of the two parts 'paṅka (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 Yaj.). In the same way 'the seventh from the father's side' (in Yaj.) 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 Mitakṣara\textsuperscript{1075} the following rules about prohibition based on sāpinda\textsuperscript{1} 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 kṣatriya 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).\textsuperscript{1075a}

\textsuperscript{1075} Vide extract (text) from the Niśaśāra in appendix.

\textsuperscript{1075a} the statement of Paṭiṁśinasi. The Tattvamāsāsvādīśāstra also makes different explanations in the statement of Paṭiṁśinasi. The Tattvavādaśāstra also gives different explanations. The Mitakṣara explains differently the statement of Paṭiṁśinasi. The Tattvamāsāsvādīśāstra also makes different 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. Pāṇiṇi says ‘the girl must be beyond three degrees on the mother’s side and five degrees on the father’s side’. These two are explained away by the Mit. by saying that these texts do not authorise a marriage with a girl who is distant from the common ancestor by a lesser number of degrees than those propounded by Yāj. but they only prohibit marriage with girls who are nearer in degrees than those stated in those texts. But this reconciliation of the conflict among the smṛtis is not at all satisfactory.

The following diagrams illustrate the application of the rules of sapinda relationship according to the Mitākṣara. In all of them A represents the common ancestor and the letters S and D represent respectively sons and daughters. According to the Mit., computation has to be made from (and inclusive of) the common ancestor in all cases and both the bride and bridegroom have to be beyond the prohibited degrees.

1076. यदृच वसिष्णोऽकां पञ्चमी समामा भेष गात्र गात्र: वितवृत्तवंदिति, ब्रीदूल्ल्य मातृत: पञ्चातिशया च वितवृत्त श्रावण च श्रावणसंतिनवंनिवेष्टनयान्धुः स दुसङ्कावत्यायामतिः सर्व:-सपिन्दीनामक्रियः। निश्चितं या. 1. 53; the words समामा भेष गात्र गात्रः सत्समी वितवृत्तवंदिति arc वसिष्णोऽकां च 8. 2 (the preceding चुऽ श्रावण द्रुऽ द्रुऽ द्रुऽ द्रुऽ द्रुऽ द्रुऽ नार्यः वितवृत्त)। निर्णयसिस्थ्र (III. पृष्ठ 284-285) निर्णयसिस्थ्र (III. पृष्ठ 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. स. कृ. (pp. 612-613) also quotes passages similar to those in the निर्णयसिस्थ्र, but seems to hold that there is an option due to family or local usages. Vide स. कृ. pp. 707-718.

1077. The निर्णयसिस्थ्र quoted in the उद्दाहरण (p. 116) is quite explicit ‘संतानो निर्देशते समामा भेष गात्र गात्रः स तमाक्र्यां गणेशीमास्वरं सत्समी कार्यकारण ।'
Here a valid marriage might take place between S(8) and D(8) because sapinda relationship for both is traced through their fathers and both are removed from the common ancestor A by more than seven degrees or generations.

Here a valid marriage may take place between S(6) and D(6) because sapinda 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.

Here a marriage may take place between S(6) and D(6) because their sapinda 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 sapinda relationship of D(7) is to be traced through her father and she is not more than 7 degrees from the common ancestor.

Here a marriage cannot take place between D(6) and S(6) as the sapinda 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 sapinda relationship is to be traced through her mother is more than five degrees from the common ancestor. According to Bālaṁbhaṭṭa and some others marriage will take place as D(6) is beyond five degrees (tracing through her mother), though S(6) is within 7 degrees (tracing descent through his father) and so is not outside sapinda limits.

All these four examples are taken from the Dharmasindhu (III Pūrvārdha p. 226-227). No. 3 illustrates what is called
sapinda relationship by 'frog's leap'. Just as a frog leaps from one spot to another leaving intervening objects untouched, so in this example No. 3, there is sapinda between D(5) and D(5), but S(6) and D(6) are left unaffected by sapinda (as relationship is traced through the mothers of both), while sapinda reverts to affect D(7) and S(7). The maxim of 'frog's leap' is a very ancient one, being exemplified by the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali.

The rules about prohibition of marriage on the ground of sapinda 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. Ap. Dh. S. I. 7. 21. 8 includes among pataniya 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 I. 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

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1078. कुड़स्वामाल्यम्: कन्या: संतति मातृद्वारकायसापिण्यसन्दर्भिः; पञ्चमयोः: कन्योऽयं द्वृजः तवः: संतति पितुराक्तसापिण्यसन्दर्भिः ममर्थरूप इत्यदृश्योऽसूक्तिसापिण्यस्थः। निर्गतसिद्धिः III. पृष्ठधि p. 227; न तु मध्ये विष्णुकामने सापिण्यं मनुष्कुलूक्तिव्यासुतस्वतः पहच दूसरसामाल्यम्: कन्या: द्वृजः तत्र निर्गतिः: तबूपः येत्वेव असूक्तिसापिण्यस्थः न सापिण्यसापिण्यसापिण्यवेदेषाः संधिक्षेपितः। तेन तत्र भविष्याः। निर्गतसिद्धिः III. पृष्ठधि p. 283. The सः कौ. p. 612 refers to this.

1079. मनुक्रांतसापिण्यसापिण्यसापिण्यस्थः। यथा मनुकृत्ताः उद्योगेद्रुय मष्ट्रिणि तद्रुपिकाः। महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 44 and vol. III. p. 25.

1080. पञ्चमृत्युविष्णविचिष्टासपिण्यस्योतस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यs.

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view that one should pay no heed to either set of practices, as both are opposed to smṛtis and the views of śiśṭas. 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 reprobed 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 'cāndrayāṇa'. 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 Śatātapa¹⁰⁸¹ prescribing the penance of cāndrayāṇa for marrying one’s maternal uncle’s daughter or a girl having the same gotra as one’s mother’s gotra (i.e. maternal grandfather’s gotra) or a sapravara girl and a text of 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 Tantravārttika 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 Rukmī and Subhadra 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) Subhadra is described as the daughter of

¹⁰⁸¹ शातातप: मातुदूधु हरारदत्ता मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातु�ूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातु�ूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातुदूधु मातु�ूधु मातुदू�
Vasudeva and sister \textsuperscript{1082} of K\textit{ṛṣṇa}, she was really not so, but that she was Vasudeva's mother's sister's daughter or was the daughter's daughter of the sister of the father of Vasudeva's mother (or step-mother Rohini).\textsuperscript{1084} Kumārila argues that such female cousins one degree or several degrees removed are often spoken of as sisters. Vide my notes to the 

Vyavahārāmyukhā pp. 200-202 where this matter is fully explained. This reply of Kumārila well illustrates the method of dealing with inconvenient texts adopted by mimāṃsakas like Kumārila when the texts run counter to their cherished views. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 254 quotes Manu XI. 172 and verses of Samvartā prescribing the penance of Parāka for carnal intercourse with one's maternal uncle’s daughter.\textsuperscript{1085} Medhatithi 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.\textsuperscript{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

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passages of Manu, Śatātapa, Sumantu (all quoted above) and others condemning marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter, yet they say that there are passages of the Veda and some smṛtis in support of it and śīṣṭas (learned and respectable persons) observe this practice and so such marriages are satācīra 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).” 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 Yaj. 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)’. This verse is referred to by Viśvarūpa on Yaj.(I.53) but his explanation of it is different viz. that it really indicates one out of four different alternatives

1087. समान एव चर्मव व्याकरिते तत्त्वातिसानात् युक्तादित्या वाचकेण जायेते इति \( I.8.3.6; \) उत्तर हि तत्र्ये युक्ते हर्षात्। अनेन दौराणवित्यवर्तनुद्विद्यविद्युत्तेवस्योपरिप्रयणनसुलिंग्य भवति। तथौ: \( I.8.3.6; \) रुद्रनामात् रुद्रियलत। संगवाद्येक विस्वामत् हर्षयेद। \( \text{स्युतिः} \) I. p. 72.

1088. Vide Aufrecht's Rgveda vol. II. p. 672. The verse is आषार्के पद्मिनिगतिताभिस्मातिक्षामिष नै भाग्येण उवरस। तुसा जात्यौऽत्युपेयो येशा भाग्ये पैदव्यः स्वयमक्षात् II. Aufrecht reads तुसा जाहूः; for तुसा जाहूः. This occurs also in the निष्कर्षिपिन्द (XIV. 31 ed. by Roth, though some Mss omit it), where the reading is जाहूः; for जाहूः: आषार्के reads तुसा जात्यौऽत्युपेये ते तव भाग्ये \( \text{पैदव्यः स्वयमक्षात्} \). The text as printed in आषार्के seems to be corrupt. आषार्के takes जाहूः as meaning यवक्तवत्न: and adds तथा पैदव्यः भवनी भाग्ये \( \text{वहनायः स्वयमक्षात्} \) र्यपम्यति &c. (p. 83).
as regards prohibited degrees for marriage. Aparārka (p. 83) on Yaj. 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 Śṛṅticandrika relies upon a passage of the Caturvimśitimaṭṭhata that allows a marriage of persons who are third or fourth in descent from a common ancestor on both sides (on the mother’s or father’s side). There is also a text of Brhaspati which prescribes that the practices of the countries, castes and families should be guarded (or enforced) by the king as they have been in vogue from past times, otherwise the subjects become inflamed and among such practices he instances ‘Brāhmaṇas in the south marry the maternal uncle’s daughter’. So there is śṛṇti authority for such marriages. Besides southern śiṣṭas deeply read in the Vedas and acting according to the meaning of the Veda practice marriage with a maternal uncle’s daughter. Here both Sm. C. and Par. M. are on very firm ground. The Śṛṅtinuktāphala of Vaidyanātha says ‘among the Andhras śiṣṭas deeply read in the Vedas follow the practice of mātulasulā-parinayana and among the Dravidas respectable people allow marriage of a person with a girl who is fourth in descent from the common ancestor’. 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 Karnāṭaka and Karhādā brāhmaṇas observe this practice in modern times. The Śāṁskārakaustubha (pp. 616-620) and the Dharmasindhu support mātulasulā-parinayana.

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
are construed by Jaimini (III. 4. 15) as a vidhi (as a positive rule) on account of their apiṣṭava (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 uncles daughter). The Sm. C. also presses into service the Vedic verse (Rg. X. 16. 5) addressed by Yami to Yama. But that mantra does not clearly refer to cross-cousin marriages.

The smṛti passages that condemn cross-cousin marriages are explained in a peculiar manner by the Sm. C. and the Par. M. When a woman is married in one of the four forms, brahma &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 brahma and the three other approved forms. This is the reasoning of the Sm. C. and the Par. M.

1092. Jaimini’s sūtra is viśeṣa sārṣṭaḥ, III. 4. 15. This is not commented upon by Sābara; but the Tantiavārttika, which notices this fact, assigns several reasons for this omission and explains it as follows: in the rājaṁśa, there is a passage in the āśvamedha which notices this fact. It is said that when the oblation is to be offered to the gods the samīdh is to be held over the śruci in which the havis has been placed; in this passage it is said that when the oblation is to be offered to the gods the samīdh is to be held over the śruci (in which the oblation is placed before being thrown into the fire). Here though the particle ‘hi’ (showing reason) is employed and though the present ‘dharayati’ is used (and not the potential as is usual in vidhis), it is not a mere artha-vidhi but a vidhi. So also in the Sat. Br. there is a vidhi about ‘matulam-sattāparīṇaya.’ Tāntrikābhidhāmaṇam । n caḥparam dhiṣṭānim saṃśātvāyuḍaḥ yathāsānyatvāṅkṣaṇaḥ āsya vṛddhīm. Viśeṣe hiṁ apeṣaḥ uṣmānām sākṣatām prakṛtiḥ uṭaye ca uṇakṣarṣaṭāḥ. Tāntrikābhidhāmaṇam p. 899.

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 Caturvīṁśatimata\textsuperscript{1093a} states 'According to Sākāṭāyana there is no blame in marrying a girl who is 7th or 6th or 5th (from the common ancestor); similarly Manu, Pārāśarya, Yama and Aṅgiras say that one may marry a girl who is third or fourth (from the common ancestor) on both sides (i.e., from her father's side or mother's side). Whoever enters into such marriage alliances by relying on the usage of his country or of his family is always entitled to associate with people and this is seen from the Veda'. 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 Śaṁskāra-kauṭūbha, the Śaṁpyādipikā 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.\textsuperscript{1093b} Gaut., Manu,

\textsuperscript{1093a} Crazy 285.
\textsuperscript{1093b} quoted in Mahānāmātac p. 767.
Yaj., Martci and numerous other smṛtikāras are opposed to these dicta. The second rule is that Manu has the highest authority among smṛtis and that smṛti which is opposed to the dicta of Manu is not commended. The above passages are opposed to the words of Manu on sapinda relationship and about marrying a maternal uncle's daughter (Manu V. 60, III. 5, XI. 171–172). A third point about the above texts is that several eminent works like the Nirñayasindhu and the Dharmasindhu hold that some of these verses are baseless and not genuine and that they really refer to persons adopted or persons descended from wives of different castes of the same common ancestor; and lastly even those works that support such narrowing of sapinda relationship for marriage do not advocate it for all and sundry, but only where there is a local or family usage to that effect. Therefore, marriages among persons who are 3rd or 4th or 5th from the common ancestor cannot be regarded as valid in general, but only on the ground of usage. The following diagram will furnish some examples of the narrowing down of sapinda relationship.

A (common male ancestor)

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\[ D(2) \]
\[ S(3) \]
\[ D(4) \]
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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 Caturvṛnāśatimata 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) cannot be valid in general, but only on the ground of usage.

1093 c. वेदशास्त्रिनिर्देशप्राप्तातमानं तु मतस्वतः। सन्ततिविपरीता यथा स्वति: सा न महस्यते॥ पूर्वपति: quoted by आपराधिक on वा. II. 21 and कुड़ुक्क on माथु. I. 1.

1093 d. गानि तु चतुर्विनासतिमताय चतुर्थे पञ्चमे परः। इत्यदृश्यवर्णानि लेवु कालिकाभिन्दुलामि कालिकाबिंतकसापिण्डसम्पन्नविविधतयत्र। विवाहान्त्विविधतत्वात् तेनात्मले इति निर्विधस्मिन्भुस्मदेह। पर्यासिन्य इत्युपर्यार्थ p. 228. वेदां चतुर्विनासतिमतानि सापिण्डविपरीताय चतुर्थे पञ्चमेऽपरव्यार्थ समात्मसन्यपूर्विनिविन्यानि विवाहो न वैपाय स्वकृष्णिस्बिनिविन्यानि सापिण्डविपरीताय चतुर्थे पञ्चमेऽपरव्यार्थ । पर्यासिन्य इत्युपर्यार्थ p. 228 summarizing the view of the संस्कारकोष।

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will not be valid according to the 2nd proviso to sec. 2. The Nirnayasindhu\textsuperscript{1093} was not prepared to concede that such marriages, though not the best, were at least allowable as inferior (anukalpa). The Dharmasindhu\textsuperscript{1093} stated that only in calamities when one is unable to secure a girl one may enter into a marriage where sapinda relationship is narrowed down, but that those who can secure another girl should not go in for it, as the sin of incest would be incurred. Such marriages did not take place except during the last few years and so the courts have not yet pronounced on their validity. The preceding remarks are made by way of caution only and it is quite possible that courts may find out some way to uphold the marriages when they come before them many years after their celebration. But it is well to remember that the validity of such marriages in castes that have no usage to that effect is, to say the least, doubtful.

There is a great\textsuperscript{1094} deal of discussion in the smritis and nibandhas on the gotra of a woman. Āsv. gr. S. I. 8. 12 is interpreted by some as laying down that husband and wife become of one gotra one year after marriage. Laghu Harita appears to refer to this and also proposes an option that she takes up the husband’s gotra immediately after marriage. Yama 86 and Likhita 25 say that after marriage on the 4th night a bride becomes one with her husband as to gotra, pinda and āśauca; while Yama 78 and Likhita 26 state that she loses her father’s gotra on taking the seventh step. The Mit. on Yaj. I. 254 has a long note on this subject, states that there are two views and finally reaches the conclusion that a woman retains her father’s gotra even after marriage for pindadana, if she was a putrika or was married in the asura and the following forms; but if she was married in the brāhma and other approved

\textsuperscript{1093} e. न स्वनुकल्प हति भ्रातितत्त्व। निर्यायसिद्धां III पूर्वार्थ p. 285.
\textsuperscript{1093} f. अर्थे सापीण्यसद्धोऽचैन सिद्धां; सत्सद्धसद्धोऽचैन कार्यं: कर्मविपयते लोकै। सापीण्यसद्धोऽचिकावाक्यानात्त्रक्षिप्यतः स्वतातः।

\textsuperscript{1094} संबंत्तर वैक्रियर्गहये। आद्य. पृ. I. 8. 12; नारायण नोटस अथे कब्जः \\
बर्तते करः संवरे। पिनियौं स्विहायं पतिगृहं भजत हुःप्रयः। वां संबंत्तर भयति हु \\\nबर्तते चीरे पुरुः। स्वयंसत्त्वा क्षणं क्रियया किषुविना: \\
स्वर्गमच्छन्य कालं क्रियया किषुविना: ववकरिया। लुप्तार्थम् v. 62–63; विसेवं वैविवििे कालं विनियमणं राजस्वुः। एकलं सा गता \\
भादू अनियं प्रवते च सुवििे। स्वयंसत्त्वा भविते नारी विवहत्तु चतुः च। भूतीक्रियमं कालं द्वागुणविना: क्रियया। शिबिरम् 25–26 तथा वर्न 86, 78. The words एकलं...सुतैने are quoted by विश्लेषण on या I. 254 and the verse स्वयंसत्त्वा is quoted by the \\

\textsuperscript{1093} f. अर्थे सापीण्यसद्धोऽचैन सिद्धां; सत्सद्धसद्धोऽचैन कार्यं: कर्मविपयते लोकै। सापीण्यसद्धोऽचिकावाक्यानात्त्रक्षिप्यतः स्वतातः।
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 Nāgarjunikonda (of about the 3rd century A. D.) establish that the king Sirī Virapurusadatta, son of Sirī 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 Niṃayasindhu says that, though it follows from the same Vedic passages that one's paternal aunt's daughter may be married, yet such a marriage should not be contracted as it is hateful to the people, as there are no other passages laying down the advisability of such marriages. Similarly the Sm. C. (I. p. 71) and Par. M. (I. 2. p. 65) say that though marriage with one's mother's sister or mother's sister's daughter also should be allowed on the same grounds as those urged in favour of the marriage with the maternal uncle's daughter, yet it is forbidden since it is condemned by śīṣṭas and is hateful to the people and both again rely on Yāj. I. 156.

Another and a very striking instance of the limits of sapinda relationship not being observed is the practice among certain sections of even brāhmaṇas (such as some Desasthas in Karnātaka 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. 1095. न ब्रह्मणो य सपिंदा री शदेश, (य) भवो इति. उपल्ल्या अस्वति च विकसिति च । अति इति. विकसिति तु भवो इति. । कर्क तथा ब्रह्मणो। यहा अस्वति य श्राद्धादेश। विकसिति तु भवो। सम्बन्धादिं न श्राद्धादेश। । सपिंदा री शदेश । एक अस्वति विकसिति। न भवो इति. उपल्ल्या। अस्वति य श्राद्धादेश। न भवो इति। विकसिति। (चर्चानम p. 131) for almost the same words.
such marriages was alleged. In Vellanki Ramakrishna v. Kotagiri Subbamma 43 Mad. 830 at p. 834 it is stated that in the Velama caste a man may marry his sister's daughter.

On account of these divergences about the limits of prohibited degrees for marriage it appears that the remarks of the Śaṃskāraśāntubha (p. 620) and of the Dharmasindhu (p. 228) are most sensible and practical. They say that even in the Kali age those, in whose families or countries the limits of sapinda relationship are narrowed down and marriage with the maternal uncle's daughter has been in vogue for ages, may do so, that they incur no blame by such marriages, that others (among whom there is no such custom) may without blame invite such persons for śrāddhas and may take girls from their families in marriage and that the passages quoted by Hemādri forbidding their being invited at śrāddhas only apply to those who marry a maternal uncle's daughter even though they have no such family or local usage.

Another question is how far sapinda relationship holds good in the case of girls belonging to the family from which one's step-mother comes. The Udvāhatattva (p. 118), the Nirṇayasindhu (p. 289), the Sam. Pr. (pp. 695-699), Śaṃskāraśāntubha (pp. 621-630) and the Dharmasindhu (p. 230) deal with this matter. They all rely on a text of Sumantu's note 1100 '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 śrūtyasūrya (I. p. 12) and the nirmayāphal (p. 367) include मातृ-सापिद्यानि among कलितवप्य.

1099. आत्मं सिद्धरात्तवं कलितवप्यम् तेषां कृष्णदक्षिणानि सापिद्यसंकोमः पूर्णपया समासम् तेषां तात्त्वसंकोमं विविधेऽन दुःस्वः। अतिं च भारसंकोमतिः। अन्यत्रं ते सदा रथवर्धरे नैव दुःस्वः। तदार्थं न कुष्ठेवासिकापत्यसंपिद्यसंकोमं विविधां भरसङ्कोम दुःस्वः। न च भारसंकोमतिः। बृहस्पतं हि सर्प सापिद्यसंकोमं विषयां सापिद्यसंपिद्यसंकोमं नास्त्युपान्तिविद्याध्येयं कुश्तेऽपि केम्मां स्त्रिकृतस्तुलस्तुत्तिस्नानं भारसंकोमं भोजवन्तं भूणकमानं सापिद्यसंपिद्यसंपिद्य तुष्याकारविद्याध्येयं अविभ्रमणं भोजवन्तं संस्कारसाधनम् p. 620.

1100. śrūtyasūrya सर्वं भारसांतरः भारससरसस्तुतिःमः भारससरसस्तुतिः स्त्रिकृतस्तुलस्तुतिः भ्रातृनितिः अन्यथा संकारसाधनम् स्यूः। समस्म। There are various readings in this passage in all works. śrūtyasūrya I. p. 70 and par. I. 2. p. 64 also quote it. Vide note 1091 where समस्म is somewhat differently quoted by हरिश्चandra.
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 *śaṃpīḍya* only with the persons specifically mentioned,\(^{1101}\) while another view (this is held by the Sām. Pr.) is that there is *śaṃpīḍya* 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 (*atideśā*) of *śaṃpīḍya*.

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 Gṛhya-pariṣiṣṭa\(^ {1102}\) (quoted in the Nirṇayaśindhu p. 289) prescribes 'one should marry a girl with whom there is no *viruddhasambandha*, e.g. the daughter of one's wife's sister or the sister of one's paternal uncle's wife (these should not be married).

*Viruddhasambandha* (incompatible relation) occurs where the standing of the proposed bridegroom and the bride would resemble that of father or mother to the other (or of brother and sister). In modern times such marriages take place as a matter of course and no court would declare them to be invalid. Vide I. L. R. 20 Mad. 283 and I. L. R. 43 Mad. 830 where marriage with one's wife's sister's daughter was held to be valid, among brāhmaṇas as well as śūdras in the Telugu and Tamil districts, relying on Mandlik's Hindu Law pp. 484-485 and other authorities. In Ramchandra v. Oopal 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.

\(^{1101}\) am Tresr^\text{u}^\text{H}wrf^\text{n}^\text{N}^\text{qifrfdnfa^\text{sr}^\text{nProtf}} \text{a}^\text{a}\)

\(^{1102}\) i W. * P- 725.
About the sapinda relationship of the adopted son as regards marriage, āśauca and śṛaddha a good deal is said in many works such as Saṁ. K. (pp. 182-186), Nirṇayasindhu (pp. 290-291), the Vyavahāramayūkha, the Saṁ. Pr. (pp. 688-694), Saṁ. R. M. (pp. 453-456). Sāpindya for āśauca and śṛaddha will be dealt with later on. As to sāpindya for marriage in the case of adoption there is great divergence of views. The Saṁ. Pr. (p. 690) says that the son given in adoption has sāpindya for seven generations with his genitive father and for three generations with the adoptive father (pp. 693-694). The Saṁ. K. appears to hold, after quoting several views, that if the upanayana of the adopted boy was performed in the family of birth, then he has 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 kevāla dattaka (the ordinary adopted son) sapinda relationship extends to seven degrees in the adoptive father’s family and five degrees in the adoptive mother’s family. The Dharmaśindhu follows the Saṁ. K. generally but it makes one significant remark. It says that several writers hold that in the case of dattaka, sāpindya is to be observed for a lesser number of degrees (than seven or five) in both families. The Saṁ. R. M. (p. 454) says that the limits of sāpindya spoken of as applying to an adopted person extend to his children also. 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 Desātha brāhmaṇas of the Mādhyandina sākhā in the Deccan do not

1103. तत्रदेव नृत्तकारिकां विकृष्टवनि सिंहः।

1104. अन्तः च केवलदुक्षरं पालितकितकेः सापिण्यं मातुकैर च पापसार्यं सापिण्यं

1105. केवलस्वस्तगोकर्ता नानुकृष्ठो सर्व्यथा गृहनेव सापिण्यमितिपाष्रः। धर्मसिद्धः

1106. यथा हृदेः नृत्तकारं यथा सापिण्यमुक्ते तस्यस्तेरं तथौ बोधव्यः।

सैन्कारसनात्ताना p. 454.
Ch. IX  
Marriage in mother's original gotra

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 Kullūkā, the Madana-pārijāta (p.132), the Dipakalikā, the Udvāhatattva (p.107) understand the word asagotra (in Manu III. 5) after 'maṭuh' 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). Medhatithi on Manu III. 5 quotes a text of Vasiṣṭha which prescribes the penance of cāndrāyaṇa 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. Kullūkā, 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 ofVyāsa, '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 Nirnayasiṃhah 1108 (III. pūrvārdha p.302) forbids marriage with a girl who is sagotra of one's mother, but the Sain, K. (p.693) and the Dharmasindhu both say, after quoting a text of Satyāṣadhā, that this restriction applies only to those who study the Mādhyān-dina sākha.

1107. परिणय समीच्छन ह समानवर्तं तथा। हर्मक सत्यसमाधी निबन्धम्। माध्यान्दिनय: महायतिगुप्त। बिस्मिट नै विनाः विद्यायुक्तं । विद्योणसिस्यते।

1108. बांधकर्षिकः विषयतात्माः सत्यसमाधी न वत्याषा, किं दुः माध्यान्दिनयः। माध्यान्दिनयः माध्यान्दिनयः। सत्योदयः। संस्कृते। । विद्योणसिस्यते।
The Bengal school represented by the Dayabhāga and Raghunandana differ from the Mitākasāra in the interpretation of the word 'sapinda'. In this system the word 'pinda' is taken to mean 'the ball of rice' that is offered in śrāddhas to deceased ancestors &c. (while under the Mit. interpretation 'pinda' means body or particles of body). Sapinda means 'one who is connected with another through oblations of food'. The author of the Dayabhāga propounds his theory with reference to inheritance and he himself says that with reference to āśuca sapinda relationship is to be differently understood. Further Jīmutavāhana does not set forth his theory of sapinda relationship with reference to marriage. His theory is that in matters of inheritance the guiding principle is the spiritual benefit (upakārikatva) conferred on the deceased through oblations of food, and he relies on Manu (IX. 106) for this proposition. For his sapinda theory he principally relies on two passages, Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 113-115 and Manu IX. 186-187. Baudhāyana’s words are ‘the paternal great-grand-father, the paternal grandfather, the father, the man himself, his full brothers, his son, grandson and son’s son from a woman of the same varṇa: all these participating in undivided dāya (heritage) are called sapindas. Those who participate in divided dāya are called sakulyas. Thus issue of the body existing, wealth goes to them; on failure of sapindas, the sakulyas’. The text of Manu (IX. 186-187) is ‘To three, libations of water must be given; towards three pinda proceeds; the fourth is the giver of these (of water and pindas), there is no fifth properly (concerned in this). Whoever is the nearest among sapindas, his becomes the wealth of him (who dies). After him the sakulya becomes (the heir) &c’. Jīmutavāhana’s explanation of this text is as follows: ‘A man when living offers pindas to his three male ancestors; but when he himself dies, his son performs

1109. तथोपकारकविवेच धनसङ्कल्पं मदुप्रयाह। वृषभानां चप. 11. सौ, 32; हर्ष च सपिण्डवं सकुल्यवं च द्रायपत्यप्राङ्कस्य अस्वाध्याय। अस्वाध्याय तु बिंदेमुहुर्मायि सहस्त्रपितहेश्वरमौकृतेऽपि सपिण्डवं मात्रपेश्वराणां निलिङ्ग यथा-पिंदेपिठस्याश्यर्थे वित्तमधुत्ववाहान। महाशुक्लाकाष्ठश्च यज्ञमात्रक समान। हर्षनाथ सुरुतिः मिलकः संचनमः सातपीवश हति। अन्तिकतं इति। वृषभानां चप. 11. सौ, 39-41 (Jivānanda’s ed.). The passage occurs in मकर्णेश्वराण 28. 3-4 and also in महाराजा 112. 17-18.

1110. अविलम्बः पितमाः पिता स्वयं सोक्तवं भ्रातः सर्ववायः मृत्। तेजः गौत्रः यत्रेऽः। एकालिकभवतिः। विधायानवलृक्तस्य कक्षायाचकाः। सवर्गस्य तत्ततः स्वयः भ्रूवः महति। सर्वज्ञानार्थं सकुल्यं। वृष. प. श्र. I. 5. 113-115 quoted in वृषभानां XI. 37. The text printed in the अनन्त ed. is slightly different.
Meaning of sapinda in Dāyabhaga

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the sapindikarana 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 pindas offered by his son to the latter's three ancestors. Thus those to whom he offers pindas and those who offer pindas to him are called, since they share in undivided oblations, avibhaktadayāda sapindas. Several objections can be raised against the theory of Jīmutavahana. In the first place he assigns the meaning of pinda to the word dāya in Baudhāyana's passage for which there is no warrant. Baudhāyana really means that those enumerated by him are called sapindas who take undivided wealth i.e. who constitute an undivided family. In the next place on his interpretation the word sapinda has to be interpreted in entirely different ways for 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.

The following table illustrates the sapindas expressly so stated by the Dāyabhāga where P stands for the propositus, S for son and F for father:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GGF12</th>
<th>S13</th>
<th>S14</th>
<th>S15</th>
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<tr>
<td>GF8</td>
<td>S9</td>
<td>S10</td>
<td>S11</td>
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<tr>
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<td>S6</td>
<td>S7</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>S3</td>
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1111. In the Sapindikarana rite four pindas are made, one for the deceased person whose sapindikarana is to be effected and three for that person's three paternal ancestors and the pindas are mixed up, thereby indicating that from being a mere prāta (one belonging to the region of the unrecorded dead) he becomes one of the pitrs and dwells in pīthola. 

1112. अन्तरापिततो know बिजुतनो वाघलाक द्वारमध्ये; तथा पथों एव वचनों स्रावः द्वारस्तु किं विन्द्रण । 

H. D. 60
Srikrṣṇa, a commentator of the Dāyabhāga and author of Dāyakramasamgraha, and Raghunandana, author of Smṛtitattva, and others elaborate these rules. The Full Bench of the Calcutta High Court in Guru Govind Shaha Mandal 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 Udvahatattva 1114 quotes the famous verse of the Matsyapurana, '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; sapindya extends to seven generations' and refers the readers to his Suddhitattva 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 Udvahatattva) 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 mātrbandhus 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 mātrbandhus are a person's mother's father's sister's sons, mother's mother's sister's sons, mother's maternal uncle's sons. These two latter may be illustrated by two diagrams.

1113. 5 Bengal Law Reports p. 15.

1114. Vide pp. 117-118 of the UlⅾaatJR for a summary of the rules about sapindaṃnitrīti; about purusāryaḥ and mātrāryaḥ he says 'Eव मित्वाः स्मत्वांहसौ संवर्त्यधकानाः संसाराः संततिः सम्मयक्यम् नोद्वाया। ... एव मात्रायन्त्रसंवर्त्यधकानाः पञ्चमाः संततिः: प्रभायांः संवर्तिः। एवं च सनवनचे ...' यद्यपि निःसर्गः तस्माय नवनिः सिद्धान्तानि अविष्किरितानि निविषांपर्यथः। उद्वह- तत्त्व p. 110.

1115. पितुः: विद्वार्जः: पुनः: मात्रायांत्रुवाः: सामान्यः:। विद्वार्जः स्मात्रायांत्रुवाः: विज्ञेयः: पितु- बालवः।: मात्रः: पिद्वार्जः: पुनः: मात्रायांत्रुवाः: हुसः। मात्रायांत्रुवाः: विज्ञेयः मात्र- बालवः।: इत्यक्यम् according to महामूर्यविद् p. 674 and बालवम् according to परा. मा.
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No. I.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paternal line</th>
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<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3 father's maternal grand-father</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Father's paternal aunt (2) Grandfather = Grandmother father's grand maternal mother's uncle sister

S(1) (1) father S(3) S(2)

A (bridegroom)

N. B.—Here S1, S2 and S3 are the three pitṛbandhus of A, the bridegroom, and they are the starting points for calculating prohibited degrees among paternal cognates. In the ascending line only the descendants of the common ancestors are excluded. For example, S1 is a pitṛbandhu and his descendants up to 7 degrees are excluded; but S1's father is not a bandhu of the bridegroom; therefore S1's father's sister may be married by the bridegroom. Under this rule the 6th descendant (a girl) of S1 will be ineligible for marriage with A: but she will be 9th from A's grandfather's father who is the common ancestor. So it will be seen that this goes far beyond the limits of sapinda generally prescribed and there is no valid reason assigned for this.

No. II.

<table>
<thead>
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<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3 mother's maternal grandfather</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mother's paternal aunt</th>
<th>(1) maternal = paternal grand-father</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S1</td>
<td>S1 mother's mother's grand-father</td>
</tr>
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</table>

A (bridegroom).
N. B.—Here S1, S2 and S3 are mātrbandhus of the bridegroom. The maternal great-grandfather is the starting point in calculating prohibited degrees in the mother’s paternal line. In the mother’s maternal line the starting points are S2 and S3. In the ascending lines of the mātrbandhus the descendants of only the common ancestor are excluded. For example, the girl descended from S3’s maternal ancestors may be married by the bridegroom and so also a girl descended from the paternal ancestor of S2 or S1.

Another rule propounded by Raghunandana is that even within prohibited degrees a valid marriage may be contracted if three gotras intervene. In the case of girls descended from pītbandhus and mātrbandhus the computation of gotra must be made from them. For want of space it is not thought advisable to illustrate this by citing several examples. But one example is given to illustrate this rule.

A (common ancestor)

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D (1)</td>
<td>S (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D (2)</td>
<td>S (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>S (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D (3)</td>
<td>S (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D (4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here according to the Bengal school S (4) can marry D (4) because three 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 sapindaship, but only the bride need be so; while according to many writers of the Mitāksārā school both must be beyond the limits of sapindaship from the common ancestor.1116

1116. The तिन्यविन्यस्य summarizesthe views of Gauda writers: अन्न पन्थप्रमुख इति पञ्चमीनीन्द्रेष्ठातिवित्तुप्रयुक्तासाधनां मातृ-पितृवज्ञानां पञ्चमीनिव रूपंत । एवमपरवतुपरीक्षणां तत्रात्रि त्रिमोर्जितप्रेक्षागतिविवाहः कुप्यात् कवशमणवच-
मातु। तिन्यविन्यस्य च मतामहोदयप्रेक्षयाः न तु स्वापेक्षया अण्वे तितुपितामहविदु-
प्रेक्षानिविधपरीक्षणां प्रस्तुतः। पवष्य मातामहोदयप्रेक्षयाः तु त्रिमोर्जितप्रेक्षागतिकवशायस्य हृती
संबन्धतत्वाः गौद्यस्यां। pp. 283-284, where a passage of ब्रह्मविन्यस्य is quoted

(Continued on next page)
The Dāyabhāga does not rely upon any Vedic passages for its theory of sapinda relationship. The Mit. (on Yaj. I. 52) relies upon three Vedic passages only in propounding the theory of sapinda relationship viz. ‘indeed the man himself is born from himself (as son, Ait. Br. 33. 1)’; ‘thou art born again (or reproduced) in the offspring’ (Tai. Br. I. 5. 5) and ‘this body is made of six koṣas (sheaths); three are derived from the father, three from the mother; bones, muscles and marrow from the mother’ (Garbhapanisad). 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 īnāti and bandhu which occur in the dharmasūtras (e.g. Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 10. 3, I. 5. 11 17, and Gaut. II. 44, IV. 3 and 5, VI. 3) frequently occur (vide Rg. VII. 55. 5 and X. 85. 28 for īnāti 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 सूळुपाणि’s संस्कृतविवेक ‘सूळुपाणिरपपार्। पञ्चमायससनासार्वार्थसि विमोगानादितिता विवाहा। अत्रग्रहे भवन्मात: विगृहनिर्विकान् सा। सर्वविवाहा हिजाजतीति विमोगानादितिति च। ते वेषति सूळुमनुभूत:।।’ The निम्नवितर्पि notes that southern writers (डक्षिणविन्दु) do not subscribe to this view about three gotras intervening being an exception to sapinda in marriage. The सूळुपाणिरसूड़ p. 710 also notes the view of Sulapāṇi about सिमोगानादितिति which means ‘मूलवर्षगोभायुर्वर्ष-भोग्राप्तेसि’.
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 sapindya (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 Sat. Br. II. 4. 2. 24 the word pinda means 'ball of rice' offered to the Manes. The Nirukta III. 4 and 5 twice employs the words 'pindadānaya' (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 dharmasūtras the word sapinda occurs frequently and the dharmasūtras show a close connection between offering pinda and the taking of inheritance (vide Gaut. 14. 13, 28. 21, Ṛp. 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 (stripūrṇa, 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. एकस्वस्याश्च विज्ञानया विस्तारा वा यस्तारा भवस्याः सत्याः। पीते प्राणवायूपथा फलोऽनि तत्सात्व विस्तारणा म पुरोपप्यये॥ श्र. I. 162. 19-तः, 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 Vaj. S. 17. 39.), Rg. VI. 17. 2, X. 103. 6. In some of these verses it is possible to take 'gotra' in the sense of 'fort'. In some cases 'gotra' probably means only "assemblage" (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. 3 the word 'viśvagotryah' (belonging to all families) occurs. Here the word 'gotra' clearly means 'a group of men connected together' (by blood). The Kauśika sūtra IV. 2 quotes a mantra in which gotra undoubtedly means 'a group of persons'.

Several passages of the Tai. S. show that descendants of great sages were called after those sages. In Tai. S. I. 8. 18. 1 it is said 'the Hotr is a Bhārgava' (descendant of Bhṛgu). The commentator explains that this is so only in the Rājasūya. It is quite possible that in those days descent was traced through teacher and pupil as well as through father and son. But there being a very few occupations only it is most probable that the son generally learnt from his father the lore of the latter. In Tai. S. VII. 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. Jāmadagni was regarded as a very ancient sage, that several generations of Jāmadagni's descendants had passed away by that time, that they were all known as Jāmadagnyas (or-gniyas) and that no two descendants were found to be poor (or grey-haired) in succession.

1118. वानस्पतः संधुत वर्षयाबिश्वनाथ: । पर्वसमित्रेयो वानस्पताभिधारितः॥ अयत्वेत्व V. 21. 3.
In numerous mantras of the Rgveda the descendants of well-known sages are denoted by the plural form of the names of those sages. In Rg. X. 66. 14 we read 'the Vasiṣṭhas have raised their voices like their father'. In Rg. VI. 35. 5 the Bharadvājas are referred to as Āngirases. According to Āsv. Śrauta-sūtra Bharadvāja is a gotra falling under the Āngirōgana. 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 (ādāna) of the sacred Vedic fires is to be performed for Bhṛgyus or Āngirases with the mantra 'bhṛgunāṁ (or āngiraśām) tvādevānāṁ vrata-pate vretenā-dadhāmi,' that for other brahmanas with the words 'ādityānāṁ tvā devānāṁ vrata-pate' &c. The Tai. Br. II. 2. 3 speaks of the 'Āngirast prajā' (people of the Āngiras group). The Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa\(^{1119}\) prescribes that the camasa (cup) made of udumbara was to be given as daksinā to a sagotra brāhmaṇa.' The Kauśitaki 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 Aitaśa and his son Abhyagni and it is stated that the Aitaśāyanas Abhyagnis are the most sinful of the Aurvas. In the Kauśitaki Br. where the same story occurs it is said that the Aitaśāyanas became lowest among Bhṛgyus, as they were cursed by their father. According to Baudhāyanaśrauta-sūtra the Aitaśāyanas are a sub-section of Bhṛgyugana. Śunahśepa, when he was accepted as a son by Viśvāmitra, came to be called Devarāta and the Ait. Br. (33. 5) says that the Kāṭilayas and Bābhravas were affiliated to Devarāta. According to Baud. śrauta-sūtra Devarāta and Bābhru are sub-sections of Viśvāmitra gotra. Śunahśepa 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

\(^{1119}\) सन्दर्शनाः ब्रह्म प्रेयः सोपरिषदप्रविष्टोहयः। तपस्यः 18. 2. 12.

\(^{1120}\) ब्रह्म प्रेयः समानोक्तः पशस्यस्मानोह गोविदार्थं तस्योपने संभवते चर्चायः। सन्त्वेयः। कौष्ठिकः भा. 25. 15.

\(^{1121}\) अधिकं एव ज्ञानं प्रकटीकरणम्। भूनं कविः। अथ ईतिहासिकोक्तमेव। यन्त्रे-हि माये॥ ए. भा.
addressed their pupils by the gotra names e.g. by the Bhāradvāja, Gārgya, Āśvalāyana, Bhārgava and Kātyāyana gotras in Pṛaṣna I. 1, Vaiyāghrapadāya and Gautama in Chāndogya V. 14. 1 and V. 16. 1; Gautama and BharadvaJA, Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni, Vasiṣṭha and Kaāyapa in Br. Up. II. 2. 4. All this shows that the system of gotras with several sub-sections was well established in the times of the Brāhmaṇas and the ancient Upaniṣads. But the gotras are in these works referred to in connection with sacrifices or education. There is hardly any distinct reference in these to gotra or sagotra in relation to marriage. In the Lātyāyana-śrauta-sūtra VIII. 2. 8 and 10 it is prescribed that one who has given away everything in the Viśvajit sacrifice should stay three nights with nisādas 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 Dhāanañjapya, 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 grhya 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 (Āsv. 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. विद्याको जन: समेतः समानजन भवि धानंजप्यः | लाट्यायनश्रूत VH. 2. 11.

H. D. 61
(4) In pārvāna sthālipāka and other pākayajnas, all were
to cut off oblations from the middle and fore-half of the havis,
but for Jāmadagnyas (who are pañcaśṛatlins) they were to be
cut off from the middle, the fore-part and the hind part (vide Ṙāṣ. gr. I. 10. 18-19 ).

(5) In offering water to a preta (a person recently dead)
his gotra and name were to be repeated (Ṛāṣ. 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 samādhyā 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
brāhmaṇas and that among brāhmaṇas the Bhṛgus, Śunakas
and Vasiśṭhas are not entitled to perform them (VI. 6. 24-26).
Those of the Atri, Vadhryaśva, Vasiśṭha, Vaiśya (Vainya?),
Śaunaka, Kaṇva, Kaśyapa and Saṁkṛti gotras took Nārāśaṁsa
as the second prayāja, while others took Tanūnapat 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'
(prārthana). 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 ārṣeya
or ārṣa (as in Yaj. I. 52). Pravara entered into several domestic
ceremonies and practices according to the āroha 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.
(2) In upanayana the girdle (mekhalā) was to have one, three or five knots according to the number of rāis constituting the boy's pravara (vide Śān. gr. II. 2).

(3) In Cauḍa the tufts of hair to be left on the head depended on the number of sages constituting the pravara of the boy's family (Āp. gr. 16. 6).

The mass of material on gotra and pravara in the sūtras, the pūrāṇas 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-maṇjarī (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'.

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 (Uttarasatka VI, khaṇḍas 10-15), Āpastamba (24th praśna) and Baudhāyana (B. I. ed. vol. III pravaradhīya at end) are the most important. The Pravaramaṇjarī (p. 5) has a verse to the effect that Baudhāyana's pravaradhīya is the best on the subject.

The Śrautasūtra of Satyāśadha Hiranyakeśa (21st praśna) has a section on this subject, which is the same as Āpastambaśrauta with a few omissions and variations. The Baudhāyanaśrauta-sūtra says 'Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Bharadvāja, Gautama, Atri, 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. अष्टकन्धव्राहः सूत्रवाक्यान्तः सूत्कारणां पाठकमर्यादाय सहासंति सिद्धांतवाचः बालाकाशभुवनः प्रति पुराणान्तः पररणां यथार्थपञ्चाणि बहुः भयाणां विवाहधिवाहाः कथाम्। पवनमण्डी p. 72 (ed. by Chensalrao).

1126. विवाहविधि जमुकुट्रिष्ठे रामयादक्षोऽस्मिन्। अविबलिष्ठ: कहयप हृदयेऽस्मिन् ज्ञातम्। तेषां सर्वाणि सर्वसारं समानं यथार्थ्यं तदद्धनूः। नी. शी. पवनमण्डी 64; and गोदामाः तु सत्त्वाणि यथार्थ्यं वेदांगि च। उनम्याशाखेवाभिज्ञात सवरा अविवळ्यानां।
History of Dharmaśāstra [Ch. IX
XIV. 5. 2. 6) where these very seven sages are enumerated as those intended in the śloka 'ārvāg-bilaścamaśa\textsuperscript{1127} &c.' quoted there. The same work.(Baud. śrauta) states that there are thousands, tens of thousands and \textit{arbudas} (millions of millions) of gotras, but the pravaras are only 49. Besides the sūtra works, some purāṇas like the Matsya (chap. 195–202), the Vāyu (chap. 88 and 99, Ānan. ed.), Skanda III. 2 (Dharmāraṇya kāṇḍa) contain elaborate enumerations of gotras and pravaras. The Mahābhārata sets out at length the subdivisions (such as Madhuchchandasa, Devarāta) of Viśvāmitragotra in Anuśāsanaparva 4. 49–59. Digests like the Smmṛtyartbasāra (pp. 14–17), the Sam. Pr. (pp. 591–680), the Sam. K. (pp. 637–692), the Nirṛtyasindhu, the Dharmasindhu, the Bālamgeṭṭi contain a vast material on this topic. There are also special works like the Pravaramaṇjari 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 \textit{gotrāvaya}.'\textsuperscript{1128} Pāṇini

\textsuperscript{1127} Vide Nirukta XII. 38 for another interpretation of the verse \textit{ārvāg-bilaścamaśa} &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 \textit{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 'त्रिक्षितश्चरमसं &c.'.

\textsuperscript{1128} अद्यापित: सहस्रार्थ उपशरीतसा०शुभवसं परुस्सत्रांगश्यायंत्रपौपितिः मजनो-स्मृतयत:। तत्रस्तसा पवयत्व साति शीर्षाणि अलसे शीर्षपालन। महाभाष्य vol. II. p. 233 on the sūtra शीर्षाशास्त्रात (पाः. IV. 1. 78). The आप. ध. च. (11, 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). पाण. III. 186–187, समावेश 11. 54 contain somewhat similar verses. समावेश 11. 54 is 'अद्यापितश्चरमसं शुभवसं परुस्सत्राष्ट्रपौपितिः मजनो-स्मृतैं'। 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 Sām Pr. (pp. 591–592) lucidly explains 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. Medhatithi 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 anādi (beginningless), as it is supposed to be, since it mentions Parāśara, Vasiṣṭha &c. So gotra is anādi 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. अन्तः गोत्रस्वामन्तग्नन्तरग्राम म तु पाणिनेश्वर पारिवारिक गौत्रमधुराय।

1130. प्रामण समाने दुध्वने ब्राह्मणालाभिकृत; एवं समाने ब्राह्मणेऽवतिषयाव-गौत्रेऽोप्य विदर्भरः प्रतिपोरेऽस व समानान्यपायः।

1129. 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. Medhatithi 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 anādi (beginningless), as it is supposed to be, since it mentions Parāśara, Vasiṣṭha &c. So gotra is anādi 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,

1130. 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. Medhatithi on Manu 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 brāhmaṇas have. The secondary meaning may apply to the word gotra when it is 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 gāna, viz. Upamanyu, Pārāśara, Kundina and Vasiṣṭha (other than the first three). Each of these four again has numerous sub-sections, each being called gotra. So the arrangement is first into gānas, then into pakṣas, then into individual gotras. The first has survived in the Bṛṛgu and Āṅgirasa gāna. According to Baud, the principal eight gotras were divided into pakṣas. The pravara of Upamanyu is Vasiṣṭha, Bharadvasu, Indrapramada; the pravara of the Pārāśara gotra is Vasiṣṭha, Śāktya, Pārāśarya; the pravara of the Kundina gotra is Vasiṣṭha, Maitrāvunā, Kauṇḍinya 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 ‘ārṣeya’ occurs therein and the system of pravara goes back almost to the Rgveda. Rg. IX. 97. 51 has ‘thereby may we acquire wealth and ārṣeya resembling Jamadagni’s.’ Sometimes the idea of invoking Agni is conveyed without using

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¹¹³¹ फिनेस्त्रा के मान | आयुर्वेद: संज्ञाकारी विद्यापितकादिपरिशिष्टार्थप्रयोगानि यथातमें येन कुल यथपविद्यति | ..... ब्राह्मणानि च तैरेण (भूयमागाभव्यविभिः) गोष्टिपदेशो दुःखः। नानाति हि छुङ्गानि योगानि सहिष्कलेष्टत सदोषदया: प्रवर्ति। हि तेषां गोष्टिः तद्वृद्धार्थमाति आयुर्वेदः संज्ञाकारी मान्यमिति | अनायुर्वेदविशिष्टात्राणिः ब्राह्मणः विज्ञातितत् | न हि पराशरज्ञमत ऊपरे पराशरपदेशः केवलविद्याब्रह्मणानाः | एवं सति आयुर्वेद: एवैव बत्तत यस्तवति | ..... नानाति यथा ब्राह्मणो निःशयं गोष्टिः समार्थित एवं क्रत्तियावृत्तिः।

¹¹³² शोकेश वेदपरंपरासिद्धां | मिसाला on पा. I. 53; गोष्टि वेदपरंपरासिद्धां नेष्य ब्राह्मणाविद्यामयो गोष्टिपदार्थिगतानि तद्वष्ट मिसालिसूचकमेव। सं. म. p. 592.

¹¹³³ एवं कुपिते हृद कुपिते वैदिन कुपिते न च दुःखे कुपिते न पञ्चाति कुपिते हि विज्ञाप्ते। आप. भृ. च. 24. 6. 7.

¹¹³⁴ परम: मोनवस्त्रकस्य छुन्मायांतुर्तिः छुनिमण्यं क्रयथे। परस. म. I. part 2 p. 70. This is quoted in the उद्धात्सवः p. 111.
the word pravara or ārṣeya. In Rg. VIII. 102. 4 \(^{1135}\) 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 Angiras.’ \(^{1136}\) In Rg. VII. 18. 21 it is said ‘they who from house to house gladdened thee, being desirous of thee, viz. Parāṣara, Śatayātu and Vasiṣṭha, will not forget the friendship of a liberal patron (like thee)’.\(^{1137}\)

It deserves to be noted that this mantra mentions Parāṣara (who in later mythology is the grandson of Vasiṣṭha and son of Śakti), Śatayātu (who is Śakti according to Sayana), and Vasiṣṭha. Parāṣara, Śakti and Vasiṣṭha constitute the pravara of Parāṣara 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 Śāmidhena verses) we read ‘he says ‘choose (or invoke) ye the fire called havyavāluna’; 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-apnavānsurva-jāmadagnyeti’. This method is employed by the Hotṛ priest when he invokes fire as the divine Hotṛ with the pravara-mantra ‘Agni mahān-asi brāhmaṇa bhārata deveddha

\(^{1135}\) अर्चिनात्मकवाक्यकेरितिषिकस्यवस्था हुवे। अर्चि सहद्वातस्य। || क्र. VIII. 102. 4.

According to the Ājñā this is a stūta of a man with named prōya.

\(^{1136}\) विशेषणप्रकरणात्मके विषप्रकरणी । अद्वितिस्विशेषतत्त्वस्य श्रुती हस्तम। || क्र. I. 45. 3.

\(^{1137}\) म ये शुद्धस्यमुन्मत्रस्य पराधाति। क्षतपर्यंस्यस्त। || क्र. VII. 18. 21. क्षतपाध्यात्

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 Sat. Br. I. 4, 2, Asv. Śr. I. 2. 27-1. 3. 6). In the other mode the affix 'vat' is used after the name of each pravara sage and the remotest one is mentioned first (e.g. Jamadagnivat, Īrvavat, ApnavānavaN, Cyavanavat, Bhṛguvat). This mode is employed by the adhvaryu when he chooses the Hotr priest. 1138 The Tai. S. II. 5. 11. 9 appears to refer to one (i.e. 2nd) mode. The Kauśitaki brāhmaṇa explains the purpose of taking the names of ancestors 'as the gods do not partake of the offering of him who has no list of (illustrious) ancestors, therefore he pronounces the ārṣeya of the sacrificer.' The Ait. Br. (34. 7) has an interesting passage on pravara. When a brāhmaṇa is initiated for a sacrifice, that fact is announced in these words 'a brāhmaṇa has been initiated for a sacrifice.' How is the initiation of the ksatriya to be announced? The reply of the Ait. Br. is 'even in the case of the ksatriya the announcement is to be in the same form (viz. a brāhmaṇa has been initiated); but with the pravara of the family priest. Therefore they should proclaim the ksatriya's initiation as a sacrificer with the ārṣeya of his family priest and should invoke Agni with the pravara of his family priest.' 1139 The Asv. Śr. (Uttara śatka VI. 15. 4-5) and Baud. Śr. (pravaraprāśna 54) say that in the case of ksatriyas and vaiśyas the pravara of their purohita was to be employed or the pravara 'Mānava-Aila-Paurūravasa' or simply 'Manuva.' The origin of that rule is to be found in the above passage of the Ait. Br. There is another similar passage in the Ait. Br. (35. 5). The Śat. Br.

1138. This rule is stated in Āp. Śravata (24. 5. 8) and Baud. Śravata (pravarādhyāya 2). 'अह अन्ताःप्राचीनवर्णावलीक महावर्ण भाषा are recited, the invoking of the ārṣeya of the sacrificer by the Hotr priest takes place and then the remaining words of the formula वेदाद्र भविज्ञ अर्थसत &c. are uttered. This is shown by the Tai. S. itself (II. 5. 7. 8) and by the Sat. Br. I. 4. 2., 2-5. Agni is styled by ṛṣi names such as Bhṛgava, Cyavana &c. because fire was kindled by these ancient sages and oblations were thrown into it by them. The Adhvaryu recites the mantra अद्वितेयो होति देवान् प्रक्षेत्रप्रविष्टिकिंगायतेः अन्तःप्राचीनवर्ण and then recites the pravara of the yajamāna with 'vat' added to each name and then proceeds महापदन् व यानाम् महान् अर्थ यायस्क भविष्यति: (vide Sat. Br. I. 5, 1. 5-13, Āp. Śr. II. 16. 5-11). It is on account of this that the Saṁskārānāmāri (p. 416) explains pravara as महापदन् अन्तःप्राचीनवर्णविषयकोत्तरित्वेऽन्तःप्राचीनवर्णत्. The names of the ancient illustrious sages become the attributes of Fire that is invoked by the hotṛ.
I. 4. 2. 3-4 shows that the illustrious ancestors to be invoked were supposed to be related as father and son and not by apostolic succession.

The Mahābhārata says that the original gotras were only four viz. Āṅgiras, Kaśyapa, Vasiṣṭha, Bhṛgu. The verses are rather abruptly introduced in the epic and there is nothing to show on what this statement was based and it appears that it is due to the imagination of the writer. Baudhāyaṇa states that the original gotras were 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 Baudhāyaṇa 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 Āṅgirasagama. So even Baud, is not to be implicitly followed. The Bālambhaṭṭi mentions eighteen principal gotras (eight as in Baud, plus ten more some of which are names of mythical kings). Baud, himself says that there are millions of gotras and in the Baud. Pravarādhyāya there are over 500 names of gotra and pravara sages; while the Pravaramanjarī quotes a verse that 'there are three crores of them' and so the gotra system is difficult to comprehend', and it mentions about 5000 gotras. Therefore, as the Smṛtyarthasaśāra says the nibandhas endeavour to place the innumerable gotras under groups and distribute them among 49 pravaras (mentioned by Baud.) Some idea of these...
gotras and their distribution among the pravaras is given below. The appendix under note No. 1144 collects together the 49 pravara groups.

The Brhuguna and the Aṅgirogana are very extensive. The Brhugas are of two sorts, Jāmadagnya and non-Jāmadagnya. The Jāmadagnya Brhugas are again twofold, Vatsas and Bidas (or Vidas); the non-Jāmadagnya Brhugas are fivefold viz. Ārṣtiṣenās, Yāskas, Mitrayus, Vainyaś and Śunakas (these latter five are called kevala Brhugas). Under each of these sub-divisions there are many gotras, on the names and number of which the śutrakāras 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 Ārṣtiṣenās also has five sages. These three (viz. Vatsas, Bidas and Ārṣtiṣenās) are styled pāncāvattin (Baud. 5) and they cannot inter-marry (the reason will be explained below). The five non-Jāmadagnya Brhugas have each of them numerous sub-divisions. These divisions of Brhugas 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, Brhugas have twelve sub-divisions (vide Śām. Pr. p. 625).

The Aṅgirogana has three divisions, Gautamas, Bharadvajas and kevalāṅgirases; out of whom Gautamas have seven sub-divisions, Bharadvajas have four (Rauksāyanas, Gargas, Kapis and Kevala-Bharadvajas), and Kevala-Aṅgirases have six sub-divisions and each of these again is sub-divided into numerous gotras. This is according to Baud. Other śutrakāras differ as to the sub-divisions. Atri (one of the eight primary gotras) is sub-divided into four (Atris proper, Vādbhūtakas, Gaviśṭhiras, Mudgalas). Viśvāmitra is sub-divided into ten, which are further sub-divided into 72 gotras. Kaśyapas are sub-divided into Kaśyapas, Nidhruvas, Rebhas, and Śanḍilas. Vasiṣṭha has four sub-divisions (Vasiṣṭhas with one pravara only, Kūḍīnas, 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. (1) इस्यते महसा। रेहर्व वाशीर्यं प्रवरो भवति भारत्यपायसानामान्यां सर्वा गौतमं विद्यमानं...होता जन्मसतिविद्वृजे वायुपायसानाम परमपरां सुभूषितविद्विषययु। श्री. (३); (2) इस्यते विद्वलेषेण प्राशीर्यं: प्रवरो भवति भारत्यपायसानामान्यां सर्वा गौतमं विद्यमानं विद्वृजे वायुपायसानाम परमपरां सुभूषितविद्विषययु। श्री. (४); अधिकतांपैकै भारत्यपायसानामान्यां दीर्घाशिर्षांहेतु अध्यम (also श्री. 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, Vadhula, 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. ‘Bhargava-Vaitahavya-Savetasita’. So also though the gotras Samkriti, Purtimasa, Tandi, Sambu and Saingava are different, there can be no marriage between them as the pravara is the same, viz. ‘Angirasa, Gaurivita, Samkritya’ (acc. to Asv. Srauta). When it is said that samanapravaras 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 same in the pravaras of two different gotras, then they are sapravara, except in the case of the Bhrgu group and the group of Angirases. 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 Arstisesas quoted above there are three sages that are common and so they cannot inter-marry.

Though the vast majority of gotras have three pravara sages, a few have only one pravara sage or two sages or five. Those who have only one sage are Mitrayus (pravara Vadhryasva according to Asv.), the Vasishtas (other than Kundina, Parasara and Upamanyu) have only one pravara Vasishta, the Sunakas have one pravara Grtsamada (according to Asv.) or Saunaka or Gartsamada (according to Baud. 9); the Agastis have one pravara Agastya (according to Ap. Sr. 24. 10. 9); Asv. optionally allows three pravaras to Mitrayus (Bhargava-Daivodasa-Vadhryasva) and to Sunakas (viz. Bhargava-

1146. आधुकालाणखाणाव says 'वस्त्रक्षाभुतोभूमुम्बोकाकहीरसंसारिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधि
Saunahotra-Gärtsamada) and Ap. also allows to Agastis three pravaras (Viz. Agastya-Därdhacyuta-Aidmaväha-iti). According to Ap. and the puräñas, Dhäpayantas have two pravaras (Väishvämitra-Paurana-iti), Aștakas Lohitas have two (Väishvämitra-Äṣṭaka-iti), and Śaṇḍilas also have two (Daivala-Asita-iti). But he says that according to some the latter have three pravaras also (Käsypa-Daivala-Asita-iti), while Baudhäyana gives four optional groups of three sages each for Śaṇḍilas (Baud. 43). For Väri-Dhäpayantas Aśv. prescribes three only (Väishvämitra-Devaräta-Paurana) and also for the Aștakas. According to Baud, the Vatsas, Bidas and Ärṣtisenäs (among the Bhṛgus) have five pravara sages; so also among Äṅgirases, the Kaumändas, Dirghatamassas, Raukšäyanas and Gargas have five pravara sages, though the last have optionally three also.

The Ap. sr. 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). Aśv. uses the word ‘dvipravacanaḥ’ for them. 1149. They are principally three viz. Śauna-śaśisirs, Sainkr̥tis and Laugäksis. From a Śunga, a sub-division of Bharadväja gotra, was born a son to the wife of a Śaśiri, a sub-division of Väishvämitra (by niyoga); the son, therefore, came to be called Śauna-Śaśiri. Therefore Śauna-Śaśisirs cannot marry in both Bharadväja and Väishvämrita 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), Nirñayasindhu p. 300 ff. may be consulted. In the case of the adopted son also, on the analogy of the Śauna-śaśisirs,

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1148. चीन्द्रवणीते मण्डलोततो कुणीते प्रथाय याप्नो मण्डलो कुणीत व्रति विज्ञाप्ते। आप. श्री. 24. 5-6.
1149. अथ एते हिमवाचना: वैष्टिकन्त्रोशिरय:। महाकाले द्रव्यं कता: श्रीचित्रय:। आधु. श्री. (Uttarāśṭāka VI).
1150. According to आधु. the pravar of श्रीन्त्रिकक्षित्व is आधुबल्लश्चास्य-भाष्यकारायाकारीतिति. According to others it is आधुबल्लश्चास्य-भाष्यकार-लोकःकारकारीति or they are only निम्नवर, आधुबल्लश्चास्यकारीति. vide सं. 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 svadha (śrāddhas 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 ksatriyas. It appears from the Ait. Br. quoted above (p. 488) that in the case of ksatriyas the pravara of their purohita was employed in religious acts where pravara had to be recited. This leads to the inference that most ksatriyas had forgotten their gotras and pravaras by that time. The Srauta śūtras allow \(^{1152}\) an option to ksatriyas (to kings according to Āsv.). 'They may employ the pravara of their purohitas or all ksatriyas may employ the same pravara viz. Mānava-Aīla-Paurūravasā-tītī'. Medhātithi on Manu III. 5 states that the distinctions of gotras and pravaras concern primarily brāhmaṇas alone and not ksatriyas and vaśyās and quotes Āsv. Śr. (I. 3) in support. The Mit. and other nibandhakāras rely on the first alternative mentioned in the śūtras and say that in marriages of ksatriyas and vaśyās the gotras and pravaras of their purohitas should be considered, as they have no specific gotras of their own \(^{1152}\).

This is carrying the doctrine of atidesā (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 Yudhishthira.

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\(^{1153}\) The quotation is from Āsv. Śr. I. 3. The quotation is from Āsv. Śr. I. 3. The quotation is from Āsv. Śr. I. 3.
went to the court of Virāṭa in the guise of a brāhmaṇa and was asked by the king to state his gotra he said that he was of the Vaiyāghrapāda gotra (Virāṭa-parva 7.8-12). That this was the gotra of the Pāṇḍavas also follows from the fact that in the Bhīṣmatarpana\textsuperscript{1154} 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 Sāmkṛti. Jaimini (VI.6.12-15) establishes that the Kulāyayajña was to be performed jointly by a king and his purohita

(...) The Pallavas of Kāṇeḍi had Bhāradvāja as their gotra (vide E. I. vol. I p. 5). The Cālukyas are often described as ‘mānava-gotra’ (vide E. I. vol. VI. p. 337). In a copper-plate grant of Jayacandra (dated sāvat 1233 i. e. 1176 A. D.) the donee was a kṣatriya described as Rāuta-śri-Rājadharavaraṇ of the Vatsa gotra and of five pravaras viz. Bhārgava-Cyavana-Apnavāna-Aurva-Jāmadagnya.\textsuperscript{1155} In the Garra (Bundelkhand) plate of the Candella king Trailokyavarman of Kālaṇjara 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 Gāhādvāla, sāvat 1150), E. I. vol. 13 p. 237, E. I. vol. 8 pp. 316-317 (sake 1346), E. I. vol. 9 p. 103 (32 donees with gotras, pravaras, sākhās &c.), E. I. vol. 12 pp. 163-167 (120 donees with gotras, sake 1508), Gupta Ins. No. 55 Chammak plate of Pravaraseṇa &c. Even the Buddhists kept the system of gotras (vide E. I. vol. 10, Lüder’s list, No. 158).

According to Āp. Śr the vaiśyas had\textsuperscript{1156} a single pravara ‘Vātsapra’, while according to Baud. they had three, viz.

\textsuperscript{1154} The sāṅkara in the bhāṣaṁśa is Bṛhaṇapāramīyitvam Sāṅkūṭitvābhāṣaṇa Gāhādvāla Bhāṣāravin Bhāṣādhyāyikādayanti vā.\textsuperscript{1154} The garra in the bhāṣaṁśa is Bṛhaṇapāramīyitvam Sāṅkūṭitvābhāṣaṇa Gāhādvāla, sāvat 1150, I. p. 198; vide also Gauravāna, pp. 509-10.

\textsuperscript{1155} Vide I. A. vol 18 pp. 136-138.

\textsuperscript{1156} Vide I. A. vol 18 pp. 136-138.
Bhālandana-Vatsapra-Māṅktila. They could also employ the pravara of their purohitas. The Sam. 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 Sam. K. and Sam. 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 pindā 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 sreṣṭhin (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 sāke 1356).

A few interesting matters about pravaras are noted below. It is noteworthy that even as to the same gotra, there is great divergence among the sūtrakārās about the sages constituting the pravara e. g. as to Śāndilyagotra. Āsv. gives two groups of the sages ‘Śāndila-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-Ayatsāra-Asita-iti; Śāndila-Asita-Daivala-iti; Kāśyapa-Avatsāra-Śāndila-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 (pravarādhyāya sec. 44) notes that

1157. 24. 10. 17.

1158. इन्हें तो आकाश्योपहर्षिता सन्य व्रतपालीः त्यो व्रतपालीः। नन्दिकार्थिषीति होता व्रतपालिनासतिति यथा। व्रती (पराक्षपाय 44)। वस्त्यः काश्योपहर्षिता जीवनान्। अप्यास्तिः इत्यत: प्रकाशितविषयः। काश्योपहर्षिता जीवनान् (महाभाषिकद्विगुप्तमृत 4 युक्तियार्था p. 15, अथ व्रतिहेतु प्रकाशितविषयक मृतमन्दिरः तेषाः म्यावर्षेः। भागम्येष्यकथितस्मांवेशकेषति।... अथ भूष्यः। पार्थिः। तेषाः म्यावर्षेः। भागम्येष्यकथित्विषयः। आप. आ० 24. 6. 1-2 and 7-8.
the Laugākṣis (or Laukākṣis) are Vasiṣṭhas by day and Kaśyapas by night and their pravaras also show this double relationship. The Smṛtyarthasastra 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 Vītahavya and Vainya and among the names of pravara sages many legendary kings like Māndhātr, Ambarīsa, Yuvanāśva, Divodāsa appear. Vītahavya figures even in the Ṛgveda as closely connected with the Bhrugas (Ṛg. VI. 15. 2-3). In the Mahābhārata it is narrated that Vītahavya, being a king, attacked Divodāsa, whose son Pratardana pursued Vītahavya, whereupon Vītahavya took shelter with Bhrugu and that when Pratardana asked Bhrugu whether there was any kṣatriya in the hermitage, Bhrugu replied that there were all brāhmaṇas and that by this Vītahavya became a brāhmaṇa (Anuśāsana chap. 30).

Similarly the pravara of the Hārtas is either Āṅgirasā- Ambarīsa-Yauvanāśva-iti or Māndhātr-Ambarīsa-Yauvanāśva-iti. These are mythical royal sages. Among the Bhrugas 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, 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. 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. वैष्णव : पाठवा बाणकालस्तेवं व्यापयेयः भवरो भस्मिति भार्ष्यवेग्यसर्वधिवसितो होता। श्री (भार्ष्यवेग ८।).

1160. The purer of viṣṇुव्रद्धा is अक्षिरसपीदकुसत्त्रतासुरस्वेति (vide Baud. sec. 20).

1161. अक्षिरसपीद समानाक्षिरसपीद पाठवः। दुतक्रिया विश्रणय तत्त्व हृद्योपपरे। रोते ज्ञात्वत्र ये दुःखान्तिः स्वूति। रोपतराणिः पदरः ऋषिपेत्वा विज्ञातः। याथा 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.1163 (pravṛddhyāya 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 Kaśyapa. Aparārka quotes (p. 80) Sumantu and another smṛti to the effect that if a person inadvertently marries a sagotra or samāna-pravara woman he should give up intercourse with her, should maintain her and undergo cāndrāyaṇa.1162 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 cāndala1164. The rule of Baud, that there would be no blemish and the child will be of Kaśyapa 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. समानोत्सर्गं गल्वा भान्द्रायणं च रूपं च स परिनिर्दिते बाल्यां न न्येन्द्रभावावयनी-च शर्मं न सुप्रतिक धन्यति विधायते। वी. (पवराधिवाय 54).

1163. परिश्रमं समीक्षणं तत्र समावेश्वरं तथा। त्यां दृष्टा विद्धस्तृपताद्वारायणं चरितं। सक्षम दृश्यं। नासुंक्राते। पतिक्षुथेष्वरा समान- स्नाते संयत्यां स परिश्रमं च चायत्नायणं चरितं। परिश्रमिण्यं विधायति। विष्णुविगुप्तं विधितवन्। अपरार्के p. 80. The verse परिश्रमं is ascribed to शारतात्य by स. p. 680 and other writers; समा is quoted in उद्धात्ततः p. 111.

1164. समायोगवर्तां कपयुधुम्बवर्गैं। तत्प्रगटाय च, च दीर्घं बाल्यावधे भीति अपास्तमण्यं विधायते। अपास्तमण्यं विधायते। संवराधिवाय 580 and उद्धात्ततः p. 112.

1165. यतो काविक्रियानित्सते कपयुधुम्बार्च। महानार्यमाहिर्मण्यं विधायति। यथार्थव्यवस्थाः। पाल्पेठायान्निमित्वं। अज्ञानादैवते: चुष्टमर्मात्मकतः दृष्यतं। स्थलयेष्ठिः p. 16.

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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.  

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 śāstric procedure between persons who are sagotra or sapravara. Upon the strict letter of the dharmasāstra 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 (adrṣṭa) 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 gṛhya 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 brāhmaṇas now do not remember their pravara themselves but have to be told by the priests what their pravara is. Certain prohibitions against

1166. विकर्षणः संगोट्रो वां ब्राह्मणाय विवधस्यसौ व उद्विविन्दस्य वै सर्व-विवधस्यसौ। इति कालयायनीसः संगोट्रोऽहायः। इनविविन्दस्य, संगोट्रोऽहायः। सं. प्र. प. 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 Lātyāyana śrauta and in grhyā 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 Satapatha 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 śūdras there is no gotra in the strict sense, but they also do not marry a girl who is believed to be of the same family, though the exact relationships or generations are not known. Besides it has been shown above that if a woman was a 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 sapinda as taking place in former ages has probably marriage with maternal uncle’s daughter in view. When in the kalivarṣya texts it is said ‘these dharmas are declared to be prohibited by the sages in the Kali age’ (vide Vyavahāra-mayukha 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. नगर्गाढङ्ग सपिंदाः हि विवहों मोक्षस्तया। नानान्येश्वरी नयं च कली पद्यं

विज्ञातिम्। भक्तुपुराण quoted in aparakh 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 'chatriṇo gacchanti' (here go persons with umbrellas).

There are certain other prohibitions about marriage. The Smṛtimuktāphala quotes a verse of Harlita 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 svayāṁvara (i.e. choose a husband herself). Nārada

1168. प्रस्यव्यासो नैच कार्यो नैकसने वृत्तितुदयप्रम न चैसजातयोऽसोऽप्राचेद्यहिद्वयुः स्वालिसु (वण्यभ्रमयमम प. १४६) ; विदो अभी हन्तु स्वामपहिरिजातर न याँसि। नैवो न कृतयथा॥ (च. IX Prohibitions about Marriage 581)

1169. विता वृद्धावसर्य कशों भाति वाचुस्ते विदुः । विलमिन्तो मालुदेभ्य साहुप्य बाध्यावस्थातः ॥ नाति विलायबे सब्यां प्रकृति प्रजटव यथा यत्तेत । तरयमयमावलित्सयां वृद्धुः कन्यां समाप्नः ॥ यथि तु नैव कक्षिस्यावक्यः राजमाभ्रेत । अद्वृत्या तथ वरं मतित्व वर्येलस्यापम ॥ नातुः (ब्रौंस २०–२२).
(strīpūmsa 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 svayāmvara 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 svayāmvara is well known from the Rāmāyana 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 Viśṇu Dh. S. 24. 40 says that a girl should wait only for three monthly periods after she attains puberty and that after that period she has full power to dispose of herself in marriage as she thinks best.

There are no rules in the smṛtis as to who is to arrange the marriage of a male, since in ancient times they did not contemplate the marriages of minor males.

The mother has been put low in the order of guardians probably because of the dependent status assigned to women and because of the fact that in the ceremony of kanyādāna she cannot personally engage but has to get it done through 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. Ghanta (I. L. R. 1 Lahore 146), Jawānī 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), Ranga-nālki v. Ramanuja I. L. R. 35 Mad. 738, (where all the authorities are examined). The Dharmaśindhu states the important proposition that when the girl performs svayāmvara or when the mother is to give away the girl in marriage, the girl or mother should perform the Nāndīsrāddha and the principal saṅkalpa is to be pronounced by her and the rest of the
rite is to be performed through a brāhmaṇa.\textsuperscript{1170} Narada 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.\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{1171} 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 Khushchalchand 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 Maitrayanlya S. I. 10. 11 ‘she indeed commits falsehood (or sin) who being purchased by her husband roams about with other males.’\textsuperscript{1172} There is another passage of the Veda relied upon along with the above by the \textit{pārvaṇapokṣa} (the plausible view-point) in Jaimini (VI. 1. 10–11) which denies that women have a right to

1170. कन्यासम्बलेष्यां च ताम्याभेव नामवीआदेः कार्यं तत्र माता कन्या वा स्वयं प्राध्यमकुलायमां गुर्वा अन्यथा मा भंद्राण्त्वारा कार्येत्. \textit{प्रमिश्रितू पृष्ठ} p. 251. These words are taken from the \textit{प्रवेशपारित्वम}; vide \textit{निर्मितिश्रुत्} III \textit{पृष्ठ} p. 306.

1171. पुराण नारदः। स्तवक्रोधिः स्तवकार्यं कुष्टवाद्वृद्धिः गतः। सत्यप्रक्षेपयो श्यापः-

1171 a. यदि तु रिवाहे निबुद्धलयम प्राध्यमनिवेर्नाधिकारिकैक्षेत्राय तस्मादापरपुत्रियति। \textit{उद्दाहरण} p. 127; यदि तु सत्यसीवाहास्पदाचार्याय प्राध्यमं जातं तद्वृत्तेक्षसंपर्य मात्रतिवि\textit{सत्यमात्रा}। \textit{मदिक} अनुवेदमात्रः। \textit{निर्मितिश्रुत्} III \textit{पृष्ठ} p. 307; vide also सं. र. मा. p. 497 to the same effect.

1172. ज्ञाते हि सर्वं यक्षमात्रं क्री अर्थां च एषा करोति या यथः। क्रीता सर्वमा-

\textit{शैखरसति}। \textit{मेरां} सं. I. 10. 11.
take part in Vedic sacrifices, viz. ‘one should give to the daughter’s father a hundred (cows) plus a chariot.’ Jaimini replies (VI. 1. 15) that the giving of a hundred with a chariot is not for purchasing a bride, but it is only a duty and a hundred must be offered as a present (whether the girl is beautiful or not). This shows that, even if some girls were purchased for marriage in the times of the Maitrayaniya S., there was a popular revulsion of sentiment about this practice and the sale of girls was severely condemned by the time of the sutrakāras. The Āp. Dh. S. (II. 6. 13. 10-11) also makes interesting remarks on this point: “there is no gift and the incidents of purchase about one’s children; in marriage the gift ordained by Veda to be made to the daughter’s father in the words ‘therefore one should give a hundred (cows) besides a chariot to the girl’s father and that (gift) should be made to belong to the (married) couple’ is due to the desire (of the father to give a status to the daughter and her sons) and is meant as a fulfilment of duty (and not as a sale transaction). The word ‘purchase’ applied to such a transaction is merely figurative, since the relationship (as husband and wife) arises (not from the so called purchase but) from dharma.” Vas. Dh. S. (I. 36-37) quotes the two passages of the Veda (from Mait. S. and the other about the gift of one hundred cows) in support of the Manusa (i.e. Āsura) form of marriage. The Nirukta VI. 9 while explaining Rg. I. 109. 2 (‘O Indra and Agni, I have heard you to be greater donors than a partially fit son-in-law or a brother-in-law’) remarks that “the word vijāmātā means among the southerners the husband of a woman who is purchased; what is meant is that he is a...

1173. शब्द on जै. VI. 1. 10 puts the पूर्वपुष्प view as क्रयविविवेकसंस्कारका हि खिर्यः। विनिर्मित्त धिबिखियन्ते महत्रा की परिणातिः। तिरुप्पा हि युवती ‘सत्तमारिथ बुद्धितुमने द्वाताः।’ &c. and on जै. VI. 1. 11 he says ‘या परवा कीता सत्यथा येवत्रस्यहति कीतर्क द्वौर्तिति। क्रयस्य बुद्धिसहितोऽस्य।’ जै. VI. 1. 15; शब्द ‘युद्ध क्रयः चुवत्वं धर्मं-ग्रामं तु तत्स्थात नानाकोणः कीतिति।’ ...

1174. तानेच क्रयविविवेकसंस्कारं न विनिर्मिते। विवाहे बुद्धितुमने द्वातान कामयो भाषिष्यं यथैतिष्ठति सत्तमारिथ बुद्धितुमने द्वातां चि च तस्मिन भविष्यं कुपितीति तस्मिन चित्यवसदिः संज्ञानां भविष्यं संज्ञाः। अर्ज. ध. बुद्ध. II. 6. 13. 10-11. The words तस्मिन भविष्यं कुपितीति are translated in S.B.E. II. p. 132 as ‘that gift he should make bootless (by returning it to the giver).’

1175. अर्जनविशिष्ट यस्यविजितत्वं त्वा विजामात्तवस्य त्वा र्याताः। (कृ. I. 109. 2)...

अर्जनविशिष्ट यस्यविजितत्वं त्वा विजामात्तवस्य अहुसमासाज्जाताः। विजामात्तवस्य त्वा बुद्धिते-पाण्डः कीतिपरितिमायरः। अहुसमासात्त् यस्य वर्तिकित्तेः। निन्नक VI. 9.
Sale of girls in Marriage

bridgegroom who is deficient and not endowed with all good qualities." So Yāska implies that in the south girls were sold for substantial sums of money to persons who (either because they were old or wanting in some qualities desirable in a good bridegroom) were therefore really deficient as bridegrooms. In the Nirukta (III. 4) while discussing the several views about the obscure verse of the Rgveda III. 31. 1 (śāsad-vahnim &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 Śunahṣeṣa (in the Ait. Br. 33, Tai S. V. 2. 1. 3, Tai. Br. I. 7. 10.).

These passages lead to the inference that in ancient times girls were sometimes purchased for marriage, as was the case in many other countries. But gradually public feeling entirely changed and not only was the sale of daughters by the father or brother severely condemned, but even taking of presents by them was looked down upon. Ap. Dh. S. has already been quoted above (note 1174). The Baud. Dh. S. (I. 11. 20-21)1176 quotes two verses 'that woman who is purchased with wealth is not declared to be a legally wedded wife (a patni); she is not (to be associated with the husband) in rites for the gods or manes and Kaśyapa declares that she is a dāsī (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) strikes1177 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. अधातुःहारिति। कीता प्रपीण या तारी सा न पत्नी विदिपने। सा न वैभे न सा विपने दृस्ति ता कामयोक्तीद्वित छलकने ये षष्ठ्याणि स्तुत्ता संवेदीता।। आतिथि-प्रपीणानि प्रत्ये महातिथिर्षिष्करश्च।। पत्रिति नत्रेके धैरे प्रति चातासं मूलम्।। वि. घ. म. I. 11. 20-22; हुकोशांस्या एव विशिष्टिति व: पवसानोऽविहृतं द्वैवः।। वि. घ. म. II. 1. 79.

1177. अत्रासनम 46. 2-3 are the same as शुद्ध 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 sūdra should not take a gratuity when giving his daughter (in marriage), since in taking a gratuity he clandestinely sells his daughter'. Yāj. III. 236, Manu XI. 61 include the sale of children among 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-sāstras 'whoever sells his son for a price, or gives a daughter for the sake of his own livelihood in return for a gratuity, would fall into a most horrible hell called Kālasūtra'. Verse 23 of the same chapter says 'even a stranger cannot be sold, what of one's own children'. Verse 20 (= Manu III. 53) condemns even the ārṣa form of marriage as a sale because a pair of cattle is therein taken by the girl's father. In Kerala or Malabar it is believed that the great teacher Śaṅkara laid down 64 acāras, among which are prohibition of the sale of girls, prohibition of sāti &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 A. D. from Paḍalviḍu (North Arcot District) we find an agreement signed by the representatives of Kārnāṭa, Tamil, Telugu and Lāṭa (South Gujarat) brāhmaṇas that they would give up taking gold for their daughters and get them married by the simple kanyādāna (the Brāhma form) and that the father who accepted gold and the bridegroom who paid gold were to be punished by the king and were to be excommunicated from the brāhmaṇa caste. The Peshwa issued orders (about 1800 A. D.) addressed to the brāhmaṇas of Wai (in the Satara District) forbidding them to take money for giving their daughters in marriage and prescribing fines for the father.

1178. Vide South Indian Inscriptions (ed. by Hultsch, 1890) No. 56.

1179. Vide कार्यविभाषासंदर्भ, पृष्ठ पाणी 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 'गल्ल कल्ले येथे वाह्य ज्ञाते कृपा कल्ले रुपे छेदन विवाह कल्ले नसे, जो कन्या ईव लंबे लंबे स्त्रयापासून बुध्य लंबे इ पैड लंबे लंबे वैर अस्तमित तितके य सत्संस कल्ल पैड वैर लंबे इ ईव लंबे स्त्रयापासून संकालाकेल वैकल्ल जाईत. यात्रायं ज्ञाते वतीबार व धमीविकारी व उपाप्चे जोपी व भरीवी कल्ल पैड विश्लेष्य ताकोब ज्ञाते.'
who took money, for the giver and the intermediary who brought about the marriage. Among certain castes and among the śudras even now money or money’s worth is often taken when a daughter is married, but generally the money is meant as a provision for the girl and for defraying the expenses of the girl’s father.

The question of the sale of girls in marriage has been from the remotest ages bound up with the question of the father’s power over his children Rg. I. 116. 16 and I. 117. 17 refer to the story of Rṣrāśva 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 Śunahśepa (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. (XVII. 30–31) says ‘Śunahśepa is an example of the son bought’ (one of the twelve kinds of sons). The same sūtra (XVII. 36–37) defines the apavidha 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 ‘apavidha’ 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. शर्म निवन्धनके चक्रवर्त्यद्वारावतं ते पितामहं चकयति। ओ. I. 116. 16.

1181. क्रियास्तिप्रद्योगं। तथ्युतंसपेन भयाक्ष्यतमु। ....... अपिविद्धं पञ्चामं। यं माता

पितुप्राप्तां सुभाषीतः। विषयं XVII. 30–31 and 36–37.

1182. Śabara on Ṛg. VI. 1. 12 quotes the verse भार्याः वालस्य द्वारावतं निधेनः; सर्वं 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. Kātyāyana 1182 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 puṇās 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 dharmasūtra writers is whether one has ownership over one's wife and children. In Jaimini 1184 (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 Viṇṇitrodaya 1185 (vyavahāra p. 567) is of the same opinion. On the other hand the Tantraratna (of Pārthasārathīṇīśa) 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. स्त्रयय सत्त्वारणीय परिचय सत्त्वासहै विकप्त पैठ याने च परिचयं न छो विधत : कामकायन प्रमो व प्रता. मा. III. p. 219.

1184. सत्त्वारणीय शिक्षणमहायवर्त मुनि श्रद्धावशयमहायवर्त म श्रद्धार्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नसमर्थस्वप्नs
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).\footnote{1186. Vide Tod’s ‘Annals and antiquities of Rajasthān’ (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).}

He is wrong in saying that in the Vedic times infanticide or exposure of children was practised. Rg. II. 29. 1\footnote{1187. Vide Vedic Index, vol. I. p. 487 for references to the views of Zimmer and others.} 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 \textit{arabhṛtha}\footnote{1188. Vide Winternitz ‘Die Frau’ pp. 24-25. Vide the Female Infanticide Prevention Act VIII. of 1873 (in India).} (the final sacrificial bath); they keep aside the \textit{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.\footnote{1189. Compare IV. 184-185 ‘भाषा कुषणि वर्तमाना व्यवहारः: स्त्रियाः स्वरूपः पतिः परिवारः। च च. 33. 1. आदि युगः सिद्धान्त: सहस्रं भाषाः तत्र उपस्थित: किं तद्। अधिकारिः 159. 11. Compare महा IV. 184-185 ‘भाषा कुषणि वर्तमाना व्यवहारः: स्त्रियाः महाकुषणि वर्तमाना व्यवहारः।'}
'the wife is indeed a friend, the daughter is distress (or humiliation), the son is light in the highest heaven'. The Mahābhārata (Adi. 159. 11) in a similar vein says 'the son is one's self, the wife is one's friend, but the daughter is indeed a difficulty'. But all the same the 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 brähmaṇa. Manu IX. 130 (=Anuśasana 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 (dayabhāga 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 feels 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. उज्जवलेऽदुःखिता दुःखिता दुःखिताः स्तंभात् संताना-कारकोऽनि मार्गः (ब्रह्मचर्य 50); अहंकारोऽदुःखिता दुःखिता दुःखिता। तत्वं विद्यते तथ्यमेव लक्षणम् कर्णे युः क्रुद्धे नायकां मानवं भुवाने भुवाने भुवाने भुवाने भुवाने। क्षमाकोर्तस्य भुवाने भुवाने भुवाने भुवाने भुवाने। देहायस्यं भुवाने भुवाने भुवाने भुवाने भुवाने। देहायस्यं भुवाने भुवाने भुवाने भुवाने भुवाने। देहायस्यं भुवाने भुवाने भुवाने भुवाने भुवाने। देहायस्यं भुवाने भुवाने भुवाने भुवाने भुवाने। देहायस्यं भुवाने भुवाने भुवाने भुवाने भुवाने।

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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 (jāyed-astam). The Chan. Up.1181 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 (Raghuvaṁśa II.10). The Śaunaka-kārīkā1182(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 (Rgveda1183 X. 85. 13) the

1191. स यदि किं धर्म पर्येषसच्चु म कर्मके विद्वान्। तत् श्रुय श्रुतोऽन यदृ कर्मच्छु किं प्रमुत्त वदयति। सयुतिः तत् जातीयतासिद्ध श्रमिनिवर्ति॥ छावार्थम् V.2.7-8.
This passage is the basis of वेदांतम् III.2.4.

1192. धृष्ण: पूर्णकल्वम् कथय सुनमनोक्तताम्। कुपमालाध भवजा लाजा: संवोक्ते चाहानामुक्तम्॥ श्रीकारकारिका.

1193. अध्यावस हम्सने गायो फलसत्यः: पर्युषते। सस. X.85.13 and अध्याय XIV.1.13. कौशिकमर्य 75.5 quotes these words. नमनमिणयो युथासे। फलसत्यो यथासे। आप. S.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 naksatra. 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 Śīśra (i. e. Magha and Phālguna) and the last of the two months of summer (viz. Āṣāda) are fit for marriage and all naksatras 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 Nīṣṭyā (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 naksatras for marriage are Rohini, Mṛgaśīra, Uttarā Phālguna, Svāti; while Punarvasu,

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1194. उदयन आपूर्वमाणस्य कर्याणि नसने चौतकर्माणि नवनाममाणवीवाहाः। सार्वकालमेके विवाहम्। आच्छ. यु. I. 4. 1–2; शाश्वायनसुण्यः। I. 5. 5 is to the same effect.

1195. यथाकामेऽवेत बुञ्जितर्ग्रामावः स्वाभितिः हि निक्यवाहिः अधाति विवेश भवति नैव अ हुन्नामस्थिति दृढ़ि भ्राम्णायावेशो विचित्रः। आप. यु. 3. 3. The words यथास्थिति occur in ति. ब्र. I. 5. 2. ब्रह्मज्ञुः। I. 12. quotes the भ्राम्णविवाहः.

1196. सर्व नासा विवाहस्य। गुञ्जितपरस्परस्वर्जयिनिवेशिन्ये। नोहिष्ठी सुधार्भिद्वर्जिनो। अनवेदुः लिथोः इस्तः। भ्राम्णो नक्षत्रविवेशाय भृतिकर्माणाः। यु. यु. I. 1. 18–21.
Tiṣya (Pusya), Hasta, Śravaṇa and Revati are suitable for other ceremonies of an auspicious character. The Māṇava gr. (I. 7. 5) says that the nakṣatras Rohini, Mrgaśīras, Śravaṇa, Śravīṣṭhā (Dhanūṣṭhā) and the Uttarās (i. e. Uttarāṣadhā, Uttarā Phalguni and Uttarā Bhādrapadā) are fit for marriage and for taking the bride from her parent's house and whatever other (nakṣatra) is declared to be auspicious. Kāthaka gr. 14. 9-10 and Vārāha gr. 10 are similar. The Rāmāyaṇa1197 (Bālakānda 72. 13 and 71. 24) speaks of marriage being performed on Uttarā Phalguni, of which Bhaga is the deity. The Mahābhārata also speaks of marriage on a nakṣatra presided over by Bhaga (Adiparva 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 Kārttika 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 Rājamārtanda Ṛṣṭhita 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 Sanskārātanātmanāla (p. 460) says that as there is conflict among the dicta of sūtra and smṛti

1197. सन्त च घाय महानाऊ दूरीये विवाहे प्रभो। फल्यवचित्तरे राजसत्ससन्नैवावाहिकं कृष्ण उत्तरकांड 71. 24 and 72. 13. According to the śā. Śr. I. 1. 2. भगे is the व्रेष्टा of उत्तरकांड.

1198. उद्धे कार्त्तिक्या आ वैष्णवया। पायाकामी वा। विचारं तु बर्जयुत। कौसिन्धुष्ट्र 75. 2-4.

1199. राजसत्ससन्नीये। राजसत्त पत्र यूढः विवाहं भागमस्ते। अतिना च या कर्णा नायाकर्त्य फलितो। अविष्कार च या कर्णा उत्तरमविवधिनी। अविष्कारी सा वृत्या वत्तमालपलदेशे तु। कुर्जनभवे। महाबलमनांस्वादिनं दुर्गोति भागमानविविसानाय। अविष्कारे। वृद्धवृद्धे हुनंं कपयुल्लत दाक्ष्यमान। कुस्मान्यिन्यं सूढः यवधापादीन्या विशिष्यो-पालकानाद तृप्ती सत्तमार्गभिनय। अऽजेण विचर्ये। 'सुयुषुश्ये विवाहज्ये कन्याज्येरणं च।' वृद्धासाद्य। मात्रवसे चैत्रपतिज्ञमता। इति राजसत्तसोकृत। उद्धातस्य p. 124.

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writers about months one should follow the usage of one's country. One should not celebrate the marriage of the eldest son with the eldest daughter of a man in the month of Jyeṣṭha (or on Jyeṣṭha 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 Madanapārījata says that any day is good if the marriage is celebrated at night. In marriage the moon must be in a strong position for girls. One should avoid Jupiter being the 4th, 8th or 12th from one's rāsi (zodiacal sign in which the moon was at the time of birth). The 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. Upanayana and marriage cannot be performed when Jupiter is in the zodiacal sign called Leo (Simha), but this applies only to the tract between the river Godāvari and the Ganges. From the nakṣatra and zodiacal sign at the time of birth (in the case of both the girl and the bridegroom) certain astrological calculations were made in eight ways called kūṭas. They were Varṇa, Vaśya, Nakṣatra, Yoni, Graha (planets governing the twelve rāsis), Gana, Rāsi, 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. gana and nādi are attached great importance even now among brahmanas 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-gana, Manusya-gana and Rākṣasa-gana as follows:

1200. सं. र. मा. p. 464 न वार्षिकः प्रभुवति राजौ इति मनुषारिजाते।
1201. रजसवा: कम्पिया हृदयवण्डो न खिलातें। अस्तमेषि प्रवत्तयो विवाहश्रीयुगचर्चानि निर्वियोसिन्धु 111 पुर्वर्धो p. 304।
1202. छत्र: गोवङ्गाः उत्तरात्त्वं यावधार्मीर्येकं यावधार्म। तत्र विवाहेः नेतः सिंहस्यं श्रेष्ठतिष्ठत: प्राणः बुधपितृः । जयदेवाः प्रवत्तयो या सिंहस्यं पुरोषः न दुःस्तिः। इति वालिकेन गुहामोदगुमरालातिकरकैवे विवाहश्रवययोगमयानात्। सं. म. p. 806।
1203. See सं. र. p. 773 ff. and सं. र. मा. 519 ff. for छत्र।
If the bride and bridegroom are born on nakṣatras that belong to the same class out of these three groups it is the best thing but if their nakṣatras of birth belong to different groups, then the rules are: it is middling if their nakṣatras belong to the deva group or the human group respectively, or if the bridegroom's nakṣatra being of the devagana or rāksasagana, the bride's is of the manusyaṇagaṇa, while if the nakṣatra of the bride is of the rāksasa group and the bridegroom's of the manusya type, then death would result. Similarly if the nakṣatras of the pair respectively belong to the deva and rāksasa groups, there would be quarrels and enmity between the two.

For the purpose of nādi the nakṣatras are divided into three groups of nine each, ādyanādi, madhyanādi and antyanādi, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Devagana</th>
<th>Manusyaṇagaṇa</th>
<th>Rāksasagana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Āśvini</td>
<td>Bharani</td>
<td>Krīttikā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrgaśiras</td>
<td>Rohini</td>
<td>Āślesā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punarvasu</td>
<td>Ardra</td>
<td>Magha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pusya</td>
<td>Pūrvā</td>
<td>Citrā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hasta</td>
<td>Uttarā</td>
<td>Viśakhā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Svāti</td>
<td>Pūrvaśadha</td>
<td>Jyeṣṭha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anurādhā</td>
<td>Uttarāśadha</td>
<td>Mūla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śravaṇa</td>
<td>Pūrvābhādrapadā</td>
<td>Dhanistha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revati</td>
<td>Uttarābhādrapadā</td>
<td>Śravāṇa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 mercifully states a more sensible and reasonable rule viz. if the father or mother or paternal grand-father or maternal 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 nandīsrāddha), 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 grhyasūtras dharma-sūtras and smṛtis the forms of marriage are said to be eight, viz. Brāhma, Prājāpatya, Ārṣa, Daiva, Gāndharva, Āsura, Rākṣasa and Paisāca (vide Āsv. gr. I. 6, Gaut. IV. 6-13, Baudh. Dh. S. I. 11, Manu III. 21 = Adi-parva 73. 8-9), Visnu Dh. S. 24.18-19, Yāj. I. 58, Nārada (strīpuṇḍsa, verses 38-39), Kauṭilya, III. 1, 59th prakaraṇa, Adi-parva 102. 12-15 (they are described but not named); some of these arrange the first four differently e.g. Āsv. gr. arranges them as Brāhma, Daiva, Prājāpatya and Ārṣa, while Visṇu arranges them as Brāhma, Daiva, Ārṣa and Prājāpatya; Āsv. gr. I. 6 places Paisāca before Rākṣasa. The Manava gr. speaks of only two Brāhma and Śaulka (i.e. Āsura) probably because these two were the forms most current. Ap. Dh. S. (II. 5. 11. 17-20—II. 5. 12. 1-2) speaks of only six omitting Prājāpatya and Paisāca; while Vas. Dh. S. I. 28-29 expressly says that there are only six forms of marriage viz. Brāhma, Daiva, Ārṣa, Gāndharva, Kṣātra and Mānusa (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.

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1204. शौनकः | पिता पितामहोविष माता चैव पितामही। पितुपरण: | श्री चतो भाल भगिनी चालिवारिविवक। | एवेनर्य नितिस्तुम नितिकुलं हुः: | स्वतः। | अभिप्रेप्तय नितिकृत्य कैविस्तुम नविेक्ष। | नितियन्तिस्तु III पूर्वार्थ प. 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 valuable garments) and honouring her (with jewels &c.), to a priest, who duly officiates at a sacrifice, during the course of its performance, it is the Daiva form. When there is a gift of one's daughter, after taking one pair of cattle (a cow and a bull) or two pairs only as a matter of fulfilling the law (and not as a sale of the girl), that is named the ārṣa form. The gift of a daughter, after the father has addressed (the couple with the words 'may both of you perform your religious duties together') and after he has honoured the bride-groom (with Madhuparka &c.), is declared to constitute the Prājāpatya form. Yāj. I. 60 calls this 'kāya', because in the Brāhmaṇa works 'kā' 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 (kanyādāna) by the father or other guardian to the bride-groom. The word 'dāna' here is used in a secondary sense (as stated above on p. 504) viz. in the sense of transfer of the father's right of guardianship and control of the maiden to the husband. All gifts are to be made with water in the case of brāhmaṇas as stated by Manu.

1205. Band. Dh. I. 11. 5 वृक्षिकारु नीयामानास्तत्तत्वेऽविध अस्विजे स द्वेषः।
According to him the girl becomes part of the dakṣinā (fee) for officiating. But in the Vedas and Srauta sūtras a bride is nowhere spoken of as dakṣinā. Medhatithi on Manu III. 28 is against the idea of the bride being part of the sacrificial fee. Viśvarūpa also says so; but Aparākṣa p. 89 holds that the girl is given as fee.
Similarly in all the four forms where there is kanyādāna the girl is to be well dressed and decked with ornaments. The essence of the brāhma form is that the girl is given without receiving anything from the bride-groom, who is invited and honoured by the girl's father. It is called brāhma either because brāhma means the holy Veda and this mode being sanctioned by the most ancient texts it is the holiest and best form, or brāhma means dharma and being the best of all forms it is called brāhma (vide Smṛtimuktaḥpala 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 sāstras (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 dāiva form is only appropriate to brāhmaṇas as only a brāhmaṇa could officiate at a sacrifice. It is so called because the bridegroom is engaged at the time in rites for the gods and it is inferior to the brāhma inasmuch as in it there is some trace of benefit to the father (that the priest may do his best in the rite for the gods). Govindasvamin on Baud. Dh. S. says 'the bride is in this form part of the sacrificial fee'. In all forms of marriage the husband and wife have to perform all religious acts together, as forcibly put by Āp. Dh. S. (there is no separation between husband and wife, since from the time of taking the hand of the wife there is joint performance of all religious actions). But in the Prājāpatya the words used indicate according to the commentators (vide Sain.
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 brähma in that the father, as it were, makes a special stipulation with the bride-groom, while in the brähma 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 åsura form there is practically a sale of the girl for money or money's worth and so it is not approved. The ārṣa is distinguished from åsura 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 gándharva 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 gándharva 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 (strikāmā vai Gandharvāḥ) and Ait. Br. V. 1 state. In this form at least the girl's feelings are consulted. In the rākṣasa and the paisāca, there is no gift by the father and both are or may be against the wish of the girl. The forcible carrying of the girl is the essence of the rākṣasa (even if there is no fight because the girl's father takes no retaliatory steps in fear of the abductor's strength). It is called rākṣasa because rākṣasas (demons) are known from legends to have been addicted to cruel and forceful methods. The paisāca is so called because in it there is action like that of piśācas (goblins) that are supposed to act stealthily by night.

1209. 'एवं हि समर्थितं धर्मं चार्यं च कामे च नातिचार्यत्वति।' तथा रेण जैतिनि VI. 1. 17. The स. व. (pp. 848 and 852) says that these words occur in the काऊक्षुपारिषिद्य माहाविधि.
It is not to be supposed that when ancient sages held that rākṣasa and paśca were forms of marriage, they legalized marriage by capture or stealth. What they meant was that these were the means of securing 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 paśca. From the fact that Āpastamba and Vasiṣṭha both ignore the Paśca and Prajāpātya 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 damsels has been abducted by force and not wedded with sacred texts she may lawfully be given to another man (in marriage); she is just as good as a maiden’. The smṛtis out of regard for the future welfare of the girl preferred to blink at the wrong done, but insisted upon the abductor or stealthy seducer performing the rites of *homa* and *saptapadi* in order to confer on the girl wronged the status of a legally married wife. But if the wrong-doer was unwilling to do this they recommended that the girl may be given to another in marriage and pronounced very heavy punishments for the abductor or seducer of a girl (*vide* Manu VIII. 366 and Yāj. II. 287–288). Sir Gooroodas Banerjee rightly expresses surprise at Macnaughten’s saying that fraud was legalised by the Hindu Law in the case of the paśca 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 केवल योगमार्थिविवाहः स्वायत्तायाय विवाहः न पुनःनिवाहः

1211. तत्रातीता सति सतिनः स संस्कृतः अन्यमैव विधिसहेत्या वधा क्रया

1212. वद्विवाहं वद्विवाहं । अन्यमैव विधिसहेत्या वधा वधा

1213. वद्विवाहं । अन्यमैव विधिसहेत्या वधा वधा

1214. वद्विवाहं । अन्यमैव विधिसहेत्या वधा वधा

1215. वद्विवाहं । अन्यमैव विधिसहेत्या वधा वधा

1216. वद्विवाहं । अन्यमैव विधिसहेत्या वधा वधा

1217. वद्विवाहं । अन्यमैव विधिसहेत्या वधा वधा

1218. वद्विवाहं । अन्यमैव विधिसहेत्या वधा वधा

1219. वद्विवाहं । अन्यमैव विधिसहेत्या वधा वधा

1220. वद्विवाहं । अन्यमैव विधिसहेत्या वधा वधा

1221. वद्विवाहं । अन्यमैव विधिसहेत्या वधा वधा

1222. वद्विवाहं । अन्यमैव विधिसहेत्या वधा वधा

1223. वद्विवाहं । अन्यमैव विधिसहेत्या वधा वधा

1224. वद्विवाहं । अन्यमैव विधिसहेत्या वधा वधा

1225. वद्विवाहं । अन्यमैव विधिसहेत्या वधा वधा

1226. वद्विवाहं । अन्यमैव विधिसहेत्या वधा वधा

1227. वद्विवाहं । अन्यमैव विधिसहेत्या वधा वधा

1228. वद्विवाहं । अन्यमैव विधिसहेत्या वधा वधा

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1233. वद्विवाहं । अन्यमैव विधिसहेत्या वधा वधा

1234. वद्विवाहं । अन्यमैव विधिसहेत्या वधा वधा

1235. वद्विवाहं । अन्यमैव विधिसहेत्या वधा वधा

1236. वद्विवाहं । अन्यमैव विधिसहेत्या वधा वधा

1237. वद्विवाहं । अन्यमैव विधिसहेत्या वधा वधा

1238. वद्विवाहं । अन्यमैव विधिसहेत्या वधा वधा

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1244. वद्विवाहं । अन्यमैव विधिसहेत्या वधा वधा

1245. वद्विवाहं । अन्यमैव विधिसहेत्या वधा वधा

1246. वद्विवाहं । अन्यमैव विधिसहेत्या वधा वधा

1247. वद्विवाहं । अन्यमैव विधिसहेत्या वधा वधा

1248. वद्विवाहं । अन्यमैव विधिसहेत्या वधा वधा

1249. वद्विवाहं । अन्यमैव विधिसहेत्या वधा वधा

1250. वद्विवाहं । अन्यमैव विधिसहेत्या वधा वधा
Medhatithi 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-puṁśa, 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 Smṛtis contain several views about the suitability of these eight to various varṇas. All are agreed that the first four, brāhma, daiva, ārṣa and prajāpatya, are the approved forms (praṇasātra or dharmya). Vide Gaut. IV. 12, Ap. Dh. S II.5.12.3, Manu III. 24, Nārada (stri-puṁśa, 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 Ap. 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 brāhmanas (Baud. Dh. S. I. 11. 10, Manu III. 24). Another view was that the first six (out of the eight i.e. all except rāksasa and paśāca) are allowed to brāhmanas and the last four to kṣatriyas, and the gāndharva, āsura and paśāca to vāisyas and śūdras (Manu III. 23). A third view was that prajāpatya, gāndharva and āsura may be resorted to...
by all varnas and paisaca and asura should not be resorted to by any one of any varna (Manu III. 25 = Anusasana 44.9-10), but in another verse (III. 24) Manu allows asura to vaisyas and sudras\(^\text{1214}\). Manu mentions the view that the gandharva and rakṣasa are proper (dharmya) for a ksatriya 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.\(^\text{1215}\) (I. 11.14-16) recommends asura and paisaca to vaisyas and sudras and assigns the interesting reason 'for the vaisyas and sudras do not keep their wives under restraints, they having to do the work of ploughing and waiting upon (the other varnas)'. Nārada (stripurṣa, verse 40) says that gandharva is common to all varnas. The Kāmasūtra (III. 5. 28) first speaks of the brāhma as the best (following the view of the dharmasastra writers) and then, true to its own particular subject, gives its own opinion that gandharva is the best (Kāmasūtra III. 5. 29-30).

The gandharva form was very much in vogue among royal families. In the Sākuntala,\(^\text{1216}\) Kālidāsa gives expression to this practice. In the Mahābhārata\(^\text{1217}\) 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 ksatriyas. In the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarsa (dated sakte 793) it is stated that Indrarāja married the daughter of the Cālukya king at Kaira by the rakṣasa form of marriage (E. I. vol. 18, p. 235 at p. 243). Another and a very famous historic example of the rakṣasa form is the forcible abduction after a most dashing and valiant fight by Pṛthvirāja Cohan of the daughter of

\(^{1214}\) a. न चाहुराविविभाषेऽजुरसंप्रवाहिकंसंप्रदायिनंभावेत् पवित्रवार्तित्योर्गुप्त-प्रतिरिति ज्ञानीयः।


\(^{1216}\) Kālidāsa gives expression to this practice.

\(^{1217}\) Kāmasūtra (III. 5. 28) first speaks of the brāhma as the best.
Jayacandra, the king of Kanoj.\footnote{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 gandr̄va and rākṣasa (compare Manu III. 26).

The svayamvara very often spoken of in the dharmaśāstras was practically the gandr̄va as stated by the commentary Vīramitrodāya.\footnote{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. Sāvitr 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 ksatriyas commend svayamvara and resort to it, but they prefer a girl who is carried off after subduing her relatives. Bṛṣma carried off the three daughters of the king of Kāśi and got two of them (Ambikā and Ambālikā) married to his ward Vicitravrīya.\footnote{1220} The svayamvara of Sitā or Draupadi did not depend upon the will of the bride, but the bride was to be given in marriage to whomsoever showed a certain skill as a warrior. In the case of 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

\footnote{1218. Vide Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol. II. pp. 314–315 (in 1908); Tod’s Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan Vol. II. p. 834.}

\footnote{1219. यद मे पातिसे मे भारेरेरेरे कर्मावरोः: वर्तवरे वियमर्वन्ते विश्वातिवर्दूकर्तरे वर्तवरे विवाहोऽस: गार्थ्यरे इर्यरे । ...एवं ज्य स्वयंसति गार्थ्यरे विवाह एवं। पौशितोपाय on var. I. 61.}

\footnote{1220. स्वयंसति त्र राजस्त्रः पक्षसत्वपुवायल्ल। ज्य मस्तव त्र इत्तामादुत्त्वच्छसी। सम्प्रभवक:॥ आदिपर्ण 102. 16.}
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[Ch. IX]

gives us a fine description of the svayamvara of Indumati in the Raghuvarsha. Bilhana in his Vikramanka-devacarita (canto IX) gives a description of the historic svayamvara of Candralekhā (or Candaladevi) daughter of the Silahāra prince of Karahāta (modern Karad), when she chose Āhavamalla or Vikramanka, the Cālukya king of Kalyāna (latter half of 11th century). Such a svayamvara, it appears, was thought to be unsuitable to brāhmaṇas according to the Ādiparva.1221 In the Kādambarī (Pūrvabhāga, penultimate para) Pattralekhā says that svayamvara is ordained in the Dharmasastras.1222

The Æp. 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, 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, prājapatiya or ārṣa 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 Yaj. (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 prājapatiya marriage to six male ancestors, to six male descendants and to himself (in all 13), of the ārṣa marriage to three male ancestors and three male descendants. Gaut.

1221. न च विभेद्यनिकारी वियते वर्जय पलतः | स्वयंवरः अहिम्यावाव्रितीयं प्रविश्वा शति: | आदिपर्व 189. 7.
1222. विभिन्न कथयानि ते या: स्वयं दुस्तर्वः पलतः | यद्य स्थवर्णयथ एव तद्यथ | परमेश्वर्यापाविष्टः | स्वयंवरिति: | कान्तस्वरी | पुर्वभाग: | para 225 (of my edition).
1223. यथायुक्तो विवाहस्तथायुक्ता प्रत्येका मध्यः मध्यः | आद. घ. सु. II. 5. 12. 4.
(IV. 24–27) has similar provisions. Commentators like Viśvarūpa and Medhatithi explain that these verses are not to be taken literally. They merely praise the extreme desirability of the brahma form. Viśvarūpa, however, alternatively proposes that one may accept the texts of the holy sages as literally true, following the dictum of Śabara that there is nothing too heavy (or impossible) for a holy text. One may laugh at these texts about the virtues of the several forms of marriage, but they are really intended to emphasize the high importance to the future of the race and to society of noble ideals of marriage, of morals and of a decent and peaceful mode of life.

The forms of marriage have their roots deep down in the Vedic Literature. Rg. X. 85 gives expression to a marriage in the brahma form (there is kanyādāna and so forth). The āsura form (by payment of money) is referred to in Rg. I. 109. 2 and Nirukta VI. 9 (quoted above in note 1175). The gandharva form or svayānvara is indicated by Rg. X. 27. 12 (quoted above p.439) and Rg. I. 119. 5. The story of Śyāvāśva narrated in the Bhad-devatā (V. 50) in connection with Rg. V. 61 makes an approach to the daiva form. It is related in the Bhad-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 brahma and āsura. In the brahma form it is a gift of the girl pure and simple; in the āsura form it is like the sale of the bride for pecuniary consideration paid to the father or other guardian for his benefit. If this element of pecuniary consideration paid to the guardian exists, its effects cannot be undone by the form of a gift being gone through. The gandharva form is said to be obsolete now, yet in some cases before the courts it has been held that it is still in vogue. There can be no gandharva if the girl is a minor. Further if a widow remarries, that marriage

1224. Vide Mad. 72; 17 Patna 134, 141; but in A.I, R. 1930 Ondli p. 426 it is held that the gandharva form is obsolete.
will be ordinarily regarded as gandharva, because there will be no gift of a kanyā (as she is a widow) and because she herself will generally arrange such a marriage.

Before proceeding to set out in detail the ceremonies of marriage, it would be best to analyse the contents of Rgveda X. 85, which is a marriage hymn redolent of the highest ideal of marriage and conjugal felicity and several verses of which are recited even now in the marriage rites. The hymn refers to a mythical marriage of Sūryā, daughter of Savitr, with Soma and the important features of the marriage, though not arranged in a regular sequence in the hymn, are: the two Āśvins went to ask for Sūryā as a bride for Soma (verses 8-9); Savitr agreed to give her (v. 9), the bride-groom was treated with honour, presents were made to him and cows were killed for (or presented to) him; Soma took hold of her hand with the verse (36) 'I take thy hand for prosperity (or love) so that you may grow to old age with me thy husband; the gods, Bhaga, Aryaman, Savitr, 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')

Among subordinate items it is noteworthy that Raibhya was sent along with Sūryā as her friend (anudeyī) to make her time not hang heavy on her hands.

1227. सोभो धृष्टुरमयविभविनातातुभता वरा। सुय्री यहरे कांसनपती सनमा सतितावतुवातः ॥ स. X. 85. 9. The word वरा here and in some of the grhyasūtras also (e. g. अ. p. gr. II. 16) means those who ask for the girl on behalf of the bride-groom.

1228. श्रुणामि ते सैमशताः हल्ल मया पया जतुकिर्यधामः। भयो अर्धमा सतिताः पूर्विमार्ग वासुतदहत्यातब्रवेत्स। ॥ स. X. 85. 36. In the आद. म. पाठ. I. 3. 3 the reading is श्रुणायताः (for worthy progeny) instead of सैमशताः.

1229. दृढः सः मा वि योधे विष्णुभवेङ्खुः। क्रीडामापक्षक्रमायंवागानास्तेव। सुहो प्रस्थिद्य नाडूः। सुदृढां गुणां। ॥ इत्यादिस्य श्रुणायताः पतिमायताः कुष्ठे ॥ सज्जाती महात्मा भव सरस्वती श्रवणमार्य। ॥ नन्दनौरी संभाेजी भव सरस्वती। ॥ नन्दनौरी संभाेजी भव सरस्वती। ॥ नन्दनौरी संभाेजी भव सरस्वती। ॥ मात्रा। X. 85. 42, 45-46.
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( v. 6 ) when she first went to her husband's family ( just as in modern times in Western India some woman accompanies the bride for a few days as pātharākhīṇa 'one who guards'), that even a female servant accompanied Sūryā.

In connection with the rites of marriage it is necessary to observe that the greatest divergence prevailed from very ancient times. Āṣv. 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, ankura-ropana and the tying of pratisāra ( the marriage string or ribbon round the wrist) are usual and are performed with Vedic mantras, while others like Nāgabalī, Yaksabalī and the worship of Īndra are performed without Vedic mantras. The Kāṭhakagṛhyā 25. 7 allows usages of countries and families to be observed in marriage and the commentators mention several such usages. As the grhya-sūtra of Āśvalāyana contains perhaps the shortest account of marriage rites and as that sūtra is probably the most ancient among the grhya sūtras I shall set out below the entire ceremony of marriage from that sūtra Then a few important details from other grhya 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 saṃskāra 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. Mantrapātha employs as many as 29 ( most of which are quoted in connection with marriage ). The main outlines of the marriage saṃskāra show a remarkable continuity for several thousand years from the times of the Rgveda down to modern times.

The Āsv. gr. (I. 7. 3–I. 8.) deals with all the marriage rites as follows †: Having placed to the west of the fire ( that is

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1230.  रेगियासीवृद्धवृःन नारासंस् स्यांचन:  श्र. X. 185. 6. अस्वेयी means वषस्य and स्यांचनी means वर्षसी।
† 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 rā. Let us both marry here. Let us beget offspring. Dear to each other, bright, having well disposed minds, may we live for a hundred years!' Each time he leads her round (the fire) he makes her tread on the stone with (the words) 'tread on this stone; be firm like a stone; overcome the enemies; trample down the foes'. 1233 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 'अमुहासम सा वर्म। गौरवशिववस्मय। सामहसुक्ष्मय। तत्रादि संभवाय। सह रेतो द्वारांशुके पुंसे दुःखां वेंताय। रायलोकया भुक्तास्त्रया सुभोष्ययित। ।'

1232. In the अग्र. न. पाठ 1. 5. 1. this mantra is आलिद्धमदामालमदेश।।...वय। भासिंहित्तृपस्यः सदस्य गुत्तनयतः॥ ॥

1233. The two portions of laja (fried grain) poured into the bride's hands together with the first pouring of ṛṣya (called उपस्त्रय) and the subsequent pouring of ṛṣya (called प्रयवविभाश) constitute the four avattas or portions cut off from the material for havis. The descendants of Jamadagni are पञ्जाब्यद्विपिन (vide above p. 490); therefore three portions of laja are to be poured out (in order to make with उपस्त्रय and प्रयवविभाश, five avattas). For these terms (चतुर्वत्त च पञ्जाब्यद्विपिन) vide वादय I. 7. 2. 7–8.
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viz. 'to god Aryaman the girls offered sacrifice; may he the god Aryaman loosen her from this (i.e. her father's) and not from that place (the bride-groom's), svāhā! to god Varuna the girls have offered sacrifice; may he, god Varuna &c. To god Pūsan the girls have offered sacrifice, to Agni; may he, god Pūsan &c.; with these (the bride) should sacrifice (the fried grain) without opening her joined hands, as if they were the spoon called sruc. Without going round the fire the bride sacrifices fried grain a fourth time silently with the neb of the śūrpa (winnowing basket) towards herself. Some lead the bride round each time after fried grain has been poured out, so that the two last oblations do not follow immediately after each other. Then he loosens her two locks of hair if they are made up (that is if her hair has been bound round on two sides with two tufts of wool), (the right one) with the mantra 'I release thee from the fetter of Varuna' (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'.

Bringing the heads of the two (bride and bride-groom) together, he (the acārya) 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 sāmi plant and Kālidāsa (in Raghuvānsa VII. 25-26) refers to sāmi and lājas.

1235. This (the saṃskārā-saṃskāra) is the most important rite in the marriage. We have to understand 'after each sentence' इत्यादि भव उभे येव भव. These words occur in all grhyātras, e.g. vide Āp. M. P. I. 3. 7-14 and Āp. gr. 4. 15-16, Śāan. gr. I. 14. 6, Par. gr. I. 8, Gobhila gr. II. 2. 11, Hir. gr. I. 21. 1 &c. But there are slight variations as well. For example, the first three of these and मनन and बौद्धवानवध add विश्वसनवानस्वात् (or विश्वसनवधत्वं) after each of the seven clauses. पारस्कर reads सवे सामवय्यूषम् for सवे सामवय्यूषम्.
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.\textsuperscript{1236} When she (the bride) has seen the Pole star, the star Arundhatī 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'.\textsuperscript{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 Aṣmanvati) 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 ksāra\textsuperscript{1238} and lavana, 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

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{1237} This indicates that after the homa is finished, the bride is to observe silence till she sees the Pole star.

\textsuperscript{1238} For the meaning of ksāra and lavana see note 723 above.
teachers say) a rṣi will be born as a son (to them). When he has fulfilled these observances he should give the bride's shift to a brāhmaṇa who knows the Sūryā hymn (Rg. X. 85) and food to brāhmaṇas. Then he should cause the brāhmaṇas to pronounce auspicious words.

In this description of the samskāra 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 samskāra viz. pāṇigrahaṇa, homa, going round the fire and the saptapadi, and there are certain rites like the seeing of the Pole star &c. that are subsequent to the central rites. The essential rites are mentioned by all sutrakāras, 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 saptapadi, while the Āp. gr. describes saptapadi (IV. 16) before the act of going round the fire (V. 1). The Gobhila grhya (II. 2. 16), the Khādīra gr. (I. 3. 31), and Baud, gr. (I. 4. 10) describe pāṇigrahaṇa after saptapadi while many other sūtrakāras describe it before saptapadi. Then again there are many acts reference to which is altogether omitted in the Āśv. gr., e.g. there is no reference to madhuparka (which is mentioned in Āp. gr. III. 8, Baud. gr. I. 2. 1, Mānapa gr. I. 9) nor to kanyādāna (which is referred to in Pār. gr. I. 4 and described in detail in Mānapa gr. I. 8. 6–9). Āśv. probably omitted express mention of kanyādāna, because in defining the first four forms he uses the word 'dadyat' 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 samskāra of marriage. A few notes are added against those that are deemed important.1239

Vadhuvara-gunaparikṣā: (examining the suitability of a girl or a bride-groom). This has been dealt with already (vide pp. 429–436 above).

Varapreṣāna: (sending persons to negotiate for the hand of the girl). The ancient custom seems to have been to send

1239. Among the principal ceremonies in marriage described by Kālidāsa in the Raghuvamśa VII are madhuparka, homa, going round the fire, pāṇigrahaṇa, lēja-homa and kṛdrakṣatā-ropana.
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 Sān. 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 ksatriyas, the bride-groom was the first to seek for the hand of a girl. In the Harṣacarita, prince Grahavarmā of the Maukharī race sent messengers for the hand of princess Rājyaśri, sister of Harsa. In modern times among the brāhmaṇas and many other castes, the girl's father has to seek the bride-groom, though among the śūdras and several other castes the old practice is retained.

Vāgdāna or Vān-nīṣcaaya: (settling the marriage). This is described by Sān. gr. I. 6. 5-6. Medieval works like the S. R. M. pp. 529-533 describe this ceremony at great length.

Maṇḍapa-karana: Erecting a pandal where the ceremonies are to be performed. Pār. gr. I. 4 says that marriage, caula upanayana, keśānta and śimanta are to be performed outside the house in a pandal. Vide Sān. Pr. pp. 817-818.

Nāndī-śrāddha and Puṇyāhavācana: These are referred to by Baud. gr. I. 1. 24; most of the grhyasūtras are silent about these. Vide for these pp. 216, 218 above.


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. Sān. 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.

Snāpana, Paridhūpana and Saṁnahana: (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. श्रोते च दुसरे श्रवणवणा कथां मद्यधिनेन विभिन्नमयामुपश्च वत् यात्र तत्त्वं सकलकङ्कुशस्य दुहितपश्चात् श्रवणवणातत्त्व। श्रवणवणकत्रितम उपश्रवणः.
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, Manava gr. (I. 11. 4-6) refers to paridhāpana and saṃnahana. Strangely enough Gobhila gr. II. 1. 10 speaks of the sprinkling of the girl’s head with the best of surū (wine), which the commentator explains as water.

Samañjana: (anointing the bride and bride-groom). Vide Śaṅ. 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 Śaṅ. gr. I. 12, 6-8; Kauśika sūtra 76. 8.

Vadhūvara-nīskramana: (the coming out into the pandal of the bride and bride-groom from the inner part of the house). Pār. gr. I. 4.

Parasparasamīksana: (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. pariśīsta 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 maṅgalaśūkas are repeated by brāhmaṇas, the last of which verses is ‘tad-eva lagṇaṁ sudīnaṁ tad-eva’ &c.

Kanyādāna: (the gift of the bride). Vide Pār. gr. I. 4, Mānava gr. I. 8. 6-9, Vārāha gr. 13. The Āśv. gr. pariśīta sets out the procedure about the kanyādāna which is the same even now. The Śaṅ. K. p. 779 notes about half a dozen different methods of uttering the formula in kanyādāna. It is in this rite that the father of the girl says that the bride-groom should not prove false to the bride in dharma, artha and kāma and he responds with the words ‘I shall not do so’ (nāticarāmi). This is done even now.

1241. शबर on जैमिनि VI. 1. 14 says ‘एवं दुनकाले संवाक: किष्ठे-धर्मचाये च कामे च नातिचिरित्यति’। Vide also note 1209 above. लुब्धस्य 15. 27 has ‘एवा धर्मचिरित्यस्मु न स्वर्गम स्वीकृतता हाता।’ According to मेधाविनि on मत IX. 101 the words प्रमेष्याये च कामे च नातिचिरित्या occur in आपस्तम्भ.
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Agnisthāpana and homa: (establishing the fire and offering of ājya oblations into fire). Here there is great divergence about the number of ahutis and the mantras to be recited. Vide Āṣv. gr. I. 7. 3 and I. 4. 3-7, Āp. gr. V. 1 (16 ahutis with 16 mantras), Gobhila gr. II. 1. 24-26, Mānava gr. I. 8, Bhāradvāja I. 13 &c.

Pāṇigrāhāna: (Taking hold of the bride's hand).

Lajahoma: (Offering of fried grain into fire by the bride). Vide Āṣv. gr. I. 7. 7-13, Pār. gr. I. 6, Āp. gr. V. 3-5, Śaṅ. gr. I. 13. 15-17, Gobhila gr. II. 2. 5, Mānava gr. I. 11. 11, Baud. gr. I. 4. 25. &c. Āṣv. 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 'anohasmi' &c. (vide Śaṅ. 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). Āṣv. gr. I. 7. 20, Pār. gr. I. 8, Gobhila gr. II. 2. 15-16 &c.

Sūryodīkṣana: (making the bride look towards the sun). Pār. gr. I. 8 speaks of this and employs the mantra 'tac-caksur' (Rg. VII. 65. 16 = Vāj. S. 36. 24).


Prekṣakānumantraṇa: (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.

Daksinādāna: (gifts to the ācārya). Pār. gr. I. 8, Śaṅ. gr. I. 14. 13-17 (both prescribe a cow as the fee in the case of
The ceremonies of Marriage

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.

Gṛhapravṛṣṭa: (entering the bride-groom’s house).

Gṛhapravṛṣṭanīya homa: (sacrifice on entering the bride-groom’s house). Śān. gr. I. 16. 1-12, Gobhila gr. II. 3. 8-12, Āp. gr. VI. 6-10.

Dhruvārundhāti-dārsana: (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 Jīvantī, Bhār. gr. I. 19 speaks of Dhruva, Arundhatī and other nakṣatras, Āp. gr. VI. 12 (only Dhruva and Arundhatī), Pār. I. 8 (only Dhruva). According to Śān. gr. I. 17. 2, Hir. gr. I. 22. 10 both the bride and the bride-groom remain silent till night. According to Āśv. gr. only the bride does so. Gobhila gr. II. 3. 8-12 describes Dhruvārundhāti-dārsana before gṛhapravṛṣṭa.


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 Dharmaśindhu 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 vāgniścayā in modern times. Vide Sam. K. p. 768; Dharmaśindhu III. p. 261.
Gauri-Hara-puja: (worship of Śiva and his consort Gauri). Sam. 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 Gauri 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.

Indrāṇi-puja: (worship of Indrāṇi, the consort of god Indra). Vide Sam. 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 svayāṃvara on account of the presence of Śacī’). Probably Śacī was worshipped before the svayāṃvara began.

Taila-hariāropanā: (Applying turmeric powder to the bride-groom’s body from what is left after the bride’s body has been so treated). Vide Sam. K. p. 757, Dharmasindhu III. p. 257.

Ārdra-kṣaṭāropanā: (mutual showering of wet unbroken rice grains by the bride and bride-groom). In a vessel of some metal like silver a little milk is poured and clarified butter is sprinkled over it and unbroken wet rice grains are poured therein. The bridegroom applies milk and ghee to the joined hands of the bride twice and thrice places rice grains in the joined hands of the bride so that her anjali becomes filled up and twice sprinkles ghee over her joined hands. Some other person does the same to the joined hands of the bride-groom and the bride’s father places a golden piece on the joined hands of both. Then the bride-groom places his joined hands on those of the bride whose father then repeats a mantra and raises her up; she then pours the rice over the head of the bridegroom who follows her in the same way. This is done thrice by each and then lastly by the bride (i.e. seven times in all). Then the priest sprinkles on their heads water with an udumbara twig together with durvā grass after reciting verses ‘Apo hi śṭhā &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 ‘kānkana-bandhana’ or ‘kautuka-bandhana’). Vide Sam. Pr. pp. 828-829, S. R. M. p. 556. Kālidāsa in Raghuvamśa VII describes ārdra-kṣaṭā-ropanā as the last of the rites of marriage and in VIII. 1 speaks of the kautuka.
Maṅgasūtra-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 Saunaka smṛti (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. sēṣa sūtra V. 5 in describing ārkavivāha speaks of maṅgalya sūtra to be tied to the plant. It is not clear whether it means the same as the maṅgasūtra 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.'

Uttariyapranta-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 Sam. K. p. 799, S. Pr. p. 839.

Airinidāna: (Presenting the mother of the bride-groom with several gifts in a large wicker-work basket with lamps

1242. ततो महसूलेष्व वध्यासाभीतं च ब्रेतनां व फळकः कर्पकवः स्याद्यतनयानि च शालिः॥ श्रीनक: श्रीरायककाम्यकाण्डे चुरूः मणिमलनबिः || माहसूलस्यनगुनेन मन्त्रे श्यात मणु समोः सतािः || लघुास्वालयान्यस्मीति 15. 33. The sānta is माहसूलस्यनगुनेन अलूकितस्यादम्। कष्टे वध्यासाभीतं सताि जीव शरे:ः श्रीमप्:॥ 'सुनिन्त्यक्रमं सर्वस्य धन्योंमद्यनामेव तते माहसूल-वाणे चतुः' गदादहरो नारसिकान। 1.

1243. सन्यातां सुनयिनी सुद्यायास्वर्ण्यम्। श्रीप्रयाश्च दंसपाध्य पकास्ते: परिक्षितम्॥ कर्षेन दण्डसंहितार्दुवंसे समस्थति:॥ तत्तवद्वैपरीताः करत्यं किमल सूतिमिः॥ श्रीलिङ्गम नाम सामस्या श्रीमप्न्यवध्यान्यस्मीति 15. 33. The request to show affection is made as follows 'अष्टाद्धाः स्वर्यं क्रयवज्जनषादि नाया। श्रीलिङ्गम् तदुपदास्वर्ण्यम् क्षेत्रवर्त्यायनम्॥'. Appropriate changes are to be made, according to the age of the bride and the relationship of the bridegroom to the principal lady.

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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 (vāmśa) 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.

Devakotthāpana and Manḍapodvāsana: (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 pārayāścitta. From this it appears that if the marriage rites (like saptapad) 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 pānigrāhana, going round the fire and saptapad, set aside. There are mere

¹²⁴⁴ Vide Mulla's Hindu Law (9th ed. of 1940) p. 504.
The Vas. Dh. S. (17. 72) goes so far as to observe ‘when a girl has been promised in marriage (and the promise has been confirmed) with water, if the intended bride-groom dies, but the Vedic mantras have not been recited, that girl still belongs to her father (and may be given to another)’. Kātyāyana 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 (ṣrīpumṣa v. 3). The Udvahatattva p. 129 quotes Yama to the same effect. So it follows that the marriage becomes complete and irrevocable the moment the saptapadā rite is performed, but before that rite is gone through there is a locus parentis or a power to resile from what has been undertaken. Before the saptapadā is performed, if the bride-groom dies, the bride is still a maiden and not a widow and can be married again. The most essential ceremonies of marriage are the homa and saptapadā. The Dronaparva says that promise of a daughter and giving a daughter with water are not certain means of knowing wife-hood but saptapadā is known to be the completion of marriage. If any of the other ceremonies are wanting that would not vitiate the marriage. In I. L. R. 12 Cal. 140, it has been held that the vṛddhi-ṣrāddha is not an essential ceremony and its absence would not vitiate marriage.
Even the *Kāmaśūtra* 1248 quotes the unanimous opinion of the śācāryas 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 saptāpadi, 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). *Yajūj. I. 65* states the rule and the exception ‘A girl is given only once; a person who after having promised to give, deprives that man of her, is liable to the punishment of a thief; but if a more worthy suitor approaches, the father may deprive the former (suitor) of her (hand) though promised’. The *Mahābhārata* (Anuśāsana 44. 35) says that up to pāṇigrahana any one may ask for the hand of a maiden (even though promised before to another). *Nārada* (strīpurṣa 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 ammcerement (according to *Yajūj. I. 66* and the lowest, according to *Nārada*, strīpurṣa v. 33). *Aparāraka* 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 ammcerement and if he falsely accuses her of defects he should be fined one hundred panas (*Yajūj. I. 66*.

1248. अयुत्ताकाविविधिः स्त्रिसमृद्धिः निर्विलयं इत्यन्तः स्थानापेलमायः | कामसूत्र इ. ५. १३ ।
1249. कन्यायां वुष्टवृक्षपरं ्वथापयेश्वर आवेशेत। धर्मयात्रकस्वरुपूर्वो वावथो तथाक्रृत्त भास्तु ॥ वज्रयं न्येन्द्र ॥ कन्यायां वरायं न दृढ़ति ताम ।” अनुदितेऽर्जुने राजाः स वृष्णस्वरूपूर्वा चौरस्त्य भौरस्त्य ॥ नारदः भूम्भू ३० औ नूत ।
1250. कन्यायाः: कन्यागारीः स्वयं जातस्वरूपाविविधिः तथा इथ प्रयत्नायोर्यमकाशिविशा पवित्रपशुविंदुति &c.। अथाश्चैः p. 95.
Narada adds that he who abandons a faultless girl should be punished and should be made to marry the same girl.\textsuperscript{1251}

Some of the smṛtis and digests are very much exercised over the question of the bride having menstruation while the marriage ceremonies are in progress and homa is about to be performed. Atri\textsuperscript{1252} (Jivānanda part 1, p. 11, chap. V) prescribes that having made the girl bathe with the 

Havismatī (with a verse in which the word 

havis occurs, probably Rg. X. 88. 1 or VIII. 72. 1) and to put on other garments and having offered an āhuti of clarified butter with the verse ‘Yuñjate manah’ (Rg. V. 81. 1) the ceremonies should be proceeded with. The Smṛtyarthaśāra (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.

\textsuperscript{1251} विवाहं तु य: कन्यासमुदालस्रुधेश्वरः। स विनेयस्वलकामोभि कन्या तामेव चोद्वेदु। नाराय च (कीर्ति 35).

\textsuperscript{1252} विवाहं वितते तन्भे क्रिमिकाल उपस्मिते। कन्यामुदालस्रुध्वा कर्णः कुष्ठितं वाजङ्का। हन्तिभवत्वा स्नायुश्विला अंत्यवेशमलस्तुता। ययःनामालस्तुतिं तुल्यं तत: करः मद्यते॥ आत्रि V. This is quoted as यज्ञपार्थ in सं. र. मा. p. 500 and सं. को. p. 714, while the ज्यादात्रष्ट्र quotes (pp. 146-147) two verses (one of which is the same as विवाहेषष्टि and the other very similar) from 

इदं यज्ञवल्क्य as quoted in the यज्ञस्वर्णकर्तर.
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 Jaiminlya Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa 1253. 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, 1251 though that word is not actually used. In all gṛhya sūtras it is described at length. Most of the details are the same, the principal difference being that often different mantras are prescribed, though some (like the verse 'mātā rudrānām') are the same. The madhuparka 1255 is offered to rtvik (priests officiating at sacrifices) when they are chosen for a sacrifice, to a snātaka who has come to one's house, to the king (who rules one's country, when he comes to one's house), to one's ācārya, father-in-law, paternal and maternal uncles. The Mānava gṛ. (I. 9. 1), Khādira gṛ. IV. 4. 21, Yāj. I. 110 say that six persons deserve arghya (madhuparka) viz. rtvik, ācārya, the bridegroom, the king, the snātaka and a person who is dear to one. Some like Baud. 1254 gr. I. 2. 65 add 'atithi' (guest). Vide Gaut. V. 25, Ap. gṛ. 13. 19-20, Āp. Dh. S. II. 3. 8. 5-6, Baud. Dh. S. II. 3. 63-64.

1253. तं होवाच किं बिद्वाओ दार्श्यानामानवं सधुपकं पिप्सीति. जै. उ. भा. 18. 4; जानले मधुपक्य ग्रहं. निष्क्रम I 16.
1254. तथाप्रविधो सन्तानराज आवृद्धसत्यमवाति उज्जाय च वेदस्ति च नानस्ते. गै. भा. III. 4. This is quoted by मेघान on मन्त्र III. 119 and by हरसुत्त on मेघान 17. 30.
1255. कालीं इत्य मधुपक्यमाहेतुः। राजाकारोपितिनाथ। राजो च। आचार्ये-वर्गजित्त्वमातुलानो च। आच. भा. I.24. 1-4. The bride-groom, when he comes to the bride's house, is to be honoured with मधुपक्य because he also is generally a सनातक. The आचार्य is one who performs one's āppanam and teaches the Veda.
1256. तथावते अधिर्या कालिः बधुरा: विद्वानस्य मातृत्व आचार्यं राज। था सनातकम् सिमो वसेपनिनिष्टेऽति. भै. भा. I. 2. 65.
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 yājña 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, Ap. Dh. S. II. 3, 8, 6, Yāj. I. 110, Khādira gr. IV. 4, 26, Gobhila gr. IV. 10. 26. Rtvaks 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 kṣatriya. Medhatithi on Manu III. 119 says that when a king, whether a kṣatriya or not, comes to one's place madhuparka was to be offered, but not to a śūdra king. According to grhya-pariṣista the madhuparka is to be performed according to the rites prescribed in the sākha of the receiver and not of the giver.  

The procedure of madhuparka is set out from the Āsv. gr. (I. 24, 5–26) "He pours honey into curds or clarified butter if no honey can be had. A seat, 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 verse '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. वस्त्रय या भविष्यात्म तत्त्वात्मार्याचार्योऽविष्टः। सकुयः प्रदत्तपरश्चेन्यांशेपिव द्वारर। quoted in S. M. p. 823.

1258. Vide Appendix for text

1259. A विद्या is a seat with 25 उह्मः। 'प्राणार्याभेदनः सदृशं ह विद्या:' परिसिद्ध quoted by S. M. p. 821. अर्थः is water for washing the hands; in which flowers and perfume (like sandal-wood paste) have been mixed up. नग्नमलयविदसुराच्छुद्वमर्मभिसिद्धूपः। नातरणयो अत्यः म. I. 24 11.

1260. अर्थः रमणे इत्यद्य स्वाभाविक।—This occurs in पांडुकर I. 3 and मलद्युष्ण 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'.

He should look at the madhuparka, when it is being brought to him, with the mantra 'I look at thee with the eye of Mitra'. He accepts it (the madhuparka) in the joined hands with the formula 'by the command (urging) of god Savitṛ, by the arms of Aśvins and the hands of Pūśan, I accept thee' (Vāj S. I. 24). He looks at it with the three ākṣara verses '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 Adityas 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 formula '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 अमुदेनेत्तरणांति occur in the description of madhupakṣa in अव. मन्त्रवारी II. 10. 3 and अव. श. 13. 13., मातवदेयः I. 9. 15.

1262. The three verses Rg. I. 90. 6–8 all begin with the word मधु 'मधु वासः अतन्ते मधु अर्जित सिद्धमः' (6), 'मधु नक्षत्रोपिते' (7), 'मधुमक्षा वस्तपति' (8) and so are very appropriate to madhupakṣa. They occur in वाजः सं. 13. 27–29, are called मधुमस्ति verses and employed in पार. श. I. 3, also in मातवदेयः I. 9. 14.

1263. The three मधु 'विराजो बोधोसितिः &c.' occur in पार. ग्र. I. 3 (but at the time of receiving the arghya water), साह. ग्र. III. 7. 5, मानव ग्र. I. 9. 7 &c. Some held that he should partake of the madhuparka at one time after repeating the three mantras at once.
formula 'thou art the cover of ambrosia.' The sips water a second time with the formula 'truth! fame! fortune! may Fortune resort to me.' When he has sipped water, they announce to him the cow. Having muttered the words 'destroyed is my sin, my sin is destroyed', he says 'om, do it' if he desires to have the cow killed: if he is desirous of letting her go, he mutters the verse 'the mother of Rudras and daughter of Vasus' (Rg. VIII. 101. 15) and says 'let her go'. Let the madhuparka not be without flesh."

A few small matters may be noted. Several grhya-sūtras (such as the Mānava) describe madhuparka as a part of the marriage rite, while others like Āsv. 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. Āsv. gr. and Ap. 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 Kauśika sūtra (92) speaks of nine kinds of mixtures viz. Brāhma (honey and curds), Aindra (of pāyasa), Saumya (curds and ghee), Pauṣṇa (ghee and mantha), Śarvasvata (milk and ghee), Mausala (wine and ghee, this being used only in Sautrāmaṇī and Rājaśūya sacrifices), Vāruṇa (water and ghee), Śrāvaṇa (sesame oil and ghee), Pārvrājaka (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. अनुवादिष्ठानमसिद्धि—this मन्त्र occurs also in आ. म. पा. II. 10. 4 and आप. रू. 13. 13.

1264a. The verse मानव वद्राणि (referring to the cow) is mentioned in several यज्ञसूत्रas such as the मानव (I. 9. 23), Pār. (I. 3), वै. रू. I. 2. 50.

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offered. When even flesh-eating came to be abhorred, then only pāyasa and such other things were recommended. The 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 gṛhya 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 Āsvattha-vivāha which is like kumbha-vivāha and performed for good luck to the bride and averting widowhood. Here the Āsvattha tree is substituted for the jar and a golden image of Viṣṇu is worshipped. The image is then given to a brāhmaṇa.

Arkasvāvāḥ: 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. gr. śeṣasūtra V. 5 also.

Another question which takes up much space in ancient works but which is now of hardly any importance is parivedana. When a male got married before his elder brother or where a person married a younger girl before her elder sister was married, this act was called parivedana and was severely condemned as a serious encroachment on the rights of seniority and as a sin. Gaut. 15. 18 and 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, Viśnu 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 the 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. 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 (Yaj. I. 223), the elder brother before whom the younger brother marries is called parivittā 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 parivedini, the elder sister before whom her younger sister marries is called didhiṣū. The husbands of these two last respectively bear the appellations agre-didiṣūpati and didhiṣūpati. The father or other guardian who gives away the girl in any of these cases of parivedana is called paridayā or paridātā. The younger brother who kindles the sacred fire before the elder is styled 'paryādhiṭa' and the elder brother who is so treated is called 'paryāhīta' (Gaut. 15. 18). Manu III. 172 (which is almost the same as Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 30 and Viśnu Dh. S. 54. 16) says that the parivettā, the parivitta, the girl whom the younger brother marries before the elder, the man who gives away the girl in marriage and the officiating priest—these five all fall into hell (and must perform the penance of Cāndrayāna according to Viśnu). The Mit. on

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1265. Vide Mit. on Yaj. III. 265 explaining Vas. Dh. S. 'परिविविदाना' कुष्ठातिक्षुष्ट्रे चरित्रा तते उपेक्षाय तत्स्तो धृतरत्न बल्लसचर्याहृतेन भैरवस्य युगपरिवर्त- हारायथिन तिथिया इत्यद्रेष्टेऽति ततोऽस्मि ...सतोऽस्मि उपेक्षाय तिथिया तेन चाइश्चत्वादृष्टेऽति।"

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.
Yaṣ. III. 265 quotes Hārīta-dharmasūtra on this topic to the same effect. Medhatīthi on Manu III. 171 refers to the view of some that if a son kindles the sacred fire before his father, the same rule applies as between brothers and then refutes that view. Aparārka p. 446 quotes Uṣanas that a person may kindle sacred fires even before his father or grandfather with the latter's consent. The Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana (I. 76-77) says that there is no sin in taking agniḥotra 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. Medhatīthi 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 patīta or has become a recluse or is devoted to Yogaśāstra 1269. Vide Gobhila smṛti (I. 72-74) for similar verses (which are quoted by the Gr. R. p. 90), 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. अतिरि चेतं ज्ञायसि कानीयाक्ष्यान्यान्याशुपायन्यां। पवित्रितिके। गीतम 18. 18-19.
1268. इसमान: कितिभिः कुड़ी पतिता। क्रीव एव च। राजस्यमाप्याती च न योयः। स्वात्त् प्रवृत्तिः। इति। स्वतः इतिहासम्। इति। यात्रार्थम्। इति। स्वतः इतिहासम्। इति। स्वतः इतिहासम्। इति। स्वतः इतिहासम्। इति। स्वतः इतिहासम्। इति। स्वतः इतिहासम्। इति। स्वतः इतिहासम्। इति। स्वतः इतिहासम्। इति। स्वतः इतिहासम्। इति। स्वतः इतिहासम्। इति। स्वतः इतिहासम्। इति। स्वतः इतिहासम्। इति। स्वतः इतिहासम्। इति। स्वतः इतिहासम्। इति। स्वतः इतिहासम्। इति। स्वतः इतिहासम्। इति। स्वतः इतिहासम्। इति। स्वतः इतिहासम्। इति। स्वतः इतिहासम्। इति। स्वतः इतिहासम्। इति। स्वतः इतिहासम्। इति। स्वतः इतिहासम्। इति। स्वतः इति। स्वतः इति। स्वतः इति। स्वतः इति। स्वतः इति। स्वतः इति। स्वतः इति। स्वतः इति। स्वतः इति। स्वतः इति। स्वतः इति। स्वतः इति। स्वतः इति। स्वतः इति। स्वतः इति। स्वतः इति। स्वतः इति। स्वतः इति। स्वतः इति। स्वतः इति। स्वतः इति। स्वतः इति। स्वतः इति। स्वतः इति। स्वतः इति। स्वतः इति। स्वतः इति। स्वतः इति। स्वतः इति। स्वतः इतिहासम्। इति। स्वतः इतिहासम्। इति। स्वतः इतिहासम्। इति। स्वतः इतिहासम्। इति। स्वतः इतिहासम्। इति। स्वतः इतिहासम्। इति। स्वतः इतिहासम्। इति। स्वतः इतिहासम्। इति। स्वतः इतिहासम्। इति। स्वतः इतिहासम्। इति। स्वतः इतिहासम्। इति। स्वतः इतिहासम्। इति।
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. suryaephyudita, suryabhinin-
rupta, kunakhin, syavadat, agredidhisā, parivitta, virahan, brah-
mahan. The Vas. Dh. \textsuperscript{1270} S. I. 18 arranges persons called sinners
\textit{(enasvin)} almost in the same order as in the Tai. Br. Here (in
Tai. Br.) we have parivitta and agredidhisā. In another passage
of the Tai. Br. (III. 4. 4) while speaking of Purusamedha, it is
said that the parivitta is consigned as a victim to ill-luck
\textit{(nirṛti)}, the parivividāna to distress \textit{(ārti)} and the didhisūpati
to non-success \textit{(aruddhi)}.

\textsuperscript{1270} Purasastravītaḥ purābhiniśakṣaḥ kusūkṣaḥ śyāṣyaḥ: parinirṇāti: parivividānaścāhāṁ
purāśīpaḥ māndrakṣaḥ idyamahānām: । vasitā I. 18.
CHAPTER XI

POLYGAMY, POLYANDRY AND RIGHTS
AND DUTIES ON MARRIAGE

Polygamy: Though monogamy seems to have been the ideal and was probably the rule, the Vedic literature is full of references to polygamy. Rg. X. 145 (same as Atharvaveda III. 18) is a hymn meant as a charm for weaning the husband's affections from a co-wife. It occurs in 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. 159 is a hymn attributed to Śaci, 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)' 1271. 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 यूष्णा व्यक्ते नव्दु हस्तस्याभिना त्वा पदहता रघुन - ग्रहं। यूष्णकर्य ग्रहकरी यथासंसर्ग तं विद्वतं वन्धासि।...समानिं अधि देवसु। (last quoted above in n. 1229). The word dāmpati (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 अतपत्रा सप्ताशा जयस्यभिपुरी। आशुसम्मवां सर्वाः राधो अस्थेषसाविक संजीविताम अहं सप्ताशा भिपुरी।। यथासंस्थ धीरस्य विशालजनिन वजरस्य च।। स्र. X. 159. 5–6. आप. म. प. reads differently.

1273. सं भा तंत्रयमिति सप्ताशिव पर्यन्त।। ग्र. I. 105. 8; vide Rg. X. 116. 10 (आदिवतिकाक्षुरं कर्ननाय) where the Aśvins are said to have made वच्यम the husband of maidens.
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XI

Polygamy

same time'. The Tai. Br. (III. 8. 4.) when speaking of the Asvamedha says 'the wives anoint (the horse); wives are indeed a form of prosperity'. In the Sat. Br. (XIII. 4. 1. 9., S. B. E. vol. 44, p. 349) it is said, 'four wives are in attendance viz. the consecrated queen (mahiṣī), the favourite wife (vāvātā), the discarded wife (parivrktā or parivrkti) and the pālāgali (who is low-born)'. The Tai. S. I. 8. 9 refers to the 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. Hariscandra is said to have had a hundred wives (Ait. Br. 33. 1). It is not to be supposed that polygamy was confined only to kings and nobles. The great philosopher Yājñavalkya had two wives, Kātyāyanti who was worldly-minded and Maitreya 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. Nārada (strīpunṣa v. 95)
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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 strādhana and money (prescribed to be given) on supersession and besides a fine (to the king) of 24 panas. So far Kauṭilya 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 strādhana 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 Ap. 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. Devala 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 gravely remarks ‘to have many wives is no adharma on the part of men, but to violate

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1278. Vide Manu IX. 81 and Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 65 for similar periods of waiting. Vide Yāj. II. 143 for the amount of ādhivedanika to be given by the husband.

1279. एका युहस्य बैश्यर द्वि विश्व: क्षत्रियर भ:। चतुर्भ्रामणर सुभम्याः। राजो यथोऽये।।। वेश्व वित्तृते। विवर्णद्वर्ध्यथप्रत्यक्षाः। (śulka) quoted in Yajurvyāsānirakṣa p. 85.

1280. नचापभगस्म: कल्याण बहुपत्तिकताः सुणामः। क्षीणामधम: सुमहारम्भं। पूर्वस्य तदनुष्ठाने।। आदिपर्वम् 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 Vāsudeva\textsuperscript{1281} (Krṣna) had sixteen thousand wives. Several kings had in historic times as many as a hundred wives. For example, the Cedi king Gāngayadeva alias Vikramāditya is said to have obtained mukti (salvation) at Prayāga with his hundred wives\textsuperscript{1282} (vide Jabalpur plate of Yaśākharnadeva 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 Motital 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

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{1281} योधं श्रीसत्कारणि वाठूवतपरियमः \ स समासीमहानावरो श्रीवासुदेवनामा-
    गम्यं \ मीनसिल्पणै व. ६.
  \item \textsuperscript{1282} यद्यद्वागवतमुलविनवस्यमथो सार्थः क्लेन्द दृष्टं परिस्मिनस्च दुःखित। E. I. vol. II. p. 4.
\end{itemize}

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not the ideal or the view of the best writers, nor is such a view held by the majority of Indian jurists of ancient and medieval times. Modern opinion of educated people is most favourable to making marriages monogamous and efforts are being made to secure absolute monogamy by legislative action. For example, the Madras Nambudri Act (Madras Act XXI of 1933) forbids a Nambudri brähmana from marrying a second wife when the first is living except in three cases viz. (1) when the first wife is afflicted with an incurable disease for over five years, (2) when she has not borne a child within ten years of marriage, and (3) when she becomes an outcast.

Polyandry

The passages cited above (note 1274) from the Ait. Br. and the Tai. S. that a woman cannot have several husbands at the same time make it clear that in those ancient times polyandry was unheard of. Not a single Vedic passage can be cited which clearly refers to the practice of polyandry. The most glaring example of polyandry in Sanskrit literature is that of Draupadi as the wife of the five Pândavas. Probably the tradition was too firmly rooted to allow the author to ignore it. The Mahâbhârata shows that all were shocked by the resolve of Yudhishthira to make Draupadi the wife of the five brothers. Dhîrstadyumna (Ādiparva 1284 195. 27–29) tries vehemently to dissuade Yudhishthira, 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 Yudhishthira could only two instances (rather mythical) in support of the practice viz. of Jâtila Gautamî (who had seven sages as husbands) and of Vârki who had ten Prâcetasas brothers as husbands. It is this fact that has led many scholars to regard the Pândus as a non-Aryan tribe somehow grafted on the Aryan stock and represented as relatives of the Kauravas by the editor of the


1284. एकरय चढ़ायो विहिता महिष्यः कुषन्द्योऽनौ || नैल्कथा चढ़ायो: दुःश: अयुन्ते पत्यः काहित् || हृदयेन्दुविश्वाज तः नापामी धमोविश्वाचि:। कार्तिकाः कौतिक गतमचे ग्रह्यिके दुःशः || आयोः 195. 27–29; vide समावेश 68,35 where Karna speaks of Draupadi as 'bandhakī' (a harlot), because she had many men as her husbands.

1285. हृदितिश्रवीलते 'सृष्टोऽध्याय काळाव नास्य विध्यं वर्ष गतिम्। पूषपायसाद-पूषपेष पातं वर्षावलामुनः॥'
Mahābhārata. This too also sounds somewhat far-fetched. Kumārila-bhaṭṭa in his Tantravārttika cuts this Gordian knot by putting forward three explanations, one of which boldly asserts that there were many Draupadis very similar to each other and so the epic figuratively speaks of one Draupadi only.\(^{1286}\) There were really five Draupadis (and not one) married separately to the five Pāndavas. 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 Brhaspati, 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 Pāraskas (Persians) matches with a mother are seen.’\(^{1287}\) Dr. Jolly is wrong in thinking that Brhaspati refers to polyandry as practised in the south. Brhaspati first referred to the practice of marrying a maternal uncle’s daughter as prevalent amongst the southerners (dākṣinātyaḥ) 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 dākṣinātyaḥ. 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 Brhaspati refers to the Pāraskas, 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

\(^{1286}\) अपभाष च एव वा: सतः सतृशपा नोपत्रः एककेनोपचारिता इति शयवाराध्य- प्रस्ता गयते || तत्नावलिकः p. 209

\(^{1287}\) बिहारः: महिद्रव्यं बुध्विण्वायेत्र संवतः। श्रस्तुरतपोहो मातुरपन्युनाः प्रेरितः। अभूभर्तमातुरायवधर्माः चालित्नुविद्यतः। कुक्ते कस्यावमुन: च दुष्चरन्येदुः हस्यते। तथा मातुरविवाहति पारस्यकेस्यु दृश्यते। एवहस्ति विद्यमानः in the स्मृतिच्च. I. 10, स्मृतिस्. (एवाविशेष p. 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. Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji (I. A. vol. 8, p. 88) says that in Kumaun between the Tons and Jumna river about Kalsi, Rajputs, brâhmanas and śūdras all practise polyandry and the children are attributed to the eldest brother who is alive. Nilakantha, the commentator of the Mahābhārata, raises (on Adiparva 104. 35) the question about Draupadi's marrying five husbands and refers to the practice among very low castes in his day of one woman having two or three husbands.

Mutual rights and duties of husband and wife

Manu (IX. 101-102) lays down in a concise form the obligations of husband and wife viz. 'they should not prove false to each other till death (as regards dharma, artha and kāma) and that their constant endeavour should be not to be separate from each other and not to break faith with each other (as to those three goals of human life)'. The detailed rights and duties of the husband and wife will be unfolded as we proceed.

The first duty of the husband and the privilege of the wife was to require and to give respectively her co-operation in all religious acts. This has been so from the most ancient times. In Rg. I. 72. 5 it is said 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. कथे तस्य द्वैयायः पद्ध पाण्डव मार्शियार्थ दूस आचे तस्या इवानीतिनान्नी नीजाना। च हिमालयः पत्रेद्वयं इति चेष्टा द्वे कृतिं वर्णितम् व्याचिन देवाकल्याणुपद्धणे योगवाणां च बायास्यायर्थायणयाय अधिकारिकितिक्षयताय सियोचिताय गरस्य | तौऽक एन 104. 35.
1291. संजानानां उपस्विद्विभिः परिवेंद्रोऽव नन्दवय। अर. I. 72. 5; अजात्विनिध संजानां समाबें शुक्लस्वच्छ हृदकार्य | अर. V. 3. 2; स पररी पद्य शुभकेतर् अवा | याहिस बुधी पुर्वोपस्थाय। उपस्विद्विभ निरायतामाय। द्रविध ज्योतिर्चर-मार्शिलमाताय।। ते. ब्र. III. 7. 5.
both), they two became yoked like oxen to the sacrifice; may the two be of one mind and destroy their foes; may they attain non-aging light in heaven'. The same verse with slight variations occurs in the Kāṭhaka Sam. V. 4 and is relied upon by Śabarā 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 Aśvamedha the wife anoints the horse, how in marriage the bride offers handfuls of fried grain into fire. It has already been seen (note 1208) that the Āp. Dh. S. (II. 6. 13. 17–19) requires that from the time of marriage the husband and wife work together in religious acts, that they share the reward of such acts together and that they both have dominion over the wealth of the family and that the wife can make gifts in the absence of the husband if occasion necessitates. The Āśv. gr. (I. 8. 5) prescribes that the fire kindled at marriage is carried by the married pair to their home (in a vessel) and that (I. 9. 1–8) since the day of marriage, the husband should worship the domestic fire himself or his wife or his son or his daughter or pupil (may offer worship in his absence), that if fire goes out, some teachers say that the wife should observe a fast, the domestic fire should be worshipped in the evening with an āhuti and the formula ‘agnaye svāhā’ and in the morning with an āhuti and the formula ‘suryāya 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 baliharana, Gobhila gr. (I. 4. 16–19) says that both husband and wife should offer balis, or a brāhmaṇa may offer for them, or the wife may offer in the evening and the husband in the morning. Manu (III. 121) says that from food cooked in the evening the wife should
offer balls, but without mantras. This shows that though gradually women began to lose the right to repeat Vedic mantras (as shown by Manu), still she had a hand in the religious rites. She had to perform many acts in sacrifices, such as unhusking grain in sthālpāka (vide Hir. gr. I. 23. 3), washing the slaughtered animal (compare Sat. Br. III. 8. 2 and Gobhila gr III. 10. 29), looking at the ājya in śrauta sacrifices. The Pūrvaṁāṁsā (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 Sīta by his side.\textsuperscript{1295} Pāṇini (IV. 1. 33) derives the word patini 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 patinis). The Mahābhāṣya says\textsuperscript{1296} that the wife of a sūdra is called patini only by analogy (as a sūdra himself has no adhikāra for yajña, his wife can much less have it). It is on account of this close association of the wife in all sacrifices (either śrauta or śmaṭa) 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."\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{1294} सत्या यात्तुच्छान्तिचिन्हम चयमद्युत्त्वात्। \ सं. VI. 1. 24.

\textsuperscript{1295} राजोपि चृता सत्िची सििसं पतिि यक्षिनियद। \ इति यसैंधृतियः। सह अद्वैयभिर्विभितिः। \ गोपिलसत्तुति III. 10; \ काः पतिि यक्षिनि \ च । \ समायण VII. 91. 25.

\textsuperscript{1296} पतिि यजस्य समायो। \ पर. IV. 1. 33; \ 'एकमापी तुष्यकर्म पतििति \ न \ सिध्यति। \ उपमानानासिलस्त्रप। \ पतििवस्त्रपिति। । \ महाभाषय on पर. IV. 1. 33. \ (vol. II. p. 214).

\textsuperscript{1297} अथां च एकद्वय यज्ञस्य सीरपति यक्ष यथेकः पतििवालस्तुका भयति। \ ते. \ जि. \ III. 7. 1.
women (independently of the husband) nor vrata (vows) nor fasts (without his consent). Similarly Kâtâyâna propounds 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-Vyâsa smṛti II. 19. The Nityâcârapaddhati (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. Viśṇu Dh. S. (26.1-4) concisely gives all the rules. If all the wives are of the same caste, then the wife whose marriage took place first was to be associated with the husband in all religious acts; if a man had wives of different varṇas (when inter-caste marriages were allowed) the wife of the same varṇa with the husband had precedence, though her marriage might have been later in date. If there is no wife of the same varṇa as himself, the husband may associate with himself in religious rites even a wife of the varṇa immediately next to his own; but a dvijâti should never associate a śūdra wife with himself in religious ceremonies. Vide Madanapârijâta p. 134 for similar rules. Vas. Dh. S. 18. 18 expressly says 'a woman belonging to the dark varṇa (i.e. śūdra) is meant only for pleasure and not for performance of religious rites.' Gobhila smṛti (I. 103-104) contains rules similar to those in Viśṇu Dh. S., Yāj. I. 88 and Veda-Vyāsa II. 12 are to the same effect. Viśvarûpa 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 Pûrvâmâmsâ (IX. 3. 20-21) Jaimini discusses the question whether the direction in the Darśa-pūrṇamâsa 'patnîm samânahya' (having girt up the wife) which employs the singular number...
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 Trikāndamandana1301 (I. 43-44) says that there were three views when a man had several wives viz. some said that all should be associated with him in religious rites, others held that only the eldest wife of the same varṇa should be associated and the third view was that the husband should never associate with himself a wife whom he married for pleasure after he kindled the sacred fires. Manu (IX. 86-87) lays down that the wife of the same caste with the husband should always have precedence not only in the obligatory religious rites, but also in ministering to the physical comfort of the husband and if a brāhmaṇa husband gets these done by a wife of another caste when the wife of the same caste is near, he becomes like a cāndāla.

From very ancient times one of the articles of faith was that a man was born with debts, that he owed three debts to sages, gods and pīḷas and that by brāhmaṇacārya (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 (prajābhīr-agnē amṛtatvam-asyām) 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 Śabarā adds another explanation that these duties are obligatory on all dvijātis and the word ‘brāhmaṇa’ is used in the

1301. भार्य: सम्मेय यात्र्यस्ताभिभ: सर्वाभिभिन्जतसि: यद्वव सर्वप्रणय जोयेत्वयस्य सामर्थ्यसि: || यहांजानायतृसद्वास्वमस्तोबिशिष्टसि: || विकाशभद्रमप. I. 43-44.

1302. जातमनो वे ब्राह्मणेविभिकष्ठ्या जाप्ले ब्रह्मचर्य ऋशिर्यो यशों देवेय: मनुष्य विद्वृत्थ एव वा अदुर्यो वा: पुढी यथा ब्राह्मचारनिश्चलसि: || ते. सं. VI. 3. 10, 5; सवं ह वे जानये योधितसि: || स जातमने एव वैदेय ऋशियो विद्वृत्थो शुद्धियो शुद्धियो शुद्धियो शुद्धियो शुद्धियो || जाज्ञाय I. 7. 2. 11; ऋशियसमस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्यस्य समस्यसि: || वित्त हुस्य जाताय पयेज्ञानवति सुखसि: || तत्त्वार्थार्थे ते केम्भौतिष्ठति वास्यं वास्यं विद्यं: || ते. भव. 33. 1. वसितामेव गैय. XI. 47 quotes the first passage.

1303. ब्राह्मणस्य द्व सोमसिद्धाद्यपश्यवीर्यहयेव संयोगाति: || जैतिन जैतिन 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. 11\textsuperscript{1304} also derives the word *putra* similarly. Further the water and *pindas* (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,\textsuperscript{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 (stripumṣa 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

\textsuperscript{1304} युज्यः युवा चायायेत निपर्णधा दुःखरके तत्रप्राप्त इति च। निर्लक्ष्य II. 11.

\textsuperscript{1305} यथा वधारः युज्य पयोकोपि गयां वगेत। वगेत राघवेन्येन बीर्णेत व ब्रह्मपुरवज्जेत॥ निर्लक्ष्यमेवय 85. 70. The Mahābhārata 207. 39 reads मौर्यः चापुर्द्रेव- कर्तव्यं for वगे ....... मेघेन.

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husband and to honour him as her god. In the Śat. Br. 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). Saṅkha-Likhita says: 'a wife should not hate her husband even if he be impotent (or have swollen testicles), patita (guilty of mahāpāca) 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-kānda 24. 26–27) remarks: 'the husband is the god and the master of the wife, while she is alive and she obtains the highest heaven by serving her husband.' The Mahābhārata very frequently harps upon the duties of wives. 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 Matsya-purāṇa 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. Vide Manu V. 151 for a paraphrase of this passage. 1307. Vide Manu V. 151 for a paraphrase of this passage. 1308. Vide Manu V. 151 for a paraphrase of this passage.
husband is voiced even by poets like Kalidasa, who makes one of the pupils of Kapva say about Sakuntala: ‘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, Yaj. I. 83-87, Vishnu Dh. S. 25. 2 ff, Vanaprasta 233. 19-58 (Draupadi as the speaker), Anuśāsana 123 (Śāntili declares the conduct of virtuous wives), Veda-Vyāsa-smṛti II. 20-33 (wife’s duties from morning till night), Vṛddha-Hārīta XI. 84 ff (wife’s duties from morning), Sm. C. (vyabhicara 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. Adiparva 74. 12 gives 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 Kalidasa in the Sakuntala (V. 17). The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 77. 19 is to the same effect. Yaj. (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. तद्वैता भवति कान्तानि रूपं वैमात्रेण पुष्पम मा। परम्परा हि वर्तेऽह महत्ता सत्यसमाजे " \text{Sakuntala V.}\n
1310. वर्तेऽह मात्रायं त्रिधाक्षी त्रिधात्रि त्रिधात्रिः न रोचने । कीर्तिविशेषतार्थस्वस्माचार्य मा \text{Śakuntala V. 17}; \text{compare} ‘सतीमति क्षातिकुलकान्ताश्च जनोमया मर्त्यस्तिनि \text{V. 17}’
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conduct herself decently, to restrain her senses.' Śāṅkha 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 samnyāsin, an old man or a physician; she should not allow her navel to be seen; she should wear her garment (or sari) in such a way that it may reach down to her ankles; she should not expose her breasts; she should not laugh loudly without covering her mouth (with her hand or her garment); she should not hate her husband or his relatives; she should not be in the company of dancing girls, gambling women, women who make assignments to meet lovers, female ascetics, female fortune-tellers, women who live by tricks, magical and secret rites and who are of bad character; since (the wise declare that) the character of women of good family is spoilt by the company (they keep).' The Viṣṇu Dh. S. 25. 1-6 ordains 'now then the duties of wives (are declared); they should perform the same vratas (observances and vows) which the husband undertakes; they should honour the mother-in-law, the father-in-law, other elders, gods, guests and keep the household utensils well arranged; they should not be extravagant in giving to others; should keep the goods well guarded; they should have no liking for magical practices (to win love) and should be devoted to auspicious conduct.' Vide also Viṣṇu Dh. S. chap. 99 last two verses (quoted by Aparārka p. 107). Draupadi (Vanaprava 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

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1311. नातुका युधिष्ठिरस्वते । नातुतरीया । न तवस्ते व्रजेत । न परशुरमि-भारतांनगृ व्यवस्थितुदुवैद्यमण । न नाभि वुधाति । आ युधिष्ठिरस्वते । परिद्व्याल । न लम्बी विशुद्धी कुर्माद । न हस्येति नायता । भारते तहस्युदवा न द्वेषाति । न गणिका-पधुमी-सारियाँ-सार्वजनि-पैवनिकामायामृत्युसूक्तकारिकाकुशलाविभिन्न सबैकक तितेति । संस्मारण हि कुंदलीण चारित्रेण कुष्ठाति। शाष्कु quoted by the मितराज्य on पा. I. 87, by अपरार्कि p. 107 (on पा. I. 83), सूतज्ञारिज्ञ p. 195; vide also समुस्थिति (स्यवहर) pp. 249-250 and वि. र. p. 430. As to speaking with परशुराम, vide बधेयमण 266. 3 एका खाद समस्ते ते न वाचे दृश्यि वे संक्षेप स्वस्त। आई तवस्ते कसमे कसे त्वाचार्येन नितता स्वमें ॥ Vide also आद्वाण्सन 146. 43. 'सूत्वकारिका' in the passage of शाष्कु means one who employs herbs &c. for वशीकरण. Vide वधेयमण 233. 7-14 (the last verse is मृदुप्वचा विषयं प्रयज्ञित्ति लिखास्त:).
husband.\textsuperscript{1218} 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 pāṇas 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 pāṇas in the case of the man who speaks with a woman with whom he is forbidden to speak. Brhaspati\textsuperscript{1313} says that a wife should get up from bed before her husband and elders, should partake of food and condiments after they have eaten, should occupy a seat lower than that of the husband or elders. 'A wife can engage in vrata, fasts, observances and worship (of god &c.) with the permission of her husband' say Śaṅkha-Likhita.\textsuperscript{1314} The Purāṇas frequently descant on śrīdharma. 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, Dharmarāṇya section, chap. 7) has a long description of a pativrata 'she should not repeat the name of her husband, as such conduct leads to the increase of the husband's life and should never take the name of another male (v. 18), even when she is loudly blamed (by the husband) she does not cry loudly, even when beaten she is smiling (v. 19). A pativrata should always use turmeric, kuṅkuma, sindūra, lamp black (for the eye), a bodice, tāmbūla, auspicious ornaments, and should braid her hair' (vv. 23-29). The Padma-purāṇa (Śrṣṭi-khaṇḍa, chap. 47, v. 55) says that that wife is pativrata who in doing work is like a slave, like a hetaira in affording sexual pleasure, like a mother in offering food and like a counsellor in adversity.

Special rules of conduct were laid down for a wife whose husband was away from home on a journey. Śaṅkha-Likhita (quoted by Aparārka p. 108, Sm. C., vyavahāra p. 253) contain a long statement about what such a wife should not do 'women whose husbands are away from home should avoid amusements of swing and dance, seeing pictures, applying unguents to the body, walking in parks, sleeping in open places (or uncovered).

\textsuperscript{1312} सांवसससिंहमाय संहायय तदसह्य त्वर्य कुर्यांत्। कामसङ्ग IV. 1. 32.

\textsuperscript{1313} प्रोपाधां शुद्धत्तव्यपूर्वके भोजनद्रान्निकित्यं। जगन्नासनहिंसातिले कर्मः भीणाः-श्वाहैं। शुद्धतिः quoted in स्वतिचः, स्वयम् p. 257.

\textsuperscript{1314} भूतोऽवस्था भ्रतीवा भ्रतीवासनामयाद्रानामर्गः। भ्रीरमः। भाजलिसित quoted in स्वतिचः (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 rocanā (yellow pigment) to her body, does not take a ceremonial bath and does not use flowers, unguents or ornaments. Manu (IX. 74-75) requires the husband when going abroad to make provision for the wife's maintenance, since a woman without some means of livelihood, though originally virtuous, may go astray and adds 'when the husband goes abroad after providing for maintenance, the wife should live thereby and abide by the restrictions (laid down for such wives); if he goes away without making provision for her maintenance she should maintain herself by crafts (such as spinning) which are unblamable.' The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (25. 9-10) contains similar rules. The Veda-Vyāsa-smṛti (II. 52) enjoins upon a wife whose husband is gone abroad 'her 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 Trikāpadamanḍana1317 (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 īṣṭis and pīṭrayāṇa, but should not perform soma sacrifices.

The rewards of the wife's single-minded devotion to her husband and her rigid observance of the rules of conduct prescribed for her are stated at great length in smṛti works. Manu (IX. 29-30 = Manu V. 165 and 164) says 'that woman who does not prove faithless to her husband in thought, word and deed (lit. body) secures the (heavenly) worlds together with her husband and is spoken of as a sādhvi' (a virtuous woman, a patiwratā); but by proving faithless to her husband a

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1315. अवर्जने भुव्वने यान नात्यासृष्टिजन्म। मसाधनं च मित्राकृते नासिनः

1316. वियत्रड्रवनां दृङ्गसंस्कारवर्जिता। पालिका मित्राहार्य जोगयते मोहपि पती॥

1317. अनविविवज्ज्ञं निर्म्यं: हितं इति चत्रम। कालवर्जः मोहिते पतिः नासिनः नान्यस्त्वालिनीः

विनाद्यास्मिनं। विनाद्यास्मिनं 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. Yaj. (I. 75 and 87) declares that the woman, who does not approach another while the husband is living or after his death and who is intent on doing what is agreeable and beneficial to her husband, who is of good conduct and has restrained her senses, attains glory in this world and plays with Umā (the wife of Śiva) in heaven. Brhaspati defines a pativrata 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 pativrata occur at every step. Vide Vana-parva 63 where we are told (vv. 38-39) that when Damayanti cursed by her faithfulness to her husband the young hunter who had evil designs on her, he fell down a dead man. In the Anuśāsanaparva 123 Śāṇḍily who had attained heavenly worlds tells Sumanā Kaikeyī how she reached that state without wearing kāśāyas (dyed garments worn by samnyāsins) 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 pativratas of ancient times and the following verses dilate upon the rules of conduct for virtuous wives. The story of Śāvitrī in the Vanaparva (293-299) illustrates the power of a pativrata, who wrung back even from Yama, the dread god of Death, the life of her husband. Sāvitrī and Sitā have been held by the women of India for thousands of years as the

1318. अति झड़े दूसी दूसरी मोगी धज्जता हुई शुष्क झेठ शरीर के निकट tally quoted by Dr. Whiting, p. 109, by the Śiśu. It is दूधश्चैति XI. 199.
1319. नाहीं काश्यपसन्ना नारी वल्कलधातिरिणी। न च युष्णा च जलिता शृङ्खला विकल्यामागातीं। अहितावां च वास्यानि सत्यांगिनि सत्यागाणि च। अमलां च भर्तां भवाविविष्याद- मयायुं। अनुशासन 123. 8-9, 14 &c.
1320. Vide also भवाविविष्याद मयायुं। न कामेये भद्युतिनागुङ्गः न कामेये भद्युतिनाग्य स्वभाव। न कामेये भद्युतिनागुङ्गः स्वभाव न भद्युतिनाग्य स्वभाव भीतितुम्।
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 pativrata 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 pativrata like Gāndhārī is in that she can, if she choose, burn the world, she can stop even the motions of the sun and the moon. The Skanda-purāṇa III (Brahma-khaṇḍa, Brahmāraṇya section chap. 7) first names (verses 14–15) several pativrataś like Arundhatī, Anasūyā, Sāvitri, Śāndilyā, Satyā, Menā and then waxes eloquent over the tremendous spiritual power of a pativrata ‘just as a snake-charmer forcibly draws out from a hole a snake, so a pativrata snatches away her husband’s life from the messengers of Death and reaches heaven with her husband and the messengers of Death, on seeing the pativrata, beat a hasty retreat.’

As the foremost duty of the wife was to honour and serve the husband, she must always stay with him and she had a right of residence in the house. A wife was further entitled to be maintained in the house by the husband. A verse quoted by Medhātithi on Manu III. 62 and IV. 251 and by the Mit. on Yāj. I. 224 and II. 175 and which occurs in some Mss. as a spurious verse after Manu XI. 10 says ‘Manu declares that one must maintain one’s aged parents, a virtuous wife and a minor son by doing even a hundred bad acts.’

1321. कुण्ड says to मात्यारी ‘हक्का खात्सि महाभागे प्रविष्टि सच्चारायाः। भद्रशा कोधुरेस्वेव मद्रुपं तपस्वी बलात्॥’ शालयपर्व 63. 21.

1322. शालद्राही यथा शाटं बलादुर्वद्यत सिलात। एसीक्षय ईतेन्यः पाति ल्यनी ब्रजेरस्ती॥ यथापदे सामार्के पतिशताय। ईतविद्वारण (मद्रकण्ड), चर्मरथण chap. 7. 54–55. It will be noticed later on that the half verse शालद्राही occurs in numerous works.

1323. दुस्को च मत्तिःति साधी भार्या सिछ। छत। अप्यकार्य्तसं दुस्को भवत्या महर्षीयुः॥
II. 36 (= Laghu-Āśvalāyana I. 74) defines posyavarga (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 posyavarga.' 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 pānas 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 (strīpūrśa 95) has a similar provision. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. V. 163 made the husband punishable like a thief, if he abandoned his wife. The husband was required by Yāj. I. 81 to be devoted to his wife, since women are to be guarded (against falling into error). Vide Yāj. I. 78 also. Manu IV. 133 forbids adultery with another's wife and Manu IV. 134 (= Anuśāsana 104. 21 and Mārkandeya-purāṇa 34. 62–63) observes that there is nothing that harms one's life as much as adultery. 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. नाता विता द्रव्यार्थय न प्रजा दृश्यं समाधित; अप्रार्थकतिपाधिशाशितः पर्यंतन स उद्वाहत॥ वृक्ते II. 36. वर्षा 37 includes other persons among posyavarga in the case of the well-to-do. Aparārka p. 999 quotes Dakṣa II. 36–37.

1325. रश्य च श्रीर्गि स्त्र्यादर्शितस्तन्येव न द ताहंनादिका। तथा तासामनदिपि संभायेत। तथा च तीकिका: पाञ्जालात्रीदु सामस्मिति पदलित। विवेकलय on पा. 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.\textsuperscript{1226}

As it was the husband's duty to provide residence and maintenance for the wife and as the wife was bound to stay with the husband, it follows that either party could after marriage enforce his or her rights in a court of law if the other party refused to perform her or his duties. In modern times a suit for restitution of conjugal rights can be brought and the decree can be executed against the wife by the attachment and sale of her property (if she has any), but not by detention in civil jail and against the husband by the court ordering the husband to make periodical payments of money for the maintenance of the wife and securing such payments by creating a charge on his property (vide Civil Procedure Code of 1908 Order 21 rules 32 and 33). To such a suit by the husband Indian Courts have recognised certain valid defences, such as desertion, cruelty or such conduct as endangers the health of the wife, change of religion, or keeping a concubine in the house or the husband's being afflicted with a loathsome disease (like leprosy). Vide \textit{Bai Premkunvar v. Bhika} 5 Bom. H. C. R. (A. C. J.) p. 209 (leprosy), \textit{Yamunabai v. Narayan} 1 Bom. 164 (cruelty), \textit{Paigi v. Sheo Narain} 8 All. 78, \textit{Dular Koer v. Dwarkanath} 34 Cal. 971, \textit{Bai Jivi v. Narsingh} 51 Bom. 329. Where the courts make the husband pay maintenance, they are in principle following \textit{Yaj.} I. 76 and \textit{Narada} (p. 569). Vide \textit{Binda v. Kaunsilia} 13 All. 126 where many original Sanskrit texts are cited.

Not only was the husband bound to maintain the wife, but he was called upon to cohabit with the wife and was supposed to incur the sin of embryo-murder if he refused without good cause to do so. On the other hand the husband had a right of

\textsuperscript{1226} Vide Blackstone's commentaries on the laws of England (ed. of 1765, Oxford) Book I. chap. 15 pp. 432-433 'The husband also (by the old law) might give his wife moderate correction......the law thought it reasonable to entrust him with this power of restraining her by domestic chastisement in the same moderation that a man is allowed to correct his servants or children........Yet the lower rank of people still claim and exert their ancient privilege; and the courts of law will still permit a husband to restrain a wife of her liberty in case of any gross behaviour'. Vide also Lush on the law of 'Husband and Wife' (4th ed. 1933) pp. 24-29 about the husband's power to beat his wife and restrain her in the past and now.
consortium i. e. the wife was not to refuse herself to the husband and if she did so her delinquency was to be proclaimed in the village and she was to be driven from the house.  

The humane character of the legislation of the Indian sages is seen by the fact that even for adultery they do not allow the husband to drive the wife out of the house and to abandon her. Gaut. 22. 35 prescribes that a wife who violates her duty of chastity must undergo a penance, but she should be kept under guard and be given food. Yāj. (I. 70, 72) declares ‘an adulterous woman should be deprived of her authority (over servants &c.), should be made to wear dirty clothes, should be given food just sufficient to enable her to live, should be treated with scorn and made to lie on the ground (not on a cot); a woman becomes pure from adultery when she has her monthly period after that, but if she conceives in adulterous intercourse she may be abandoned and also when she is guilty of the murder of her foetus or of her husband or of some sin that makes her an outcast’. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 72 draws attention to the text of Vasistha XXI. 12 ‘the wives of brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas and vaśyās 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). Vasistha 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
adultery with a man of degraded caste (like a leather-worker). 
Nārada\textsuperscript{1329} (stripumāsa v. 91) says 'when a woman commits adultery her hair shall be shaven, she shall have to lie on a low bed, shall receive bad food and clothing and her occupation will be the removal of sweepings of the husband’s house'. Gaut. 23. 14, Śānti-parva 165. 64 and Manu VIII. 371 are more harsh on a woman who has intercourse with a low-caste man, i.e., she is to be punished by the king with being devoured by dogs. Veda-Vyāsa (II. 49-50) says that ‘a wife\textsuperscript{1330} who is guilty of adultery should be kept in the house but void of her rights of associating in religious and conjugal matters and of her rights over property, and should be treated with scorn; but when she has had monthly course after the act of adultery (and does not repeat it), the husband should allow her the usual rights of a wife as before.’ Manu XI. 177 asks the husband to confine an exceedingly corrupt wife to one room and compel her to perform the penance\textsuperscript{1331} prescribed for males in cases of adultery. Vide Atri V. 1-5, Parāśara IV. 20 and XI. 87 and Brhad-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.\textsuperscript{1332}

The following propositions can be deduced from the texts cited above. (1) There is no absolute right of abandonment of wife in the husband on the ground of adultery; (2) Adultery is ordinarily an upapātaka (a minor sin) and can be atoned for by appropriate penance undergone by the wife; (3) the wife who has committed adultery but has undergone penance is to be restored to all the ordinary rights of wives (vide Vas. XXI. 12, Yāj. I. 72, Mit. thereon and Aparārka p. 98); (4) as long as the adulteress has not undergone penance, she is to be given in the house itself starving maintenance and to be deprived of all her rights as wife (Yāj. I. 70, Śāntiparva 165. 63);

\textsuperscript{1329} व्याप्तिचारणे ख्रिथा गुणप्रमोदः यज्ञमेव च। करुणा वा कुशास्व कर्म चार्यकरणं रोज्जनम्॥ नारदु (श्रीसुंदर v. 91).

\textsuperscript{1330} श्रीधरचारणे दुष्टां तां पर्लोम दुर्जनाथं स्व इत्यत्तरणसिस्व च वसेवति॥ उपनाथस्वरूपातात् पूर्वायुक्तय स्ववहाराधितय॥ वेद्याधित II. 49-50.

\textsuperscript{1331} Penance will be lighter or heavier according to the caste of the adulterer. According to महा XI. 60 adultery is an उपपातक and the ordinary penance for it is गो मध्य or चान्द्रायण (महा XI. 118).

\textsuperscript{1332} Vide Halsbury’s Laws of England vol. 16 (Hailsham ed.) pp. 609-610.
(5) a wife, who commits adultery with a śudra 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 śrīdhana or peculium) except in a famine or for a necessary religious purpose, or in disease or when he was imprisoned (Yāj. II. 147). These rules prescribed centuries ago compare in their fairness or reasonableness most favourably with the rules of the English law1334 (as they prevailed before the Married Women's Property Act of 1882, 45 and 46 Vict. chap. 75), whereby the husband by the mere fact of marriage acquired 'free-hold interest, during the joint lives of himself and

his wife, in all estates of inheritance and life estates of which she was seised at the marriage or became seised during coverture, and an absolute interest in all the wife's personal chattels.

Nārada\(^{1335}\) (strīpuṇsa, v. 89) does not allow the husband or wife to lodge a complaint against one another with their relations or with the king. The Mit. on Yāj. II. 294 remarks "though a judicial proceeding between husband and wife as plaintiff and defendant before the king is forbidden, still, if the king comes to know personally or indirectly of wrong done by the one to the other, the king must bring round the husband or the wife to the path of duty by appropriate punishment, otherwise the king incurs sin". There were certain matters of which the king could take cognisance without the complaint of anybody: they were called aparādhas (they are ten) among which were included the murder of a woman, 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 (strīpuṇsa, 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

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. Vide Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 63-64, Manu III. 55-62, Yaj. I. 71, 74, 78, 82, Vas. Dh. S. 28. 1-9, Atri vv. 140-141 and 193-198, Adiparva 74. 140-152, Śāntiparva 144. 6 and 12-17, Anuśāsana 46, Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 21. 69-76. The Kāmasūtra III. 2 says that women are like flowers (kusumasadhaṁ hi yositah). It has been seen (pp. 146-147) how way was to be made by all for the bride and the pregnant woman and it will be shown that the general opinion was that no woman was to be killed on any account (with one or two exceptions in ancient writers). Some of the 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. 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 Varuṇapraṇāsāṁ.

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(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, Sat. Br. II. 5. 2. 20, Katyāyana 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 Urvāśī); Rg. V. 30. 9 'women are the weapons and army of the dāsa'. The Tai. S. VI. 5. 8. 2. 1342 says 'therefore women are without strength, take no dāya (portion) and speak more weakly than even a wretched man'. This passage (which really refers to women not being entitled to a portion of Soma drink) is relied upon by Baud. Dh. S. (II. 2. 53) and 1344 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 Sat. Br. (S. B. E. vol. 44, p. 446) says that woman, śūdra, a dog and a crow embody un-truth, sin and darkness (XIV. 1. 1. 31). The same Brāhmaṇa (IV. 4. 2. 13, S. B. E. vol. 26, p. 366) remarks 'the wives being smitten (with ghee—the thunderbolt) and unmanned neither rule over themselves nor over dāya (share of property)' 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. खियो हि ब्राह्मणा आदुपादि चके फिं का कर्ययात्ता अस्व सेना। स्र. 
V. 39. 9; त्सामाखियो नितिकिया अदुपाद्रीरं पापार्दुसं उपसितं वदृढः। तै. सं. 
VI. 5. 8. 2.

1344. नितिकिया अवायुगः खियो महा इति व्यक्तिः। भी. ध. स. II. 2. 53; नास्ति 
क्रीणा किंग मन्नवितिः पदम् व्यक्तिः। नितिकिया श्रावायुगः खियंश्वतात्मिनिः स्थितिः। भा 
IX. 18.

1345. खियो एका आदुपादेन ते विस्तर ब्राह्मणाधिकृष्ण पर्शनीनिस्याजुविस्ता हुता निष्पद 
नामन्यं वेषं न व्यापसं वेषं। 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 declare⁴ 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 raksā (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) adds⁴ 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 sapindas 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.⁴ 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).¹²⁴⁸

(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. अस्तनव्य: धृष्टं कृतं । अस्तनव्य: धृष्टं पुरविधधागतः ॥ बसिज्ज्ञा V. 1 ॥ अस्तनव्य: धृष्टं कृतं । अस्तनव्य: धृष्टं पुरविधधागतः ॥ बसिज्ज्ञा V. 1 ॥

¹³⁴⁷. शुद्धं भरस्युद्धारं यति: । तत्समुद्धारं भर्तनि: स च ईश्वरं ॥ परिश्रवये विशिष्ठे नितं गणे नितं गणे ॥ तत्समुद्धारं वसिज्ज्ञा ॥ महामाये ॥

¹³⁴⁸. नालिन्त श्रीमान्युध्यो नान्युध्यो नायुध्यो ॥ भौ मनवस्थानं तोकस्वर्द्विषाणि ब्रजजिः ॥ मार्कंश्य 16. 61.

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cited below. ‘The Sūtrakāra concludes that women are untruth’ (Anuśāsana 19. 6); ‘there is nothing more wicked than women, who are the edge of a razor, poison, snake and fire in one’ (Anuśāsana 38. 12 and 29); there may be at most one pativrata in hundreds of thousands of women’ (Anuśāsana 19. 93); ‘women are really uncontrollable but remain within bounds as regards their husbands simply because other men do not woo them and because they are afraid of servants’ (Anuśāsana 38. 16); vide also Anuśāsana chap. 38. 24-25, chap. 39. 6-7 (women have the tricks of the demons Śambhara, 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’ (Aranyakanda 45. 29-30). In an uncharitable mood Manu (IX. 14-15) gives to women the following character ‘they are lascivious, fickle-minded, devoid of love and come to dislike their husbands and resort to another man, whether handsome or ugly, simply because he is a man.’ ‘It is the nature of women to tempt men; therefore the wise do not act heedlessly with young women, who are able to lead a man astray whether he be learned or not’ (Manu II. 213-214 = Anuśāsana 48. 37-38).

Brhat-Parāśara (Jīvananda’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.’

There are some writers who even in ancient times could not bear the undeserved censure of women and most vigorously
protested against the injustice of these accusations. Varāha-
mihira (6th century A. D.) in his Brhat-Samhitā 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 1358 '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, 1254 Bāna and Bhavabhūti, in the classical period

1353. चेतन्यनां मनपति दौषिण्यसारमामिग्न स्मार विहाय। से दुर्ज्ञो मे भ् भनसो
विक्रेता: सद्धार्थायांति न तानि तेवाय। प्रभृत सरये कन्दर्षेन्द्रानां दौषक्ष सो नानावितो
नुकिन्तः। धारान्तिरुंगिं भ्रमण्यमिन्ता सुमातिकाताः महुः कोशिका। जाप्या च स्वा-
जातिविभा य यासांभव: क्रोडीतो दुर्बाम्। हे कुष्ठास्त्योगिन्यः कुर्वतं व: क्रुत: कुष्ठम्।
अहो धारामम्पात्तूनै तिन्तुतामन्त्रः विधिः। सुषणानिष्ठा प्राचिरी वीरित जल्याय।
कुष्ठास्त्योगिन्यः कुर्वतं वानिर र्यों न तानिर पथम्। कुष्ठास्त्योगिन्यः क्रुत: कुष्ठाम्;
स्वार्थास्तिकम् र्यों नानावितो। चूहस्रिंहिता 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 Baud. 28. 4 and 9.

1354. कालिकादिम आदिदिकुलवत् भवहुकुलवत् भयं करिक्ग न से इत्याद। चेतन्यनाति
दौषिण्यसारमामिग्न स्मार विहाय। से दुर्ज्ञो मे भ् भनसो
विक्रेता: सद्धार्थायांति न तानि तेवाय। प्रभृत सरये कन्दर्षेन्द्रानां दौषक्ष सो नानावितो
नुकिन्तः। धारान्तिरुंगिं भ्रमण्यमिन्ता सुमातिकाताः महुः कोशिका। जाप्या च स्वा-
जातिविभा य यासांभव: क्रोडीतो दुर्बाम्। हे कुष्ठास्त्योगिन्यः कुर्वतं व: क्रुत: कुष्ठम्।
अहो धारामम्पात्तूनै तिन्तुतामन्त्रः विधिः। सुषणानिष्ठा प्राचिरी वीरित जल्याय।
कुष्ठास्त्योगिन्यः कुर्वतं वानिर र्यों न तानिर पथम्। कुष्ठास्त्योगिन्यः क्रुत: कुष्ठाम्;
स्वार्थास्तिकम् र्यों नानावितो। चूहस्रिंहिता 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 Baud. 28. 4 and 9.
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 śruti works. Gaut. (II. 56) first says that the akṛṣṭa (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 paśita) is never an outcast to the son.’

The acārya exceeds by his greatness ten upādhyāyas, the father exceeds a hundred acāryas, a mother exceeds a thousand fathers’ says Manu II. 145 (= Vas. Dh. S. 13.48). Śāṅkha-Likhita gives a very salutory 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 Sautrāmāni sacrifice.’

Yāj. I. 35 holds that the mother is superior to the guru, acārya and upādhyāya. The Anuśāsana parva (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. आचार्य: भेद गुरुणं मातेयके । भै. II. 56; माता इत्यतः धृतसि कर्मयायामपि तत्यथं गुरुपरं निस्म गुर्दितेयमायि । आप. प. चू. I. 10. 28. 9; पञ्चितमाहि दू मातारं चिर्यमात्रभिन्नमापि । वै. चू. II. 2. 48; पलितं पिता परिश्रायि माता हुं ते न पति। वसिद 13. 47.

1356. न मातापित्रोपरं ग्योपयुजनं । कामं मातृप्रसस्यदृष्टान् हि प्रतिप्रणी पौष्टिक च । न युज: पलितश्वेतान्यत्र सीमापरिणामीवन्दनमातुं । स्मृतितस्य प्रचित विषयाय सत्तामत् च प्रसे यदव । सुदर्शनम स्वात्मानस्य स्वात्मानं सिद्धां च नि स्वात्मास्य च। वसिद 267. 31; ‘माता गुरुपरं निस्म: । वनर्च 313. 60; पलितं बेहुलार्यं नातिस्म च: परं तव । युज: चुनावार्यं निर्मित्तिः होः परं च । अवि 151; पलितं सच्चित्यं प्रश्वायिं नातिस्म च:। वसिद 343. 18.
Pandava heroes pay the highest honour to their mother Kunti. The Adiparva chap. 37 says that one may avert the consequences of all curses, but a mother's curse can never be averted.

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 Pūrvamāṃsā system must not be lost sight of. The maxim is stated by Śabara (on Jainini II. 4. 21) as follows: 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 woman as regards partition and inheritance will be discussed in detail later on. But a brief statement about them may be made here. Āp., Manu, and Nārada do not allow the widow of a sonless male to succeed as heir, while Gaut. 28. 19 appears to contemplate that she is an heir along with sapindas or sgotras. That the widow's right to succeed as heir to her deceased husband was not recognised in ancient

1358. सर्वदेशम् शापानं पतियां वि विषयते। न हु मात्राधिकारां संख्या: कर्म विचारे॥ आदिपर्व 37. 4.

1359. एकलेखपिष्प हरसी ग्रंथायासितमातिविचारानि। जै. II. 4. 21; 'व हि निन्ध्रा निन्ध्रां निन्ध्रां पुलं प्रत्ययते। किं ताहि निन्ध्राविविन्ध्राविविन्ध्राप्रत्ययनि। तत्र न निन्ध्राप्रत्यय प्रत्ययो शास्त्रे किं विन्ध्राप्रत्यय प्रत्ययनि।' शास्त्र (p. 640); the तत्त्वार्थिक on जै. I. 2. 7. (p. 115) has 'यथा व्याख्यतं न हि निन्ध्रा निन्ध्रां निन्ध्रां प्रत्ययं प्रत्ययं अपि इ विन्ध्रां विन्ध्रां प्रत्ययं प्रत्ययं।' विदे आदिपार्वर्तिक p. 808 for the same maxim.

Vide आदिपार्वर्तिक on बृहदारण्यकभाष्यार्थिक p. 808 for the same maxim.
times is clear from the Śakuntala (Act VI) where the minister writes to the king that the estate of a merchant dying at sea will escheat to the crown and will not go to his widow. Yāj. II. 135. mentions the widow as the first heir of a sonless man dying separate; Viṣṇu, Kātyāyana and others say the same. So in medieval times the rights of widows to property were better recognized than in the times of the early sūtra writers. In this respect the position of women improved in medieval times, though in the religious and other spheres their position became worse, as they were equated with śūdras. Yāska while explaining Rg. I. 124. 7 states that in the southern countries the widow of a sonless man goes to an assembly hall, stands upon a stool and when the members strike her with dice she gets the property of her deceased husband. This implies that in Northern India widows did not succeed to their husband's property in Yāska's time.

1360. अन्नात्रेव पुस्त एति परीशी गतर्फिगि सनये धनानाय। ऋग. I. 124. 7; गर्त्र-रोहिणीं धनलाभाय दाशिणान्। गर्भः सभास्वायः। शुभः। सर्पसंगरी भवति। ते तत्र या अद्याब्रबा अपतिका सा आदर्शिति वा तत्र अक्षेप आप्याति सा रिमंत्य लभते। निर्द्ध. 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 vidhava occurs several times in the Rgveda (e.g. IV. 18. 12, X. 18. 7, X. 40. 2 and 8); but these passages contain very little that is indicative of their condition in society except Rg. X. 40. 2 (vide under niyoga). Rg. I. 87. 3 1362 says ‘in the rapid movements of the Maruts the earth trembles like a woman deprived of her husband.’ That shows that widows trembled either from sorrow or from fear of molestation and ill-treatment.

The Baud. Dh. S. 1363 II. 2. 66-68 prescribes that the widow of the departed should give up for one year honey, meat, wine and salt and should sleep on the ground; according to Maudgalya (she should so act) for six months; after that period, if she is sonless, she may procreate a son from her brother-in-law if the elders consent. Vas. Dh. S. (17. 55-56) contains similar provisions. Manu (V. 157-160) contains rules that have been repeated in almost all smṛtis ‘a woman when her husband is dead, may, if she chooses, emaciate her body by subsisting on flowers, roots and fruits, but she should not even take the name of a stranger male. Till her death she should be forbearing, observe vows, should be celibate and should hanker after that super-eminent code of conduct that is prescribed for women devoted to their husbands. On her husband’s death, if a virtuous woman abides by the rule of celibacy, she goes to heaven though she be sonless, as the ancient perpetual


1362. जैम्स म्यार्टिन विपुरेश येन्ती शूमिनिगिदात यदि युक्ते छ्वम। कृ. I. 87. 3.

1363. संचरण मैत्रेयसमसिद्धान्तमाछा रूपिकुम् कर्मसंचार च। वर्णमालाचिनि मौकूल|। अत उत्तरेच्चुटमित्यत्ताचेतिसंयुतमपस्य। वै. प. ङ. II. 2. 66-68.
students (like Sanaka) did'. Kātyāyana 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 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'. Vyḍḍha-Hārīta (XI. 205–210) prescribes what a widow should do all her life. 'She should give up adorning her hair, chewing betel-nut, wearing perfumes, flowers, ornaments and dyed clothes, taking food from a vessel of bronze, taking two meals a day, applying collyrium to her eyes; she should wear a white garment, should curb her senses and anger, she should not resort to deceits and tricks, should be free from laziness and sleep, should be pure and of good conduct, should always worship Hari, should sleep on the ground at night on a mat of kuşa grass, she should be intent on concentration of mind and on the company of the good.' Bāna in his Harsacarita (VI, last para) indicates that widows did not apply eye-salve to their eyes nor rocanā (yellow pigment) to their face and simply tied their hair. Pracetas 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 Ādīparva (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
husband is dead'; while the Śāntiparva (148. 2) remarks: 'all widows are in sorrow even if they have many sons.'

The Skandapurāṇa (Kāśīkhanda, chap. 4, vv. 71-106 and III Brahmāraṇya 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 Nirnayasantī, Dharma-
sindhu and other nibandhas. A few striking verses may be translated here. The Skandapurāṇa (III, Brahmāraṇya section chap. 7, verses 50-51) says 'The widow is more inauspicious than all other inauspicious things; at the sight of a widow no success can be had in any undertaking; excepting one's (widowed) mother all widows are void of auspiciousness; a wise man should avoid even their blessings like the poison of a snake.'

The Kāśīkhanda 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 cāndrā-yaṇa. A widow who sleeps on a cot would make her husband fall (in hell). A widow should never wash her body with fragrant unguents nor should enjoy the fragrance of sweet smelling things; she should everyday perform tarpāṇa with sesame, water and kuśa grass for her husband, his father and grandfather after repeating their names and gotra; she should not sit in a 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, Kārtika and Māgha.' The verse 'vidhavā-kabari-bandho &c' (Skanda,
Kāśikhanda 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 ‘vidhava-kabarl-bandho’ is of doubtful validity (p. 594). Besides 69 verses of this chapter 4 are common to chap. 7 of the Dharmarāṇya section of the Skandapurāṇa (III) which precedes it. There is no reason why they should have been repeated. The Nirnayasindhu quotes a passage from the Brahmapurāṇa as cited in the Pṛthvīcandrodaya to the effect that śrāddha food should not be got prepared by a widow belonging to another gotra.1371

The position of the Hindu widow was miserable and her lot was most unenviable. She was looked upon as inauspicious and so could take part in no festivities, such as those on marriage. She had not only to lead a life of perfect celibacy, even if she was a child widow, but she had to act like an ascetic, being poorly fed (only once a day) and poorly clad. Her rights to property were negligible. Even if the husband died sonless she did not originally succeed as shown above (p. 582). Later on her position as an heir was improved; but even then she could ordinarily enjoy only the income of the property and could transfer it only for the legal necessities of the family (including herself) or for the spiritual benefit of her husband. In a joint Hindu family a widow had only the right of maintenance (except in Bengali 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. उधीच्छेदितेषु मायः । जनसंतो भ पालिव दुखार्थि पतिताः तथा । र्यस्येनौप्राइ तथा वर्णां विधाय वार्ष्यगोविष्णाः । .... वर्जनेयेनुष्ठ्याः सर्वायणम्यतिविद्विषेषाः ॥ निर्णय-सिद्धां । उद्धरणं p. 417.

The Duties of a widow

One subject that arouses bitter controversies is the practice of tonsuring widows among brâhmanas and certain other castes. A few words must be said on this. It is clear from the verse (vidhava-kabari-bandho &c.) of the Skandapurâna quoted in the Madanapârijâta and other nibandhas that for some time at least before the 14th century A. D. (when the Madanapârijâta 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, Ap. M. Pâtha I. 4. 9, and Atharvaveda 14.2. 60, Rg X. 40. 2 (cited below p. 606) refers to vidhava 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 ‘vidhava’ in the Nirukta (III. 15 vidhâvanâd-vâ iti Carmaśirâḥ). Carmaśiraś 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 vidhava (‘having only the bare skin on her head’). About this interpretation the less said the better. Ap. M. P. I. 5. 9 contains the word ‘vikeśi’ which is translated as the appellation of a female goblin in S. B. E. vol. 30 p. 187 ‘mayst thou not be beaten at thy breast by she goblin, the rough haired’1373 one’. Even taking ‘vikeśi’ as referring to the maiden who is being married the meaning is ‘mayst thou, with dishevelled hair, not beat thy breast (through grief)’. The word ‘vikeśi’ does not mean ‘a widow whose hair is tonsured’; it ordinarily means ‘a woman

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1373. ना ते युः निनिः घोष उत्थान्यर्था स्युतास्यः संविशारङ्। ना त्ये विकेषुदु आ-

पविद्धा जीवनस्य पतिभिंको विराज प्रवर्तनी प्रजा हमनसयमानाः॥ आप. म. पा. इ. 5. 9.

Vide आप. य. V. 1 where this सन्यास along with others is prescribed for offering शूलिटिस in the marriage rite. It is also employed for the same purpose in विश्वरय. य. I. 19. 7, भारभ्राय य. I. 14.
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with dishevelled hair'. The third passage is Atharvaveda,\textsuperscript{1374} 14. 2. 60, that is a verse in a marriage hymn which means 'if this daughter of thine has bewailed with loosened hair in thy house, doing evil by her wailing, from that sin let Agni and Savitṛ release thee'. Here it is impossible to hold that 'vikeśā' 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 Sayāṇa on this passage but elsewhere in the Atharvaveda when that word occurs as in Atharva XI. 9. 14 he paraphrases it by 'vikṛnakeśā' which does not mean 'with tonsured hair' but only 'having dishevelled hair'. Therefore there is no reference whatever to the tonsure of widows in the Veda, much less an injunction as to it. In the Baud. Pitṛmedhasūtra,\textsuperscript{1375} elaborate rules are laid down about the cremation of one who had kindled the sacred Vedic fires. In I. 4. 3 it is said 'his wives led by the youngest should follow the cortege with dishevelled hair and throwing dust on their shoulders' and this they have to repeat several times (\textit{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 (amātīyas) 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 'keśānām raṇjanam' is to be dissolved as 'keśānām raṇjanam' and not as 'keśāśca raṇjanam ca' (as Vṛddha-Hārīta XI. 103 makes it clear by employing 'keśānām raṇjanārtham vā'). It can be shown that...

\textsuperscript{1374} यदि ये दुहिता तत्व विक्रिप्तकोशादस्य संबोध्यै प्रभृत्य भुज्यम्। अया तं तस्मादः संज्ञित च म सहस्यस्य।

\textsuperscript{1375} अया मात्रं किनिह्रमम्। पक्षीकेदाय ब्रजेयुः पंखुदेविलाप्यम्माना: खलच्छ भ्या। स्याध्ये तो एवाछद्य व्यास्त्य। यो विदुःस्थेश्वुर। 1. 4. 3; एवमालाय एवं ल्रिय संयोग\textordine{\textsuperscript{14}} नेशान सर्वादें सर्वादें पुुः प्रलेभसि। 1. 4. 13; एतिप्रमिकेनायमानाय केशस्वरूपी शास्त्रोधुडः ये संभाचिने भवस्य। 1. 12. 7; न क्रीणो श्रेयः दिब्यते न संक्षिप्तौ दका न \textsuperscript{14} \\
\textsuperscript{14} न धुमः प्राक्त्रदीर्घा प्रभु किरकाने बनासीति बिज्ञाप्याते। II. 3. 17.
The tonsure of widows

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 tonsure of widows. In the Harsacarita, Harṣa in his soliloquy on the death of his father Prabhakaravardhana says ‘may the Glory of super-eminent man-hood tie up her hair in the way in which widows tie up their hair’. In the Pehoa praśasti of king Mahendrapāla of Kanoj (E.I. vol. 1. p. 246 verse 16) the widows of his enemies are spoken of as shedding tears on their cheeks and having long (not braided) and profuse tresses.

The orthodox pandits rely on a verse in Vedavyāsa-smṛti 'a brāhmaṇa woman should enter fire, clasping the dead body of her husband; if she lives (does not become sāti) she being tyaktakesā should emaciate her body by tapas'. The reading ‘brāhmaṇi’ for ‘jivantī’ is not good, as the word ‘brāhmaṇi’ 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 (ṣosayet), the word ‘tyaktakesā’ being only an attribute of the subject which alone is enjoined. The general rule laid down by the Mīmāṃsā is (III.1.13–15, the grahaikatvanyāya) that the attributes of a subject are no part of the predicate, which alone is enjoined.

1376. e. g. ‘मक्षीणकेशा भोजनीः कुशरिति साधव। श्रीपर्व १६. १८ (वाल्मीकि describes her daughters-in-law); ‘मक्षीणकेशा सुभोजनों कुर्षोऽख्यनभावनाय।’ श्रीपर्व १७. २५; vide श्रीपर्व २१. ६, २४. ७, आयुर्मात्राभिर्वर्ग २५. १६; ‘मक्षीणकेशा सबों कुर्षोऽख्यनभावनाय।’ श्रीपर्व ७. १७. (on the death of Vasudeva).
1377. तथावतू वैपदवेद्यां वरमयुष्यत। हर्षचारित ५. (५वीं बारी से); vide हर्षचारित ६. (लास बारी से) उपरोक्त नोट में उल्लिखित.
1378. कर्तव्यविधाताप्रपसुवचा: भिभक्तस्वनिश्चिताः ज्ञाताः। सिसिसुकुर्षुवतेवपविश्विष्य: सर्वलिपुब्राह्मजेतकला:। (E.I. vol. 1 p. 246 verse 16).
1379. युन्त भाज्यास्मात् भाज्याः विवेगमाविसिद्र। श्रीवत्सी (v.I. श्रीवत्सी) चेतु र्यक्षकेशा तपसा शोपैयूः वदुः। (देवपास II. ५३.
1380. The grahaikatvanyāya is as follows: The text यह संसारदेव 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-māyaūkha 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 vodic 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 tyaktakesā (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 deckiing her hair, (2) one whose hair is given up in accordance with the prescription of some śrūtis that only two finger-breathths 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 Raghuvanśa IX. 14 (where ‘analakāṃ’ is explained by Mallinātha as ‘who have given up ornamenting the hair’). For this meaning of ‘tyakta’ vide Bhagavadgītā I. 33 ‘tyaktajñāvitāḥ’. ‘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 śrūti 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 enjoim tonsure, the verse could easily have been made to read ‘jvanti ced vapet keśān tapasā &c.’ Lastly assuming that Veda-Vyāsa refers to tonsure, there is conflict among śrūtis, since Vṛddha-Hārīta (quoted above) allows her to keep her hair, and since an option results when two texts of equal authority conflict (Gaut. I. 5). 1381

The Mit. on Yāj. III. 325 quotes a text of Manu (not found in the printed Manu) ‘shaving of the hair is not desired in the case of learned men, the king and women, except in the case of one guilty of mahāpātaka or the killer of a cow and a brahma- cārī 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, Bālambhātī. Āpastamba’s sūtra is delivered when the context is about cessation of Veda study (ananḍhyāya). Āp. says ‘(the student) shall cease studying Veda for 12 days if his mother, father or teacher dies. In the

1381. तुस्ववचनविरोधे विकल्पः। मौतस्म I. 5.
1382. रिजिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिमिरिं
case of the death of these he must also bathe for the same number of days. Persons who are younger than (the relation deceased) must shave their hair. Some declare that students who have returned home on completion of brahmacharya 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, sattras, and śikha indicates that only males are in view. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 17 explains at length Áp. 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 sapindas (from the root ‘bhû’ with ‘anu’ to experience) and those who are born after the deceased i.e. who are younger than the deceased (from ‘bhû’ with ‘anu’ to be born after). The Mit. then combines these and remarks ‘those sapindas 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 Áp. 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 sapinda 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 Áp. 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 sapindas and younger) would have

1383. अञ्चुवाविनो च पवित्रपनम् | अप. प. य. तु. I. 3. 10. 6.

1384. वपनं च वेषानिविश्वासनवपापात्मेनोऽक्षम-अञ्चुवाविनो च पवित्रपनम्
इति | अपसचिः | दार्श्न समस्तवत्तिर्यथवाविनो: सपिन्दालेख्यो वाचिविद्येण वपनस्युत्तमः
यथासमस्तपेश्वायामिविद्येवपितो-अञ्चुवाविनो च पवित्रपनमिति | अञ्चु पव्वस्यवत्ती
सपिन्दाविनोऽवस्थेन वपनमिति | अञ्चुवाविनो दुःश्रव्य हृत्य केवलस्युत्तमः | गद्य: भक्तयज्ञ
क्षेत्रे समविश्वेश्वरीसुः। आधानकाले सोमे च वपने सत्यस्य सुतूम्। इति नियमदर्शिनात्।
सिद्धा. वा. III. 17.
to be shaved. The Nirnayasindhu (composed in 1612 A.D.) and the Bālambhāṭṭi (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 Bālambhāṭṭi says “the words ‘on the death of the mother and father’ are only illustrative and so the same rule applies to the husband’s death.” Even conceding all this far-fetched interpretation, there is no authority for the continual tonsure of widows throughout their lives in these passages. It may be noted that the Madanapārijāta which contains the verse (vidhāvā-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 grhya 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 that Buddhist nuns

1385. अनुभविनः पुजारुप हस्तेकः। पुजः पत्नी च चलने कुयाघुप्ते स्थाविचितः। विश्वानाचारितंश्च कुयाघुप्तं समाहितः। उदासयं हस्तेकः त्वारसयं निर्देशितं | उदासयं धार्मिको च समाहितं | \( \text{pp. 591; vide Bhāṣyottara} \)

1386. तथा च वपने हस्तारुपाचरितः सर्वः सर्वमः। पुजः त्वारसयं हस्तेकः निर्देशितं | \( \text{प्रभृतिकक्ष्मानं कर्तव्यं | \text{Vinaya texts} \) p. 321. For Jaina nuns cutting off their tresses or plucking their hair, \text{vide Uttarādhyāyana 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 Skanda-purāṇa text. The practice is dying out and deserves to be suppressed at once, though strange insistence on it sometimes obtains public notoriety. Recently the worshippers in the famous shrine of Viṭhobā at Pandharpur in Mahārāṣṭra prevented an untontsured 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 untontsured widows of all castes (except the so called untouchables), and even Hindu prostitutes in the keeping of Christians or Mahomedans to have darśana in that way. The matter came before a civil court, where it was decided in favour of the widow that no such discrimination could be allowed to prevail, but owing to certain unforeseen circumstances the case did not come before the Bombay High Court.

It would be of interest to many to learn that among one sect (the Tengalai) of the Śrī-vaishnavas (followers of Rāmānuja) tonsure of widows has been forbidden for centuries, though that sect is most orthodox in other matters.1388 The Śrūḍakamalākara 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 Viṣvarūpa, to punish a woman to death for adultery with a man of a very low caste (vide Gaut, and Manu VIII. 371 quoted above on p. 572), but the king had to undergo a slight penance for doing this (vide Yaj. III. 268). 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 गौड़ीयां विभवानां विख्या तुदयते | सूदुकमलाकार p. 59.

1390. श्री वैष्णव चतुर्वृत्ते व श्रीयं त्रस्तुत श्वस्या जीवन्त्या एवाक्षुद्वत हि ति | शतपरं XII. 4. 3. 2.

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upon the king to punish with death those who murder women, children and brāhmaṇas. The Mahābhārata frequently refers to this chivalrous rule. Ādi-parāva 158. 31 says 'those who know dharma declare that women are not to be killed'. The Saṁhāra-parāva 41. 13 prescribes 'one's weapons should not be directed against women, cows, brāhmaṇas, against one who gave livelihood or shelter'. In the Śānti-parāva (135. 14) even thieves are instructed not to kill women. Vide also Ādi. 155. 2, 217. 4, Vanaparāva 206. 46. The Rāmāyaṇa (Bālakāṇḍa) also breathes this sentiment, when Rāma was called upon to kill the ogress Tātākā.

Even for the most serious offence of adultery with a man of a low caste Yāj. II. 286 prescribes for the woman the punishment of cutting the ear &c. Similarly Vṛddha-Hārīta VII. 192 prescribes the cutting of the nose, ear and lip for attempt to murder the husband or her 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 sāṃskāras performed with Vedic mantras and how they came to be regarded as entirely dependent on men. Their position became assimilated to that of the sūdras 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 were 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 āmašrāddha (i. e. śrāddha without cooked food). The same penance was prescribed for killing a sūdra or a woman (Baud. Dh. S. II. 11–12, Parāśara VI. 16). Ordinarily women, children and very old men could not be witnesses (Yāj.

1391. अध्वया बिय इत्याः धर्मसन्ताना धर्मनिग्रहे | आधिवर्ष 158. 31; क्रृष्ण श्रीपु न शब्दाणि पात्रयेतुन बाक्श्येलो च | यथा चालानि श्रवणीय यत्र च स्मरणिः प्रश्नः || सभापथे 41. 13.

1392. ‘क्रृष्णादेश सर्जना; हति चावयादृश्यः’ श्वास. म. p. 112; हिन्दीकाणारि; अवीत्जनयस्थाने; पुनः पुनः; केवलिडङ्गसः; क्रियाः श्रवणसामान्यः | लघुस्तुतिः quoted in स्रोतकामकारक p. 251.

1393. ब्राह्मानिर्वित चेत नात्मवत्तानिर्मिः || कुर्वीस्व विष श्रवणा च कुरु-नमस्तु || विष्णु quoted in स्वतिच. I. p. 181.

1394. क्रृष्णादेश अव्यवस्थ आकर्मणे वाच्यः | अवाक्षराः तथा कुर्वीस्वनामा पार्थवेन तु || मचेतस् quoted in स्वतिचः (आष्ट्र) pp. 491–92.
II. 70, Nārada, ṛṇādaṇā, vv. 178, 190, 191), but Manu VIII. 68, 70, Yaj. II. 72, and Nārada, ṛṇādaṇā 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, ṛṇādaṇā 126, 137, Yaj. 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 Brāha-Nārādiya purāṇa to the effect that women, those whose upanayana has not been performed and śudras have no right to establish the images of Viṣṇu or Śiva.

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 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, Yaj. III. 261). Women 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 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, according to Āp. Dh.

1395. नीयामनिवृत्तानां श्रुतां च नरेष्वर। शयने नाथिकारशिंगति विष्णोव्व बंकरस्य। इति प्रवेशार्दिवे (quoted in श्रुतकलात्कार p. 32).

1396. पतिनेरालः पतिसो भवितयां हुः विष्णु। सा हि परगातिनी। तातिरि। म्याथापेदाः। वसिद्ध 13. 51–53; कण्यास सहस्रेष्ठेऽपि सोयवासामविज्ञान। या। III. 261. The mīta on yā. III. 261 quotes Vas. and a passage from हरसत्तमङ्ग्य to the same effect.

1397. अध्यात्मार्थराजस्तिं लिङ्गो शष्टिण एव च। विष्णु 54. 33, चेवल 30, quoted in mīta on yā. III. 293, चालकृतामाध्यमात्मनम्। वयवन quoted by अयराक्स प. 1199.


1399. अकाल। अर्जितौ।। संविद्ग्नन्तर च चिन्य।। आप। धु। II. 10. 26. 10–11; अकाल। भोजेयो राजपुत्रानाभप्रतिलिपिवाः हुः तत्रणामान।। वसिद्ध 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, sainyāsins and brahmānas 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 (Nārada¹⁴⁰¹ 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 acāra. Āp. Dh. S. II. 11. 29. 15 cites the view that rules not stated in the sutra 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 Āsv. gr. I. 11. 8, Manu II. 223, Vaik. III. 21.¹⁴⁰¹

One interesting question is whether the practice of purdā 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 Āsv. 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. अर्थादश राजः वहिजातोभिजातेऽविभिजातिः। ध्यायन्तः कृतान्त्येष पुनः कर्मयतंतत्मिवादृः। नारदः I. 43.

¹⁴⁰¹. ब्राह्मणसंसारः यदुः विवाहाय भवति मातिः वारः वारः वारः वारः तत्रस्वभवतः। यदुः विवाहाय भावः। पारंपारिक स्त्रीहाथारं तत्स्वारः। ब्राह्मणस्वस्तमाराः III. 21.
look at the spectators with the verse Rg. X. 85. 33. This shows that no veil was worn by the bride and she appeared in public without one. Though in the marriage hymn there is a blessing (Rg. X. 85. 46) that the bride was to dominate over her father-in-law, mother-in-law, sister-in-law and brother-in-law, it appears that that was only a blessing and the heart's wish, but the reality was somewhat different. The Ait. Br. (12. 11) says that the daughter-in-law is abashed in the presence of the father-in-law and goes away concealing herself from him. This indicates that there was some restraint for younger women when they were in the presence of elders. But in the gṛhya and dharma sūtras there is no reference to any veil for women when moving in public. Pāṇini III. 2. 36 teaches the formation of ‘asūryamapaśyā’ (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 Ayodhya-kānda (33. 8) it is said ‘people walking on the public road see to-day Sīta who could not formerly be seen even by aerial beings’. Similarly it is stated in the same kānda (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 Sabhāparva 69. 9 Draupādī 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. समपुर्दातः ब्रूहिमां समेत प्रयत्नः। ब्राह्मणस्य ब्रह्मायाधालतेप्रतिभुदत॥ ब्र. च. X. 85. 33. This occurs in आप. न. प्र. I. 9. 5. and is prescribed in आप. य. 6. 11 for japa after a boy is seated on the bride's lap. In Kāthaka gr. 25. 46 the verse 'sunaṅgallī-iyāṁ' is to be repeated when the bride sees the polester and Arundhatī and is addressed to these latter. In Hir. Gr. 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. तयाचेतसः स्तवः ब्रह्मायांहजमाना नित्यायमेर्यात्मकः सः सेनां भजयमाना नित्यायमेर्यात्मकः। वेद. भ. 12. 11.

1404. या न सक्या पुद्रा युगां दूरेतराकात्यानासि तामथ सीतां पद्यपक्ष समायामगाना जनाना। युद्धसागर 33. 8; पयसेन्यः न युध्ययुजः न युध्ययुजः स्वयंवरे। न तत्र ती नौ बिस्माहे वा बुर्धानां बुर्धेणेक्ष्यः॥ युद्धसागर 116. 28.

1405. भयंक्रर्कृर्तिः सभाः पूर्वः न नयसारी न: शृङ्गम। स नन्द: कौरसेवेषु पुरुषाः धर्मः समानां।। संहारम् 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, Strīparva 9.9-10, Āśrama-vāsī-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 Sthānvīśvara (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 Śakuntala 1406 when Śakuntalā is taken to the court of Dusyanta she is described as wearing a veil. So it must be conceded that ladies of high rank did not appear in public without a veil, but ordinarily women did not wear any veil. It is probably after the advent of the Moslems that the wearing of a veil, which was not quite unknown, became general among Hindu women in Northern and Eastern India. Vide Indian Antiquary for 1933 p.15, where a passage is quoted from the Sāṅkhya-tattva-kaumudi of Vācaspāti (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.
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 smṛtis 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 saṣṭra, a sāpavara 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).’ Gaul. 18. 11 says that a child begotten at the request of a living husband on his wife belongs to the husband. Gaul. (28. 32) says that such a son is called kṣetraja. The wife is called kṣetra¹⁴⁰⁹ (field), the husband of the wife or widow is called kṣetra or kṣetrika (to whom the wife or widow belongs) and the person appointed to produce offspring is called bijin (one who sows the seed) or nijogin (Vas. 17. 64, one who is appointed).

¹⁴⁰⁷. अपनिलिपिक्षांविक्तिवर्धान। युक्तमयादि नागमलियात। पिण्डगोिरतिसंस्करकेयोध्यो पोदिमाणाह। नाविकवाद्येकेको। नातिह्वस्तिपधाय। गौतम 18. 4–8. हरस्वत् explains नातिह्वस्तिपधाय differently ‘प्रथमपतयात्मकीय तिनियों न जनेतिवित्’ (i.e. not more than one son is to be so procreated).

¹⁴⁰⁸. The word युक्त means only the relatives of the husband and not the father of the widow ‘युक्तम समुभुषयुक्तवर्धायो मथुमयां चद्रया न प्रियवत्रण:’ मेधानाथ मदु IX. 59. हरस्वत् differs and explains गौतम 18. 5 as ‘युक्तम: पतियाखि: पिण्डकदेवै निरुक्ता सती संहोर्येत्’. Manu (IX. 60–61 ) shows that some said that only one son could be had by लिपियात, while others held that two could be had.

¹⁴⁰⁹. Vide मदु IX. 32, 33 and 53 for the words क्रेट्र, क्रेट्रिक, क्रेट्रिच; गौतम 18. 11 and आप. ध. शां II. 6. 13. 6 employ the word क्रेट्र for wife and Gaut. IV. 3 has the word ‘bijin’.
The Vas. Dh. S. (17. 56-65) similarly prescribes 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 mūhūrta sacred 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 the estate.

Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 17 (S. B. E. vol. 14, p. 226) defines a kṣetraja 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 (stripūrśa, 80-83) lay down similar rules. Kautilya (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 mātrībandhu 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 sāgotra or mātrībandhu

1410. उर्भयं विद्यादेक्ष्यकोनितस्यस्यत्त्तनित्याय विता भ्राता वा निकेयम् कार्ये। न सोन्मानवास्य व्याधिः वा निकुञ्जनात। व्यायस्मात। बोहसा वर्षाणि। न चे- द्रूमाधवी रवान्। मात्रार्थे शुद्धं पाणिमाध्यवृक्षपशुरुप्रपत्त सब्दास्य धार्मिक्यमुखपासाद- व्यास। रिद्धोभाष्यासि निर्मात। वसिद्धि 17. 56-61, 65.

1411. पाणिमाध्ययुक्तं is the same as बाध्य शुद्धं viz. the last watch of the night (i. e. 3 hrs of an hour before sunrise). Vide वसिद्धि 12. 47, मह 4. 92.

1412. The idea is that the widow must not be moved to the act by a mercenary motive. According to धर्मस्त्रर जो भक्ति भक्ति जो भक्ति whose views are cited in the पीरसिद्धांतक द्वित्तमित्र (p. 633) the widow of a separated sonless man could get the property of her husband only if she submitted to nīyoga, otherwise she was to get only maintenance. Dhārāśvara apparently based his view on some ancient texts. Vas. in the last sentence negatives such
may be appointed to procreate a kṣetraja son, who should get the inheritance. The conditions necessary to allow niyoga were: (1) the husband, whether living or dead, must have no son; (2) the gurus in a family council should decide to appoint the widow to raise issue for the husband; (3) the person appointed must be either the husband’s brother, or a sapinda or sagoatra 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 stripumsa, 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, stripumsa 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, stripumsa 85-86) and a son, born of such intercourse, would be a bastard and not entitled to any wealth (Nārada, stripumsa 84-85) and that he would belong to the bcgotter (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. Yaj. II. 234 makes such a person liable to be sentenced to a fine of one hundred putas. 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. ब्रद्धुष्य पयात्ततो वा राजा मातुश्युतुत्युण्यस्तानन्तानामस्वतमेहन क्षेत्रेण विजुक्तः हृदयाणन्ते। कौटिल्य (I. 17. p. 35); क्षेत्रेण वा जनवृद्धिस्य मिधुक्तः क्षेत्रेण सुभूि। सानात्युण्यः सवासो यथा तस्मी तद्विदमेहासम। कौटिल्य III. 6 (p. 163).

1414. चृत्तनामययात्तराणि वैशैतानिविवेदने या। मुहान्यस्य पारिहस्य काव्यवाच्यम- संसून्धरम्। नात्रु (ब्रह्मस) उन्नीत हिष्ठयो यथा। इ. 68 त्यथा धृतायज्ञवले कामयुतिनिरोपार्थम्। तत्तथातिपुण्यादि वैकारिकतादु दुःपितम।

1415. अनिचुद्रात् तु वा सारी वेदसाधनयथेऽखदम्। जार्णात्मार्षिकीयं तमातुऽध्व- पालित:। नात्रु (ब्रह्मस) 84-85.

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tions that it must not have been very much prevalent and instances must have been rather rare.

While ancient Dharmasūtras like Gautama allowed niyoga, there were other dharmasūtras and writers almost as old as Gautama that condemned the practice and forbade it. Ap. 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 sāgotra 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 Aupajānghani 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 Ap. 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 dvijatis a widow should never be appointed to raise issue from another, for by doing so ancient dharma would be violated, that in the mantras relating to marriage there is no reference to niyoga nor is the remarriage of a widow spoken of in the procedure about marriage, that niyoga is a beastly way and was first brought into vogue by king Vena who thereby caused varna-saṅkara, 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. अविषिष्कृत हि परं पापे तत्र यथाप्रकमे खलु युन्मभयेऽवरेक। नियमार्थवियो वर्षापान्युत्त्र एवमार्थमणापवात्। अप. ध. श. II. 10. 27. 5–7.

1417. An ओपन्धिनि or -हृणि is a teacher mentioned in the end of Br. Up. II. 6 and IV. 6. इवामीयमीयध्यौतिज्ञ ब्रीणा ज्ञातक नो गुरू। यतौ वर्षाय सादूने जनसिद्धुः पुरूसेनुः प्रेतादयः पुरूस यथाय परेव समसावने। तत्समाज्ञायी रशिः विषयं परेतस्य। अयमस्ता रश्य तन्मुतेत्त श्व। श्वेत्रेश्वो ब्रह्मणि दासूः। जननिद्धि: पुरी भविति सार्वराये नोद वेति कुते सन्मेतद। श्वी: ध. श. II. 2. 39–41=अप. ध. श. II. 6. 13. 6 (with slight variations). सत्यवद्युराण 49. 13 has the half verse रेतायां यथे गुजः परेत यस्माद्वानः। 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 ‘vidhava’ 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 ‘vidhava’ means ‘a widow whose husband died after marriage was completed.’ To say the least, this contravenes the canon of Mimāmaśa interpretation that the same word in the same passage or context should have only one meaning. Bṛhaspati1418 refers to the fact that the Manusmṛti first described the ancient niyoga and then forbade it and adds that in former ages men possessed tapas and knowledge and could strictly carry out the rules while in dvāpara and kali ages there is great deterioration of power and so men of these times cannot now practise niyoga. The several kinds of sons will be dealt with under vyavahāra.

The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (15. 3) contains an innovation which is not found in the sūtras of Gautama and Vasiṣṭha viz. the ‘kṣetraja is one1419 who is procreated on an appointed wife or widow by a sāpīḍa of the husband or by a brāhmaṇa.’ The Mahābhārata is replete with cases of niyoga. Adiparva (95 and 103) narrates how Satyavatī pressed Bhīma to procreate sons for his younger brother Vicitravīrya (who was dead) from his queens and how (Ādi, 103) when Bhīma refused Vyāsa ultimately was appointed by Vyāsa’s mother Satyavatī and procreated Dṛtarāstra and Pāṇdu. Kumārilabhaṭṭa1420 replies to

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1418. उसकी नियोगी छूनिना निविश्व: स्वयंमेव हूँ। यमकरामाज्ञानोथे कल्याणेविधा
मन्तः: तत्रात्मानानन्य: कस्त्रेतावृणे नयः। ह्यारे च कत्री युग्गा साक्षादाषिकिनिनित्तः।
अनेकवधा: छर्ता: युग्गा सायतिभिषु पुरातनः। न लभ्यं देवसु युग्गान अन्तः शाक्षादाषिकिनिनित्तः।
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1419. नियुक्तां नियुक्तां नियुक्तां नियुक्तां नियुक्तां नियुक्तां नियुक्तां नियुक्तां नियुक्तां नियुक्तां नियुक्तां नियुक्तां नियुक्तां नियुक्तां नियुक्तां नियुक्तां

1420. The objector says ‘कृष्णेऽपि प्रर्व युग्गादिकविचारचर्या विषयविचारविचारचर्या
ब्रह्मविद्यालयसमस्तयः’ (तत्त्वार्थानि p. 203 on जै. I. 3. 7) and the reply is
‘हृदयास्यायिः कृष्णेऽपि प्रर्व युग्गादिकविचारचर्या
विषयविचारविचारचर्यांकल्पानुप्रयोगानुप्रयोगानुप्रयोगानुप्रयोगानुप्रयोगानुप्रयोगानुप्रयोगानुप्रयो
संस्कृतविद्यालयसमस्तयः’ (तत्त्वार्थानि p. 208 (on the same sūtra).
the objector finding fault with Vṛṣṇiṣa by saying that Vṛṣṇiṣa followed Gaut. (18. 4–5) and the urgent request of his mother and besides his tapas saved him from the effects of violation of dharma. Pāṇḍu himself is said to have asked Kunti to procreate sons for him by ṛiṇga from a brāhmaṇa endowed with great tapas (Adi. 120) and tells her certain stories of ṛiṇga (Adi. 120–123) and winds up by saying that three sons is the limit and that if a fourth or a fifth were procreated the woman would be svātriṣṭi (a wanton woman) and bandhakī (harlot). Adiparva (chap. 64 and 104) states that when Paraśurāma tried to exterminate the kṣatriyas thousands of kṣatriya widows approached brāhmaṇas for the procreation of sons. Vide Adiparva, chap. 104 and 177, Aṃśāsana, chap. 44, 52–53, Śānti 72, 12 for other references and examples of ṛiṇga.

Owing to the bewildering and often conflicting rules about ṛiṇga in the smṛtis, commentators like Viśvarūpa, Medhāśīthi, who wrote at a time when ṛiṇga 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 ṛiṇga 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 ṛiṇga was both forbidden and allowed). A fourth view (which seems to be the view of Viśvarūpa himself) was that the smṛti texts about ṛiṇga refer to śūdras (Manu IX. 64 uses the word ‘dvijāt’i’) 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

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1421. नातकत्वसुः प्रस्वरायस्पतिपर श्रद्धुत। अत: परे स्वारिष्टि स्मारवठिकी परशमे भवेत्॥ आदिपर्व 123. 77.

1422. ब्राह्मण: क्षत्रिय: राजनु सुनार्थयो:भिन्नविकः:। अतातुः नरस्पाय:ं न कामाकामानुः तथा ॥ तेषांश: लेष्तिरेव गम्य: क्षत्रियाः: सहस्र:। आदिपर्व 64. 5–7; एवर्त्ते सत्याभिषेकः। क्षत्रियो: स्वारिष्टि। जाती। परस्यंवज्जा चोधेवास्ते महेन्द्र:। आदिपर्व 104. 56; ब्राह्मणोऽक्षत्रियोऽनुप्रामे:परिवर्त्यान्तः। विचित्रितिःक्षेत्रेण यच: समुपाक्षियांनान:॥ आदिपि 105. 2; परस्यंवज्जा यथेत् क्षध वनां तेषां पातिम्। शालित 72, 12.


1424. एवं तात्त्वज्ञातो नियोगमानिस्त्वं। विचर्य क्रस्य अन्ते कुलां। विचयत क्रस्य at the end of his com. on I. 69. A little above विचय remarks that there is a usage of नियोग among śūdras.
verses of Vṛddhamanu and a gāthā of Vāyu. Viśvarūpa further says that the procreation of sons by Vyāsa from the queens of Vicitravirya should be paid no heed (i.e. is not to be relied on) like the marriage of Draupadi (to the five Pāṇḍavas).

The Mahābhārata probably reflects what happened owing to the incessant internecine wars among the princes of India. Whole princely houses must have been slaughtered. If niyoga was prevalent among them, the males appointed, when they had to be of the same caste, would have been ordinary soldiers (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 brāhmaṇas for appointment, as the latter were deemed to be higher than even kings in the spiritual domain. It is impossible to believe that brāhmaṇas, who had no temporal power, could coerce the proud and warlike caste into choosing brāhmaṇas for niyoga, unless the teaching of the smṛtis fell in with the notions of the ruling houses 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. Nirukta III. 1-3 supports this view and relies on Rg. VII. 4. 7-8. Gaut. 18. 9 and Manu IX. 181 state the same rule. Ap. 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, Adiparva 104. 6. A third view was that the son belonged to both the begetter and the owner of the wife. This is the view of Nārada (śṛṇḍuṁs, 58), Yaj. II. 127, Manu IX. 53, Gaut. 18. 13.

1425. तथा च हुदजाः। शुद्धाणासेव धर्मांसे परथः मृदाक्ष्यस्माः। लोमास्मूधेत्
विविधः। विनिर्देशेऽपि चिर्येः। वायुपत्रः तथा गायाः परस्यस्माः मन्निश्विषः। विनिर्देशः स
विनिर्देशेऽपि चिर्येः। वायुपत्रः तथा गायाः परस्यस्माः मन्निश्विषः। विनिर्देशः स विद्यार्थिः वेदं च प्रेक्षितं भविष्यति। कथा श्राद्धिः।
1426. तथा च तत्तथा:। तत्तथा च तत्तथार्थे अवायुपत्रोत्तरमां। निश्चयः III. 1.
1427. कथा श्राद्धिः। द्वारकाधिं दुर्ग हति हि वायुपत्रः। आप. ध. च. II. 6. 13. 5; पारिवारिकः तत्तथे। अविष्कर्ते 104. 6.
As shown above (in note 1418) niyoga was forbidden in the Kali age by Brhaspati and it was included among practices forbidden in the Kali age by several works. Vide the Mit. on Yaj. II. 117 and Aparārka p. 97 quoting Brahmāpurāṇa. 1427a

The practice of raising issue from the widow of one's brother or marrying her was a widespread one. Vide Westermarck's 'History of Human Marriage' (1921) vol. III. pp. 207-220. In the Rgveda 1428 X. 40. 2 we read 'what sacrificer invites you (Aśvins) in his house as a widow invites a brother-in-law to her bed or as a young damsels her lover'. But it is not clear whether this refers to marrying the widow of a deceased brother or to the practice of niyoga. Viśvarūpa (on Yaj. I. 69) thinks that this refers to niyoga. The Nirukta (III. 15) explains Rg. X. 40. 2, where in some mss. the word 'devara' is explained as 'a second husband' (dvitiyo varah). Medhātithi on Manu IX. 66 explains Rg. X. 40. 2 as applying to niyoga. According to the sūtras and śrutis 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. 156-157) 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

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1427a. उर्म्ला च। यथा न्यियोऽध्वर्यपि पादात्वप्रधानां निर्माणमयो:। तथोद्वारविभागावपि नैष संस्थित वतेते ॥ इति। मित्रोऽ यम: II. 117; कृतां नु मनोहरसंस्कर्यं ब्रह्मः दुःसंस्कर्यं। ॥ स्थानल्यं व वर्तितुष्यं कन्तरं न कन्तरं च च ॥ महा भरणं quoted by अपारक्ष: p. 97.
1428. कौं कायं वाद्यं विध्येत्वं द्वेंरं वषु न च देवं यस्माते सपस्थ: आः ॥ मर: 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 kṣetraja 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 *punarbhu* 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 ‘*punarbhu*.’\(^{1429}\) Nārada (*śrīpuṁsa, 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 *punarbhu* is of three kinds \(^{1430}\) and the *svairīṇī* (wanton woman) is of four kinds. The three *punarbhus* are: (1) a maiden whose hand was taken in marriage but whose marriage was not consummated; in her case the marriage ceremony has to be performed once more; (2) a woman who first deserts the husband of her youth, betakes herself to another man and then returns to the house of her husband; (3) a woman who is given by the husband’s relatives (when the husband dies) to a sapinda of the deceased husband or a person of the same caste, on failure of brothers-in-law (this is *nigoya* and no ceremony is to be performed). The four *svairīṇīs* are: (1) a woman, whether childless or not, who goes to live with another man through love while the husband is alive; (2) a woman who rejects after her husband’s death his brothers and the like and unites herself with another through passion for him; (3) a woman, coming from a foreign country or purchased with money or oppressed by hunger or thirst, gives herself to a man saying ‘I am yours’; (4) a woman who is given to a stranger by the elders relying on the usages of the


\(^{1430}\) Compare Manu IX. 176 and Viṣṇu 15. 8 for the first *punarbhu*, Manu IX. 176, Vas. Dh. S. 17. 19 and Viṣṇu 15. 9 for the second *punarbhu*.
country, but who incurs the blame of wantonness\(^{1431}\) (as the smṛti rules about niyoga are not observed by them or her). Nārada says that each preceding one of the punarbhūs and svairinīs 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 ‘punah saṁskṛta’; a svairinī 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. Viṣvarūpa on Yāj. I. 67 remarks that the elaborate classification of Nārada and Śaṅkha (3 punarbhūs and 4 svairinīs) 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 ‘punarbhava’ (pati or putra respectively) and not the first husband. Vide Śaṁ. Pr. pp. 740–741. The Sm. C. (I. p. 75) quotes a passage from Baudhāyana and certain verses of Kaśyapa. According to Kaśyapa\(^{1432}\) the seven kinds of punarbhū are: (1) the girl who had been promised in marriage, (2) one who was intended to be given; (3) one on whose wrist the auspicious band was tied by the 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

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\(^{1431}\) 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 svairinī 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 svairinī is described as साहस, as it is no more than vyabhicāra, though with the elder’s permission.

\(^{1432}\) बाल्य वृत नानोपत्त सुकौटकस्मकः। उदधस्पालिता या या य परिश- युःशिनक आस मन्तिति या य इनमुः माति च च य। इत्यतः कश्चिन्नात्स कुल- मंत्रित् कश्यप quoted by स्वल्पित्वः। I. 75.

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the first marriage was not complete because the saptapadi had not been performed. The sixth case is one of completed marriage (though it refers to only going round fire). Baudhāyana’s seven varieties are slightly different, the first two being the same as Kaśyapa’s: the others are (3) one who went round the fire (with the bridegroom); (4) one who took the seventh step; (5) one who has had sexual intercourse (either after marriage or even without it); (6) one who has conceived; (7) one who has borne a child. These meanings of the word punarbhū must be borne in mind when one meets with the word punarbhū in Vedic texts. That even the promise to give in marriage without the performance of any ceremonies was looked upon as tantamount in its consequences to marriage follows from the words of Sukanyakā 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. 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 Kaśyapa or the first four varieties of Baudhāyana and when he speaks of ‘ksatā’ he refers to the seventh variety of Kaśyapa and the last three of Baudhāyana. Vas. Dh. S. 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 (stripūms, v. 97), Parāśara IV. 30 and Agnipūrāṇa 154. 5–6 have the same verse another husband.
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is ordained for women in five calamities viz. when the husband is lost (unheard of), is dead, has become a saṃśyāsin, is impotent or is patīta. 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 patī means only 'pālaka' (guardian). Medhātithi (on Manu III. 10 and V. 163) is not dead against niyoga, but he is opposed to the remarriage of widows. Even the Śaṁtyar-thāṣa (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.

Ap. 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 samāskāra has taken place or who is of a different varna, then sin is incurred; in that case the son also is sinful'. Haradatta quotes Manu III. 174 and says that the son procreated on another’s wife is called kunda 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. 65.
('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 Brahmapuruṣaṇa and other purāṇas forbid remarriage of widows in the Kali age (vide note 1427a 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 sagoṭra, may be married again and remarks that the text refers to the state of society in another yuga. This is the view of all the commentators and nibandha writers. Manu himself (in IX. 176) expressly allows the sāṁskāra of remarriage in the case of a girl, whose first marriage has not been consummated or who left the husband of her youth, went to live with another and returned to the first husband. In this the author of the Manusmṛti probably only reiterates popular usage which was too much for him in spite of his own view (in V. 162) denouncing remarriages. So it may be taken that Manu does not forbid the use of mantras in remarriage, but holds that even after the mantras are recited the remarriage of a widow is not dharmya (approved). It is said in the Mahābhārata (Ādiparva 104. 34-37) that Drghatamas forbade remarriage and also niyoga.\textsuperscript{1440} Manu himself speaks of the sāṁskāra of a pregnant girl (IX. 172-173). Baud. Dh. S. IV. 1. 18, Vas. Dh. S. 17. 74, Yāj. I. 167 speak of the sāṁskāra of remarriage (paunarbhava sāṁskāra). Manu III. 155 and Yāj. I. 222 include the paunarbhava (the son of a punarbhū) among brāhmaṇas that are not to be invited at a śrāddha. Aparārka (p. 97) quotes a passage from the Brahmapuruṣaṇa itself which speaks of a fresh sāṁskāra of marriage for a child widow or for one who was forcibly abandoned or carried away by somebody.\textsuperscript{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 (strīpurīṣa, verses 98-101) gives the

\textsuperscript{1440} एक एव पतिनिधर्मच बालविशिष्ठ पराशरभा। सूरे जीवित व तस्मिनापुरः पाण्डवयान्यत। अविशम्य परे नारी पतिष्ठति न संस्थाप। अपरसे न नारीनामध्यायुक्ति पालकं।। आदि 104. 35-36.

\textsuperscript{1441} यदि सा बालविशिष्ठ बालविशिष्ठकाछ्यावा कामित। तदा दृष्टम संस्कारं यूर्यंतो येन केनविद।। ब्रह्मदर्शण quoted by अपराजेय p.97.
following directions. 'If the husband has gone to a foreign country a brāhmaṇa wife should wait for eight years, but four years if she has not given birth to a child; after that period (of 8 or 4 years) she may resort to another man (then Nārada lays down lesser number of years for kṣatriya and vaiśya wives). If the husband is known to be living then the periods are double of those stated above; this is the view of Prajāpati when no news can be had of persons and hence there is no sin if a woman resorts to another man (in such cases).’ Manu (IX. 76) says ‘If a man has gone to a foreign land for doing some religious duty the wife should wait for him for eight years, six years if he has gone for acquiring knowledge or fame, or three years if he has gone on a love affair (or for another wife).’ Manu does not state what the wife is to do after these years of waiting. Vas. (17. 75-76) requires that ‘the wife of one who has gone to a foreign land should wait for five years and after five years she should go near her husband.’ This may be all right as far as it will go. But if the husband is unheard of, how is she to reach him? Vasiṣṭha says nothing on that point. Viśravaṇa 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 śapindas 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 Rūpaparna that, as Nala was not heard of for many years, Damayanti was going to celebrate a svayāma-vara and Rūpaparna hurries for it and does not think it a strange thing (Vanaparva 70. 24).

1442. अत्रि शर्माप्रकृति बाद्रणी मोहिते पलिते । अवस्थनं ह चतवारी परसारसमायक । ...जीवीत हृदयमणे ह स्वाह्वे ब्रह्मणोऽवधानि । अर्थातृति ह धनाली देवीविन प्रजापि । अतःन्ययमणे हि रणनेति कोपो न विघ्रये । नारद (श्रीरंस ७५. ७८-१०१.)

Ch. XIV | Remarriage when husband unheard of
One question 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. Viśvarūpa commenting on Yāj. I. 63 (on the word 'kaṇḍāpāra') 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 are '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 ksatriya or a vaisya—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 ksatriya or vaisya 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 passage 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. कतन्त्रपुि इति वचनावकासाय एव नैयायिक वानस्। सिता तत्कन्त्रायामि पुरात्तिति केःसिति। विस्तृत्तिः on या. I. 63.

1445. इति वयस्ततोष्य हुः क्रिया् पुरात्ति अवालमणाः। ब्रज्ञास्ति श्रेष्टस्यासाधारस्य एव पतिवेशिः। मार्गम् एव पतियं राजस्यो न वैष्यः। तत्सूभ श्रुतित्ति जनः ग्योद्यो राजनेन्। अध्यायनां। V. 17. 8–9, इति is explained by the निप्रस (e.g. I. 19) generally as अधिष्ठ, whenever it is at the beginning of a verse or पुष्या.

1446. या पूर्वः पति विस्तृत्तिति विन्याधिन्तिः। पश्चात्तत्र स तत्क्रिया वृत्तार्नी न विषवेष्। समानांको हस्यव युनन्तुचारवः पतिः। पश्चात्तत्र पश्चात्तत्र वृत्तिः। अध्यायनां। 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 'daidhisāvya' (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, Hārṣa-carita VI, penultimate para). Among southern and other lower castes widow remarriage has been allowed by custom, though it is held to be somewhat inferior to the marriage of a maiden. Among these castes remarriage is allowed after the death of the husband or during his life-time with the consent of the husband who gives a writing called farkhat or sod-chatti (a deed of release). Such marriages are called pat in Mahārāṣṭra, natra in Gujarāt, udkī in the Canarese districts. In some cases the caste in a meeting assembled takes upon itself to bring to an end a marriage and allows the wife to re-marry. But the Bombay High Court does not recognize the authority of a caste to declare a marriage void or to permit a woman to remarry another person without the consent of the husband and have convicted of bigamy women re-marrying without the

consent of the first husband but with the permission of the caste. In modern times, the Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act (XV of 1856) has been passed mainly through the efforts of Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar. That Act legalises the marriages of widows notwithstanding any custom or interpretation of the Hindu Law to the contrary and declares that the children of such marriages are legitimate. Owing to the sentiment of centuries widow remarriage is still looked down upon and during more than eighty years since the Act was passed not many widows have taken advantage of it. The Census of India for 1931 discloses certain appalling figures. Among infants of less than one year old there were in the whole of India as many as 796 males who were widowers and 1515 females who were widows, among children up to 5 years there were 12799 widowers and 30880 widows (out of these last the Hindus contributed 10266 as widowers and 23667 as widows). It is true that amongst the castes to which most of these must have belonged widow remarriage is allowed by custom, but there must be a certain number of females who are widows before five, who cannot remarry by the custom of the caste and who would not dare to take advantage of the Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act. Between the ages of 5-10, 11-15, 16-20 the numbers of Hindu widows for the whole of India are respectively 83920, 145449, 404167. The age of marriage for girls is rapidly rising owing to economic causes, the spread of literacy among the masses, and the operation of the Child Marriage Restraint Act (XIX of 1929) and it may be hoped that these high figures of child widows will be substantially reduced in the near future. Persons finding fault with Hindu society for large numbers of child widows should not forget one thing. According to Hindu notions every girl must be married at any cost. Hence people rush into child marriages. But there has been no problem of old 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


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 Rigveda and the Atharvaveda have given rise to various explanations and opinion is divided as to whether they refer to niyoga, to the remarriage of widows or to the practice of the immolation of widows. First the two verses Rg. X. 18. 7-8 which are part of a funeral hymn will be set out: ‘Let these women, who are not widows and who have good husbands, sit down with clarified butter used as collyrium; may the wives who are tearless, free from disease and wearing fine jewels (or clothes) occupy the seat in front (first). O woman! raise yourself towards the world of the living; you lie down near this departed (husband); come, this your wifehood of the husband who (formerly) held your hand and who loved you has (now) been fulfilled’. It is somewhat strange that Sayana understands the latter half as an invitation by the husband’s brother to the wife of the departed to remarry him. But that meaning is far-fetched and does not bring out the proper force of ‘hastagrābhasya, ‘patyuh’ and ‘babhūtha’. The Āsv. gr. (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 nāirir &c.’. The same sūtra (IV. 2. 16–18) says that ‘(when a dead body is to
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 ‘udṛṣva’

The Śān. Śr. 8. 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 ‘utthāpinyāḥ’ (verses addressed for making one rise). There is another mantra in the Atharvaveda (18. 3. 1) and Tai. Ār. VI. 1 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 Brhad-devatā (VII. 12) and the Baud. pītmṛśeṣṭā (I. 21. 11). The two verses ‘iyam nārī’ and Rg. X. 18. 8 are employed by the Baudhāyana–Pītmṛśeṣṭā 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 Brhad-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 ‘udṛṣva &c.’ But the Brhad-devatā does not mean that the wife burns herself on the funeral pyre and the brother-in-law contents himself with only repeating a verse to dissuade her. The Rgvidhāna (III. 8. 4) says that the brother-in-law should call back the wife.

1452. इह नारी पति लोकं बुधाना निपततः उप त्वा सर्वं शेषस्। शिवं पुराणम् पालयति तत्परे प्रतिति। येव आ. VI. 1; अद्यथ भर्गो दुस्यस्य वेदीयां। इह नारी......पेशि इति। तत माति विविषतः कच्चे पाण्यभिधिषेवधिष्ठि उद्धिष्ठि......पुषु इति। याः। पितुस्यपद् ई. 8. 1–2.

1453. अभोधनेऽवायस्य सह चित्रपालासूभादित। नी. पितुस्यपद् 8. 7.

1454. उद्धिष्ठि नारीपालवयु परं पल्ल्युरोधाति। ग्रासा कान्यायाः शेषस्य निपत विकालोश्च। ग्रृहेष्वति VII. 13.

1455. अद्यथ भर्गो इति संतानयु पुरुषे पतिः। देवरोद्व्यासः धान्तकोपणिः लिथ ते। कान्यायाः 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 nari', 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 suli 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 gṛhyasūtras and in the Brhad-devatā of Rg. X. 18. 8 shows that they practically are against the burning of widows. It is probable that these authors knew of the custom of niyoga, that it was not then much approved of and so they are silent about it, while the Rgvidhāna which appears to be comparatively a late work takes the verse 'udīrśva' as referring to niyoga (which is most probably referred to in Rg. X. 40. 2 ko vāṁ āyutrā 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 sāṁskāra, that the status of wife-hood arises from that sāṁskāra, that even if the husband or wife became patīta, the sāṁskāra 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 sāṁskāra of marriage performed on her. We have seen (pp. 552-553) that a man was allowed to supersede a wife and marry another or others or to abandon his wife altogether in certain circumstances. But that does not amount to divorce (i.e. dissolution of the marriage tie); the marriage is still there intact. It was also shown (at pp. 610-611) that according to Nārada, Parāśara and a few others a woman was allowed to remarry in case the husband died, or was unheard of &c.; but according to the digests and commentaries these rules apply to a former yuga (age). Therefore divorce in the ordinary sense of the word (i.e. divorce a vinculo matrimonii) has been unknown to the dharmashastras and to Hindu society for about two thousand years (except on the ground of custom among the lower castes). Even when the husband was allowed to abandon the wife for her lapse, still she was in most cases entitled to at least starving maintenance. Therefore tyāga (abandonment) was not only no divorce a vinculo at all but was not even a divorce a mensa et thoro (divorce from board and bed). Later smṛtis and medieval digests could hardly conceive of any ground for which the wife could desert her husband altogether, though Nārada and a few others allowed her to desert one husband and marry another if he was impotent, or became a samnyāsin 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 patīta (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, 71456. Vide विद्वान्य on या. III. 253-254 केचित्य परिप्रेक्ष्य पारदर्शितयिन्ति सेवलित संस्कारितिनिमित्तवादुराधेयस्य । ... तत्र च सति सिद्धान्ताय्य पारदर्शिय न स्वात्त। न च भाषाविज्ञानिदित्तस्यस्योऽध्यक्षस्य हर्षार्थयुक्तवादुराधेयस्य। तत्र च पत्ते विद्वान्य विद्वान्य। आदेव परिप्रेक्ष्येऽपि संस्कारितिनिमित्तवादुराधेयस्य। अतएव तु पत्ते विद्वान्य विद्वान्य। अद्यतनं संस्कारितिनिमित्तवादुराधेयस्य अप्यः द्वितीयः, अतैव ध्यान्तयिन्ति विद्वान्य पारदर्शियाः।
92, 101, 105-106); therefore it follows that a wife could not for ever desert even a patita husband. In modern times the Indian courts have held that mere change of faith or apostasy by a Hindu wife or husband does not ipso facto dissolve the marriage and that if the wife changes her religion and then marries another while the first husband is still living, she would be guilty of bigamy. Mere desertion or separation for many years or even adultery does not dissolve a Hindu marriage (vide 42 Madras Law Journal 276). Only in cases where the husband or wife becomes a convert to Christianity, a special procedure is prescribed for the dissolution of the original Hindu marriage by the Native Converts' Marriage Dissolution Act (XXI of 1866), which is not set out here as it is beyond the scope of this work to do so. Further, those Hindus who marry under the Special Marriage Act (III of 1872 as amended by Act XXX of 1923) can secure divorce under the Indian Divorce Act (IV of 1869). The Malabar Marriage Act (Madras Act IV of 1896) forbids polygamy if the first marriage is registered and allows divorce (sec. 19) among those who are governed by the Marumakkata-yam or Aliyasantana Law prevalent in Malabar.

The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya contains some interesting observations bearing on divorce. '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. brähma, prajāpatya, ārśa and daiva are dharmya (approved), since they are brought about under the authority of the father.


1458. अमोक्या मधुकरानी भिवरी भार्याः। भार्यायाभृत्याः। एवंस्पर्श्यायामोक्यः। श्रीविषयपाराहू दुःश्चमन्याभिमिश्चेष्यायायांक्तिस्य द्वातः। दुःश्चमन्याविश्याः क्री चेन्क्रोक्तमिद्धो वच्चन्याङ्गुलिस्य बद्धायं। अमोक्यो धर्मिकेश्वानानमिति। अधेजः III. 3.

1459. श्रीरमाणाभक्तवरः। पूर्वः धर्मः।। अधेजः 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 gândharva, āsura or rākṣasa form, then the tie may be dissolved by mutual consent, if both have come to hate each other. But he seems to hold that there can be no release at the instance of only one party to the marriage who has begun to feel aversion to the other party in whatever form the marriage may have been performed. Even in this latter case he apparently makes an exception, where physical danger is apprehended by one party from the other.

It is beyond the scope of this work to compare the law of divorce in other countries or under other religious systems. It may be stated, however, that according to the strict theory of the Roman Catholic Church the marriage tie is indissoluble, though decrees of nullity of marriage were sometimes granted by that Church to those who could pay for them. In England after the Restoration divorce could be secured through the Parliament by a private Bill where a divorce a vinculo matrimonii was desired. But this method could be resorted to only by the rich, as the passage of a private Bill for divorce cost at least 500 £. The Ecclesiastical courts in England granted divorces a mensa et thoro on the ground of adultery, cruelty or unnatural offences, though such a divorce did not dissolve the marriage. But this procedure also was costly, as even an undefended suit for divorce a mensa et thoro would ordinarily cost from 300 to 500 £. Then came the Matrimonial Causes Act of 1857 (20 and 21 Vic. chap. 85) by sec. 27 of which a wife could petition for divorce only if she proved that since the celebration of marriage the husband was guilty of incestuous adultery, or of bigamy with adultery, or of adultery coupled with 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 (1Edw. 8 and 1 Geo. 6 chap. 57) allows the husband or wife to petition for divorce on four grounds. It will be noticed

1460. Vide the Gospels of Mark X. 2–12 and of Luke XVI. 18, which altogether forbid divorce.
from this that the absence of divorce and rigorous restrictions thereon are not a peculiarity of the Brahmanical religion or of the caste system, but existed even in so-called progressive, casteless and Christian countries up to very recent times. In modern times even in Roman Catholic countries divorce is allowed on various grounds; and in India too efforts are being made to enact legislation permitting divorce among Hindus for various reasons. And it may be admitted that some legal provision is necessary for securing divorce in hard cases even as to marriages celebrated under the ancient śāstric system on grounds similar to those in the English Act of 1937.
CHAPTER XV

SATī (Self-immolation of widows)

The word is often written as ‘suttee’ in English works and papers. This subject is now of academic interest in India, since for over a hundred years (i.e. from 1829) self-immolation of widows has been prohibited by law in British India and has been declared to be a crime. A portion of sec. 1 of the Regulation XVII of 1829 passed by the Governor-General Lord William Bentinck is set out below. We are now in a position to take a dispassionate view of the practice, to trace its origin and follow its working down to the date of its being declared illegal. It is not possible in the space available here to go into all details. Those interested may read the latest book on the subject by Mr. Edward Thomson.¹⁴⁶¹ The burning

¹⁴⁶¹ ‘Suttee’ (1928), which gives an account of it from the most ancient times, of the efforts made to suppress it by Raja Rama Mohan Roy and the British Government. In an appendix the author gives extracts from the accounts reported by those who witnessed widow burning from 517 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 Fran’ 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 sañi 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 sañi 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 times at such burning nor do the ancient grhyasūtras contain any direction prescribing the procedure of widow burning. It therefore appears probable that the practice arose in Brahmanical India a few centuries before Christ. Whether it was indigenous or was copied from some non-Aryan or non-Indian tribes cannot be demonstrated. None of the dharmasūtras

(Continued from last page)
purity and retirement on the part of the widow is more especially and preferably inculcated and by a vast majority of that people throughout India the practice is not kept up or observed; in some extensive districts it does not exist; in those in which it has been most frequent, it is notorious that, in many instances, acts of atrocity have been perpetrated, which have been shocking to the Hindus themselves, and in their eyes unlawful and wicked........Actuated by these considerations the Governor-General in Council, without intending to depart from one of the first and most important principles of the system of British Government in India that all classes of the people be secure in the observance of their religious usages, so long as that system can be adhered to without violation of the paramount dictates of justice and humanity, has deemed it right to establish the following rules &c.

1462. Raja Radhakant Deo relied upon two verses which he found in the Aukhya śākha of the Tai. S. quoted in the 84th Anuvāka of the Nārāyanīya 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: अभ्यस्वत्वाल तदस्ते धर्मपतित्सः पवित्रविक्षो चार्यिनां तत्तथे राजपतां | इत्य एव अभ्यस्वत्वादितम् हुतगमयो लोकसः सहेऽसोऽः | ज्ञेत्योऽद्ध इत्यादिष्टविष्य ज्ञेत्योऽद्धमहो यज्ञसः सत्यस्ततो स्माम पञ्चुर्वे (pp. 295-296). These, to say the least, are of doubtful authenticity.

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except Visṇu 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 Visṇu-dharmaśūtra\(^\text{1463}\) 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. Madrī, the favourite wife of Pāṇḍu, burnt herself with her husband’s body.\(^\text{1464}\) In the Vīrata-parva Sairandhri is ordered to be burnt with Kīcaka,\(^\text{1465}\) 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, Rohiṇī and Madirā burnt themselves with him and (chap. 7. 73-74) that Rukmini, Gāndhārī, Śaibyā, Haimavati, Jāmbavati among the consorts of Kṛṣṇa burnt themselves along with his body and other queens like Satyabhāma went to a forest for tapas. The Viṣṇupurāṇa also says that eight queens of Kṛṣṇa, Rukmini and others, entered fire on the death of Kṛṣṇa.\(^\text{1466}\) The Sānti-parva (chap. 148) describes how a kapottī (female pigeon) entered fire on the death of her husband the bird.\(^\text{1467}\) In the Śrīparva (chap. 26) the Great Epic describes the death ceremonies performed for the fallen Kauravas, but no mention is made of any widow immolating herself on the funeral pyre though the chariots, clothes and weapons of the warriors are said to have been consigned to fire. From the above it appears

\[^{1463}\text{quoted by the Mit. on Ya. I. 86.}\]

\[^{1464}\text{125. 29 ‘सति 'लिए वित्ताव्रि यो नाथी सम्भवरोह '}; आदि 25. 65 ‘राजः 'लिए राज्य तह समापिपि कलेपिपि। दृष्टिपि हयपिरिपि तत्पिरिपि मियि कुपि।.’}\]

\[^{1465}\text{सैरण्यशास्त्र: सतिरुपिय पह ब्राह्म विलां पलः। विराटन्यपि 23. 8.}\]

\[^{1466}\text{अदृश: महिमयः कायिता कस्मिणीमल्ल्यासभस्तः पकः। उपयोग इरेवथि विविधुस्ता हृदाजन्मष्टी। विष्णुपुराण V. 38. 2.}\]

\[^{1467}\text{पतिब्रता सय्यक्ये महिमयें हुतामकम्यत:। तत्तविविवाक्यां भार्ती राज्ञस्ये।।}\]

\(^{148. 10-12.}\) This passage is quoted in the Mit. on Yṣj. 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 Aparakśa from Paśśinasi, Angiras, Vyāghrapād which apparently forbid self-immolation to brāhmaṇa widows. 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-Vyāśa-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.

In the Rāmāyana, (Uttarakanda 17.15) there is a reference to the self-immolation of a brāhmaṇa woman (the wife of a brahmārshi and mother of Vedavati, who when molested by Rāvana burnt herself in fire). The Mahābhārata (Śriparva 23.34 ff.) on the other hand describes how Krīḍa, the wife of Drona, the brāhmaṇa commander-in-chief of the Kauravas, appeared with dishevelled hair on the battle-field on the death of her husband, but does not say that she burnt herself. It appears therefore that the burning of brāhmaṇa widows began much later than that of ksatriya widows.

The burning of a widow on the death of her husband is called sahamarāṇa or sahagamana or anvūrohaṇa (when she...
ascends the funeral pyre of her husband and is burnt along with his corpse), but anumaranā 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 available (vide Aparārka p. 111 and Madanapārijāta 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 Gāthāsaptasāti (VII. 33) there is a reference to a woman being decked for anumaranā (Nīrṇ. ed.). The Kāmasūtra VI. 3.53 speaks of anumaranā. It has been shown (at p. 579) how Varāhamihira admires women for their courage in being burnt with their husbands. The Harşacarita (Ucchvāsa 5) describes how Yaśomati, 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 anumaranā, who is decked with ear ornaments and wears garlands on her head. Bāna in his Kādambari in a most eloquent and well-reasoned passage condemns anumaranā. The Bhāgavatapurāṇa I. 13. 57 speaks of Gāndhāri’s burning herself on the death of her husband, Dhṛtarāṣṭra. The

1472. ब्रह्मांत्रधृत्ति तस्मिनस्साधी तत्वेणुकालयाद्विषयः। लिख्यारसि सुंधृता विंशेज्यात्‌
वेदकोषिकाः। अनेकनुवाचार्यां न भवेनस्माचार्याः। योगाविका००० न निष्ठुरे आदीं। नागोति
शास्त्रानां। ब्रह्मारण विभूति किं न भवेनस्माचार्याः। योगाविका००० न निष्ठुरे आदीं।

1473. Vide the passage beginning with 'कुन्तलामार्ग्राणिकार्यांकवेदितिकार्यां
केसरमाण्डलकपलयुपमालिकार्यां। अनुमांवितिर्योधातास्तु। महासिद्धार्थोऽहं
कुपलकिलोऽहं' वर्ष-परत ते (6th para from the end).

1474. यद्यकस्वस्मरणं नाम तद्विद्विदनकलध्‌। in paragraph 177 of my edition of the pūrvabhāṣga, which Candrāpīda addresses to Mahāsvētā, where he gives instances of famous women like Rati, Pīthā, Uttarā, Duḥśalā that did not resort to sahagamana and winds up 'अन्नवर्ण राष्ट्रान्तरसुनिमशृग-सिद्धान्तवर्षकाः कृत्वर्षकाः। यथये सहस्रो विभूतिविभीति'?

1475. रुपन्नकन्त in his छायालितस्व (p. 242) quotes the passage of the भागवतपुराण.
Rajatarangini 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 Rājayavati, widow of Dharmadeva, bids her son Mahādeva to take up the reins of government that she may follow her husband); the Belaturu Inscription of saka 979 of the time of Rājendradeva Cola (E. I. vol. VI, p. 213) where a śudra 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 saka 1103 to a temple by Sīnda Mahāndaleśvāra Rācamalla on a request by two satīs, widows of his general Becirāja; E. I. vol. 20, p. 168 (of Cedi sainvat 919) which refers to three queens that became satīs; E. I. vol. X, p. 39 where the Temara gate stone inscription of saka 1246 speaks of Mānikyadeva as satī on the death of her husband Āmana who was an officer of king Hariścandra; E. I. vol. 20 p. 58 (Mistra Deoli Inscription in Jodhpur when two queens of a Gohila Rāṇā became satīs); E. I. vol. 16, p. 10, n. 4 and p. 11, n. 2 for satī records of saka 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 satī is that of Ramābāl, 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 satī’, where several examples of men who killed themselves out of devotion to their masters or for other causes are cited and it is pointed out how stone monuments (called māstikkal i.e. stone monument for mahāsati a great satī, 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 Prabhākaravardhana. The Rājatarāṅgini 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 Rājatarāṅgini VII. 1380). We shall see later on that suicide at holy places like Prayāga was practised for attaining heavenly worlds and bliss. Life seems to have been deemed of small account in those ages and though the death of women or men on the funeral pyre of the husband or for their masters appears to us sophisticated people of modern days as very horrible, it did not so appear to the ancients. Sati was not in historic times a practice imposed by priests or men on unwilling women. It somehow grew and it is improper to say that men imposed it on women. It may be that examples of sati occurred because of the force of popular sentiment. It was first confined to kings and nobles, because the lot of the wives of conquered kings and warriors was most miserable in all countries as well as in India. Vengeance for the truculence of their husbands was wreaked on the poor wives by carrying them as captives and making them work as slaves. *Manu* (VII. 96) allows a soldier to retain women (probably ‘slaves’) conquered by him along with other booty. When Queen Yasomati 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 smṛtikārās 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. आपसी स्थापितः युद्धभियो युद्धादिरेष्ट्रिकत्राचीन्द्रनीधिभिज्ञप्रत्यययात्राशास्त्रश्राणि-
        ण्वकित्रि पयोधरे । हर्षचरित V.
The rewards promised to a *sati* were as follows: Śaṅkha and Āṅgiras¹⁴⁷⁷ say 'she who follows her husband in death dwells in heaven for as many years as there are hair on the human body, viz. 3½ crores of years. Just as a snake-catcher draws out a snake from a hole by force, so such a woman draws her husband from (wherever he may be) and enjoys bliss together with him. In heaven she being solely devoted to her husband and praised by bevies of heavenly damsels sports with her husband for as long as fourteen Indras rule. Even if the husband be guilty of the murder of a brāhmaṇa or of a friend or be guilty of ingratitude, the wife who dies (in fire) clasping his body, purifies him (of the sin). That woman, who 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 anusārana is common to the women of all castes from the brāhmaṇa to the cāndāla, provided they are not pregnant or they have no young children (at the husband’s death)'.¹⁴⁷⁸

There were old commentators who were opposed to the practice of *sati*. Medhātithi on Manu V. 157 (Kāmam tu &c.) compares this practice to syenayāya which a man performed by

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¹⁴⁷⁷. तित्रः कोट्सध्रयहः च याति लोकानि मायः। तावलकालः वसोस्याणि भगवां याष्मच्छति॥ ब्रजायाः यथा सर्च बलाकुस्तरे विलात्। तन्नुभुवत्वः सा नारी सह तेनेच नावे॥।

¹⁴⁷⁸. अर्थम् च सर्वसः स्रीमानमङ्गलीनामाभासार्यायामाभासाः साधतनो धर्मः। महाः याष्मस्नात्त्रविड्रोपोपायनाः। मितं या। I. 86; vide the same words in मह. पा. p. 196 and स्वरूपः (संस्कार p. 162), in which latter they are expressly quoted from विज्ञानेबर.
way of black magic to kill his enemy. He says that though Angiras allowed 'anumaraṇa' it is suicide and is really forbidden to women. Just as the Veda says 'śyenēḥbhicaran yajet' and yet śyenayāga is not looked upon as dharma, but rather as adharma (vide Śābara on Jaimini I. 1. 2), so, though Angiras speaks of it, it is really adharma; and that a woman who is in a hurry and extremely anxious to secure heaven quickly for herself and her husband might act according to Angiras, still her action is aśāstriya (not in accordance with the śāstras); besides anvarohana 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 adharma, 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 śruti about anugamana is not opposed to the śruti quoted, the meaning of which is different; that śruti means 'one should not waste one's life for securing heavenly bliss which is fleeting and insignificant as compared with the supreme bliss of Brahma knowledge'. As the woman in anumaraṇa desires only heaven, she is not doing anything contrary to the śruti texts. This is the reasoning of the Mitāksarā which looks like special pleading. Aparākra 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 śruti about anumaraṇa 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 brahmana murder are not to be taken literally but only as hyperbolically extolling anvarohana.

1479. पुंसक्षीरामवि वर्तिष्ठ स्त्रियाँ दुर्बिग्नानानि अति श्राणपिंिने पतिसुधरित अभिनवकुश्ठि सबोयाम पिताय भविष्यति। जीय देवसु भविष्यति वर्तिष्ठानातीयविवादाय। श्रवणञिम येषु सांस्कृतिकोणानि भविष्यति। किं भव तस्मात् न हुः कृत्यां हृद्यावृत्तिः प्रेयत्तु। हृद्यात् सांस्कृतिकोणानि भविष्यति। नेपायो न मुद्र व 156। The words of śruti are 'वेद देवनाइन अनुप्रग्रही विज्ञापिते। मेवा हिन्दूतिकलितित्रामणष्याय हृद्यात् तेष्याद्विवेद्येन। श्रेष्ठेनाभितिर्नेतिद्वितीयो समाफतिः नाभिखितिप्रमितिः। on वै. I. 1. 2. p. 19.
The Sm. C. also expressly says that anvārohana, although recommended by the Visṇu Dh. S. (25. 14) and Āṅgiras, is inferior to brahmačarya (leading a celibate life), since the rewards of anvārohana are inferior to those of brahmačarya. 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.' The Śuddhitattva remarks that this extreme or sweeping statement is made by way of belaunding 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 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—from the Brāhmanāradya purāṇa. There is a similar verse of Brhaspati. 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. The Rājatarangini (VI. 196) refers to a queen who having pretended to have resolved on becoming sāti ultimately regretted the step and turned back.

The Śuddhitattva sets out the procedure of widow burning. The widow bathes and puts on two white garments, takes kuṣa blades in her hands, faces the east or north, performs ācamana (slipping water); when the brāhmaṇas say 'om, tat sat' she remembers the God Narāyaṇa and refers to the time (month, fortnight, day).

1480. यथू ब्रह्मण धर्मान्तरयुक्ते सूते भर्तरि ब्रह्मचर्य तद्वन्यासोऽणि वा भवेद- 
1481. सततासमेव नारिणादेहायसहसनाहते नारियो यथा हि विजितो चूते भर्तरि 
1482. महापञ्चाशस्त्रांगिरो अहंकारस्वत्तथा रजस्तला राजहरे नारोदिति विति छुये। 
1483. वितिण्नातु या नारी मोधार्बिषिक्तातः माजायपेशन छुप्पेतु तस्मात् पापपमेत् इति आपातकम्। 
1484. Vide appendix under 1484.

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and then makes the samkalpa (declaration of resolve) set out below. She then calls upon the eight lokapalas (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 brähmana 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...patiputatvakāmā* is based upon the verses of Aṅgiras quoted above (in n. 1477). The Sudhitattva as printed is corrupt but it appears that it read the last quarter of Rg. X. 18. 7 as ‘ārchantu jalayonim-agne’ (let them ascend the watery seat or origin, O fire!) meaning probably ‘may fire be to them as cool as water’. Some writers have charged the brähmana 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 ‘agneh’ was substituted for ‘agre’). But this charge is not sustainable. That the verse Rg. X. 18. 7 as it actually is was held to refer to widow burning centuries before Raghunandana follows from the fact that even the Brahmapurāṇa and Aparārka (quoted above on p. 628) take it in that sense. It was therefore not necessary to alter the reading. Further even if some priests or Raghunandana had changed it that fact would have been detected in no time, as in those days there were thousands of people who knew every syllable of the 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 śruti-sūtra of Āsv. made use of it with that meaning. Raghunandana, a profound student of dharmaśāstras and smṛtis (and often styled Smāra-bhāṭṭacārya), could not have been ignorant of what Āsv. said. The procedure as prescribed in the Nīrṇaya-sindhu of Kamalākara-bhāṭṭa, whose mother became a satī

1485. छुटितस्व (p. 235) itself quotes the मद्यपुराण text ‘कर्तवेवनयात् सागिनी हि’

1486. Vide निर्मचकयनिधिः III, उत्तराध्व p. 623 and निर्मचकयनिधिः pp. 483-484. The निर्मचकयनिधिः expressly refers to the Gauda procedure as different from his "गौड़सूत्र ‘इमा नारीविषयम्’ इति ‘ओं इमा: पतिम्रता: ... विभाषिण्यः’ इति च विष: पृष्टिसंस्कारः।"
and who pays a very tender and touching reverence to her memory in his works, is somewhat different and it is followed by the Dharmasindhu.

It appears from all accounts of travellers and others that widow-burning prevailed more in Bengal during the centuries immediately preceding its abolition than anywhere else in India. If that was so, there were certain good reasons for that state of things. In the whole of India, except Bengal, the widows of members in a joint Hindu family are only entitled to maintenance and have no other rights over the property of the family. In Bengal, wherever the Dayabhaga prevails, the widow of a sonless member even in a joint Hindu family is entitled to practically the same rights over joint family property which her deceased husband would have had. This must have frequently induced the surviving members to get rid of the widow by appealing at a most distressing hour to her devotion to and love for her husband. This rule of the widow's right was not for the first time propounded by Jīmūtavāhana; he makes it clear that he followed a predecessor called Jitendriya. The figures given above lend support to the view expressed here, since Benares, where the rights of widows were insignificant, was responsible for a small number of satis only. It is impossible, however, to believe that the number of widows in ordinary stations of life burning themselves was very large at any time or that most of the widows that did so were coerced into doing it. There is a good deal of epigraphic and other evidence particularly in other parts of India that relatives tried to dissuade the widow from taking the step. Even in Bengal the number of satis must never have been very

1487. Thomson in his book on 'Suttee' (pp. 69,72) gives the figures for satis reported from the Bengal Presidency (which then included Bihar and extended up to Benares) during 1815–1828. The lowest figure was 378 in 1815 and the highest 839 in 1818. Out of the total of 2366 cases during the four years 1815–1818, the Calcutta division alone contributed 1485, the Benares division, the seat of orthodoxy, contributed only 343. Vide H. H. Wilson's 'History of India' (ed. of 1858), vol. III (for 1805–1835 A. D.), pp 185–192. At p. 189 a table of the number of satis for 1815–1828 is given, from which it appears that in 1828 there were 463 cases of satis out of whom 420 came from Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, out of which 287 were from the Calcutta division alone.

1488. Vide द्रापभाग (ed. by Jivānanda, 1893) 'अंग्रेज़ीभाषके विभाषित कथायोग अनुसन्धान भारत: शृद्धलघु पत्रभाषिकरियों जिनें प्रकाशित अनुवादण्यात्', p. 46; 'पत्री द्वारा भारतीय मुखतित्व पर न दुःतत्व द्रापभागस्विक्याकुलार्थि' 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'. 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.

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 unaltering 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.

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

VESYA

*Veṣyā*—(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 *Encyclopaedia Britannica* on prostitution will be an eye-opener to many who will be inclined to turn their nose at Indian conditions.

From the *Rgveda* we find that there were women who were common to several men, i.e. who were courtesans or prostitutes. In *Rg. I. 167. 4* the bright Maruts (storm gods) are said to have become associated with the young (lightning), just as men become associated with a young courtesan. It has already been seen how in *Rg. II. 29. 1* reference is made to a woman who gives birth in secret to a child and leaves it aside. In *Rg. I. 66. 4, I. 117. 18, I. 134. 3* and other places *jūra* (paramour or secret lover) is spoken of. In *Gaut. XXII. 27* it is said that for killing a woman who is a brahmani by birth only and who subsists by harlotry noprayāscītta is necessary but eight handfuls of corn may be gifted. *Manu IV. 209* forbids a brahmaṇa 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* courtesans are an established institution. The *Ādiparva* (115. 39) narrates how a veṣyā waited upon Dhrūrāṣṭra when his wife Gāndhārī was pregnant. In the *Udyogaparva* (30. 38) Yudhīṣṭhīra sends greetings to the veṣyās of the Kauravas. Courtesans 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 Pāndava armies are described as about to start for battle it

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1491. परा छुष्ण अपासो वष्या सामार्थ्येत् महतो निषिद्धः। ज्ञात I. 167. 4.
1492. सामार्थ्यं हि स्त्रयामासायामुद्रं विचर्कता। धृतराष्ट्र महाराजं वेष्या पर्यंचर-सिधः। आदि 115. 39.
is said that carts, markets and courtezans also accompanied them (Udyoga 151. 58). Vide also Vanaparva 239. 37, Karnaparva 94. 26. Yāj.1492 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 bhujīṣyā (concubine who is not kept in the house, but elsewhere and in the special keeping of a person) and prescribes a fine of fifty pānas against another person having intercourse with them. Nārada1494 (stripumṣa, 78-79) says 'intercourse is permitted with wanton women (svairinī) 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 Apsurases (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 prājapatyā penance is prescribed for him who has intercourse with a veśyā (vide Atri v. 271). Nārada1495 (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. अवरुद्धाः दासीय शुचिपक्षवाच तथा । गम्यात्मको हुनाप्रच्छोप्य पञ्चात्तयिनिः।
हमम्। पालकनं। II. 290. The Mitra explains 'ता एव स्थलमिन्ति हुनाप्रच्छोप्यपञ्चात्तयिनैः
यह एव स्थलमिनिष्येवं हुनाप्रच्छोप्यभूमिः निष्ठुरः अवरुद्धाः। पुष्पनितिपरिवर्ति
शुचिपक्षः।' 17.

1494. कौशिकत्वात् वीर्या वासी तिष्कासिनीं च वा । गम्यं: स्नाततोषयेन
श्याया न महत्तोषम्।। आस्वेतु हुनाप्रच्छोप्य द्वितीय स्मार्तरावर्तम्। गम्यं अपि हि अभिः
परमतिष्यः । परमसिद्धां: ॥ नारायण! ब्रह्मेऽः 78-79.

1495. शुक्लः हुनाप्रच्छोप्य फलितानि भूतस्याप्फूलवात् । अपभ्रश्चतस्या हुनाप्रच्छोप्य
धृताराष्ट्र श्रीरम् ॥ नारायण: (वेतस्यानापाकर्म 18).
similar provisions. The Matsyapurâna chap. 70 dilates upon veṣyādharma. The Kâmasûtra I. 3. 20 defines a ganikā as a veṣyā who is most accomplished and proficient in the 64 kalās. Aparârka (p. 800, on Yaj. II. 198) quotes Nârada (cited above) and several verses of the Matsyapurâna about veṣyās.

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. Nârada (dâyabhâga 1496 52) and Kâtyâyana 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 brâhmaṇa) the king has first to provide for the maintenance of the concubines of the deceased, of his slaves and for his śrâddhas. The Mit. says that the concubines here referred to are those called avaruddhā (and not bhujîṣyā) and that even the kept mistresses of a deceased brâhmaṇa 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. bhujîṣyā) 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 sâṃskāras enumerated above (pp. 195-197), the Mahâyajnâs, Utsarjana and Upâkarma will be described under the next chapter, viz. âhnikâ and antyeṣṭi under āsauca.
CHAPTER XVII

ĀHNIKA AND ĀCĀRA

(Daily and periodical duties and ceremonies)

This forms a very important topic of dharmasastra. 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 grāhastha (the householder).

Before the āhniaka 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 dharmasastra 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 Dharmasastra works. Gaut. 1498 (III. 3) declares that the householder is the source (support) of all the other āśramas, because the other three do not produce offspring. Manu (III. 77-78) states that as all creatures live by receiving support from the air, so other āśramas subsist by relying for support on the householder and that as men belonging to all the three other orders (āśramas) are supported from day to day by the householder alone with (gifts of) food and sacred knowledge, the householder’s is therefore the most excellent āśrama. Manu (VI. 89-90) reiterates the same sentiments under a different figure ‘just as all big and small rivers find a resting place in the ocean, so men of all āśramas find support in the householder and the householder is declared to be the most excellent of all the āśramas by the precepts of the Veda and smṛtis, since he supports the other three’. Viṣṇu Dh. S. (59. 27-29) contains almost the same remarks as Manu. Vide Vas. VIII. 14-16 (15 being identical with Manu VI. : 0). 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. तेषां युखरशी पोतिरमजनत्वाभिषिक्तिस्त। गौ। भ्रम। III. 3.
away from the world of Brahma. In the Mahābhārata also the eulogy of the order of householder is frequent. Śantiparva 296. 39 is the same as Manu VI. 90. Śānti 270. 6–7 states ‘as all beings live on the support given by their mothers, so other āśramas subsist on the support of the order of householders’. In the same chapter (verses 10–11) Kapila condemns those who hold that mokṣa (final release from saṃsāra) is not possible for him who remains a householder. Śānti 12. 12 holds that, if weighed in the balance, the order of householders is equal to all the other three put together. Vide also Śānti 11. 15, 23. 2–5, Vanaprāva chap. 2. The Ayodhyākānda 106. 22 also says that the stage of householder is the most excellent of all āśramas.

The brahmāna 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. śālina and yāyavara, the latter being superior to the former. The śālina

1499. निम्नोऽन्नी निम्नाण्विनी निम्नालच्यायी पतिताःप्रवर्ती। शाली च यायावरी

1500. यथा वायुर्माणार्थस्य सत्यतिः जननाः एवं माहात्म्यालाब्धिः वर्तन्तृत्रेः विद्या। \(= Vas. VIII. 16\), where the last pāda is सवेय जीवन्ति भिस्वः:।

1501. अथ शालीन-यायावर-चक्चरमर्मकालिन्या नवमिश्विनिवितत्सत्मानानाय। शाली- अश्वाचालीनोवानं। दुःध्वं वर्गार्थपत्ति यायार्थस्य। अद्यकसानं चर्णवाक्षःचर्चर्चस्य। शी. ध. श्र. III. 1. 3–5। श्री. derives शालीन from शाली (a house) and यायावर from या (to go) and वर (best). पाणीनि V. 2. 20 (which is explained in the Mahābhāṣya) teaches that शाली in the sense of bashful (अभूत) is derived from शाल। Probably in Pāṇini’s day householders had not come to be divided into शालीन and यायावर। श्री. appears to hold that there is a third variety called चक्चर, but this does not occur elsewhere.

1502. यथाहेवेन। द्विविधगी दृश्यो यायावरः शालीनः। यायावरः मनवो यायावरः समतिरक्षिकोस्यबयाप्पिनात। बुद्धसमापितहृत्कुम्भसमाबाह्यसंप्रियः। दुःध्वं शालीनः। इति। शालीनोपिः चतुर्विधिः। यायावरः समाजार्थपत्तिसतमुचित्यवाहास्य:। यायावरः समाजार्थपत्तिसतमुचित्यवाहास्य। बुद्धसमापितहृत्कुम्भसमाबाह्यसंप्रियः। सिद्धार्थविद्यायः। पाणीनि V. 2. 20 (which is explained in the Mahābhāṣya) teaches that शाली in the sense of bashful (अभूत) is derived from शाल। Probably in Pāṇini’s day householders had not come to be divided into शालीन and यायावर। श्री. appears to hold that there is a third variety called चक्चर, but this does not occur elsewhere.

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is one who dwells in a house, is possessed of servants and cattle, has a fixed place and a fixed village and has grain and wealth and follows the life of worldly people; the yāyāvara is one who subsists by the best of livelihood, viz. picking up grains that fall down when the corn that is reaped is taken to the house or threshing floor by the owner and who does not accumulate wealth or who does not earn his livelihood by officiating as priest, or by teaching or by accepting gifts. Manu (IV. 7) appears to divide brāhmaṇa householders into four varieties, viz. one who possesses enough to fill a granary or a store filling a corn jar, one who collects as much as will satisfy his needs for three days, or one who makes no provision for the morrow. Vide Śāntiparva 244.1-4 and Laghu-Visnu II.17 for similar statements. The Mit on Yāj. I. 128 says that śālīna 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 śālīna and yāyāvara. The Mit on Yaj. I, 128 says that śālīna 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 śālīna and yāyāvara. The Mit on Yaj. I, 128 says that śālīna 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 śālīna and yāyāvara. The Mit on Yaj. I, 128 says that śālīna 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 śālīna and yāyāvara.

In the Vaik. VIII. 5 (Vaik. Dh. S. I. 5) householders are divided into four classes. The first class (called vārtāvyātti)
maintains itself by agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade; the second (śālīna) observes various niyamas (vide Yāj. III. 313), offers pākayasānas (sacrifices of cooked food), kindles the śrauta fires, offers the darśa and pūrṇamāsa sacrifices each half month, offers cāturmāsya, 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 ḫavis 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 sāmṛta), and gives food to guests that come to him; the fourth (called ghorācarika, 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 Nārāyana, performs agniḥotra in the morning and evening, in Maṅgaśirsa and Jyeṣṭha performs observances that are like the edge of a sword and attends upon his fires with herbs from a forest. These four names occur also in Brhat-Parāśara p. 290 (Jivananda'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, Daṅka II, Vedavyāsa III, Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 29-30 and 34, Nṛsimha-purāṇa 58, 45-106, Kurma-purāṇa (uttarārdha chap. 15-16), Laṅghu-Hārīta IV. p. 183 ff (Jivananda), Dronaparva 82, Vanaparva 2. 53-63, Āśvamedha 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 Madanapārījāta (pp. 204-345), the Grhaḥrataṅkāra, the Ānukatattva of Raghunandana, the Viramitrodaya (Ānukarpāśa), the Smṛtiniṅkūṭāphala (Ānukāpāda). 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 (141. 25-26)

1506. अहिंसा सत्यवचनं सर्वपृथ्वीकर्मनं | जाति द्वारा पदाधिकारिक गाहिःस्य धर्मसः || पवित्रार्थसीत्वं न्यासवीर्यसिद्धम् || अहिंसात्माविनयां मद्यमांसस्य वर्जनसः || एव प्रसविषयो धर्मो बहुताशः छोटौमः || अहिंसात्मनपर्यायः 141. 25-26.
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\textquoteleft \textit{ahimsā, truthfulness, compassion towards all beings, quiescence, charity according to one's ability—this is the best dharma for a grhastha (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.} ' Dakśa (II. 66-67) also has similar provisions. But such moral exhortations (called sādhāraṇa dharmas) have already been discussed above (pp. 3-11).

From very ancient times there were several ways of dividing the day. Sometimes the word \textit{\textquoteleft ahah\textquoteleft} is distinguished from night and sometimes it stands for the period from sunrise to sunrise (and includes day and night). For example, in Rg. VI. 9. 1 we have\textsuperscript{1507} the dark day (i.e. night) and the bright day (i.e. the period when there is light). This part (viz. the period of sunlight) is divided some times into two parts viz. pūrvāhna (period before noon) and aparāhna (the time after noon) \textit{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 prátaḥsavana, mādhyandina-savana and trttya-savana. \textit{Vide} Rg. III. 53. 8 where these three parts of the day are mentioned when Indra comes to drink Soma for a \textit{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,\textsuperscript{1508} viz. prátaḥ or udaya (sunrise), saṅgava, 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 muhūrta. In some smṛtis and purāṇas these five parts are mentioned and defined; e.g. in the Prajāpatismṛti,

\textsuperscript{1507} \textit{Ahadh kṛṣṇaḥsahajānti cha vicitreṇa rajarsi vedaṁśi:} वैम्बनं जायनीिनो न राजायतिरज्ञेवतिष्ठापितमांसिं जः. VI. 9. 1. This verse is explained in the निःस्तिर II. 21 \textquoteleft \textit{Ahadh kṛṣṇaḥ राजशि: ह्रेर्षः च अहर्धाष्टुन्यः} \&c.

\textsuperscript{1508} \textit{Uttā paśā pānā eva tataḥ saṁyayiś śrutiḥ śrutiḥ} अ. V. 76. 3. Here \textit{paśā}: संवाहिः और सप्तविश्विः are expressly named. संगव is the time of milking the cows after they return from grazing pastures to which they were taken at dawn. \textit{Vide} आप. अ०. III. 12. 1-2 प्रदशास्यता होस्यकां: संगवान्: रात्रि: on which the com. says \textquoteleft \textit{परिस्थितिकारे मायो यत्सः: सर्वस्याते स संगव: कालि: तत्परस्यन्ते पानविनिर्मातः:}. तत्सना उदयायाः \textit{विषुण्योति} संगव: प्रस्तौति: \textit{मध्यविश्वि उद्वर्घवाचवराहः} प्रति-हरस्यक्ते \textit{वितधिनम्} अ.प.विषु अ०. IX. 5. 4-5.
The whole day of twenty-four hours was divided into thirty muhūrtas; vide Sat. 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 Madanapārījāta 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. That this was a very ancient division follows from several considerations. Kauṭilya divides the day and night each into eight parts and prescribes what the king is to do in the eight parts of the day and also in the eight parts of the night. Vas. XI. 36, Laghu-Hārīta 99, Laghu-Śatātapa v. 108 say ‘the sun becomes mild-rayed in the 8th part of the day and that time is called kutapa’. The Kādambarī of Bāna (para 24) speaks of the light of the sun becoming clear and bright in the first eighth part of the day. 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.

1509. मात्र:काले युर्त्ताब्रीसिंगवस्तस्तधूषे तु। मत्यः 22. 82; रेखामध्यवर्धात् विष-हृदे गाते श्रेै। मातसनं: स्वतः: काले भग: सोझ्स्तु प्रज्ञम्। विश्वदुरायलोके सुषुम्नो 3. 280.

1510. आयादकोषवर्धाकालस्य ैशामध्यवर्धात् भवेलं । स काले यथवास्तव लाखुकुटो मनीषिं।। काष्ठलाङ्कलोके सुषुम्नो 3. 280.

1511. नाविकासिनिवर्धिनिव श्रावि ॥ निविषत्व गर्भायमणण यथेन । हितसे पौरवजन-पुनाति कारणि पद्मेन । अयस्यासम 1. 19. According to the भ्रदुराय, two nāvikas are equal to a युर्त्ताब्री। नाविकामध्यवर्धानी। युर्त्ताब्री निविषत्रमाण ।।

1512 विकससाहस्यं भगे मनस्िसब्चित्ति भास्करः। स काले: कुलो । जय: विवृगं बुद्ध-क्षयं । बलिन 1. 36.

1513. न निवर्तित्व नविसाहमनिवर्धानिस्वङ्कसि कार्ष्टलस्यूति । कार्ष्ट्तली para 24.

1514. बडे काले मण्डलः युर्त्ताब्रीसम्यजनस्तव। वनपर्व 180. 16; बडे बडे तबा काले बुद्धि सिद्धभोजन:। बनपर्व 293. 9.
The principal matters to be discussed under āhnikā are: getting up from bed, śauca (bodily purity), dantadhāvana (brushing the teeth), snāna (bath), sāndhyā, tarpana, the five mahāyajñas (including brahmayajña and honouring guests), attending on fire, bhojana (mid-day meal), obtaining wealth, studying and teaching, evening sāndhyā, 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 sāndhyā prayers, japa, homa, worship of gods and honouring of guests, and vāśvadeva are the six (principal) daily actions. 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 gods.

Although as stated in the Sūryasiddhānta the day was calculated from sunrise, daytime for practical purposes was extended for a short time before sunrise and after sunrise. According to the Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa the four nādīs (or ghatikās) before sunrise and the four nādīs after sunset are included in daytime (dīna) i. e. when a man takes his bath before sunrise on a particular day that bath is one for the day that is to begin after he takes his bath. Several smṛtis like Manu IV. 92, Yāj. I. 115 enjoin that a man should get up from bed at the brāhma muhūrtā, should reflect over dharma and arta 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 muhūrtā in Manu IV. 92 means...
only time generally and not a period of two ghaṭīkās and that it is called brāhma because that is a time when one's intelligence and one's power to compose a literary work are at their best. The Par. M. (I. 1. p. 220) 1520 says that there are two mūhūrtas in the half watch before sunrise, the first of the two is called brāhma and the second raudra. Pitāmaha quoted in the Sm. C. (I. p. 88) says that the last watch of the night is called 'brāhma mūhūrtas'. 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 brahmacārin 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 abhinirmukta) 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 Rgvidhāna it is ordained that on getting up one should wipe one's eyes with water after reciting Rg. X. 73. 11 the latter half of which says 'remove away from us darkness, fulfil our eyes and release us who are as if bound with snares'.

The Sm. C. (I. p. 88) quotes the Kuṃmapurāṇa to the effect that on getting up from sleep some time before sunrise one should contemplate on God. The Āhnikapraṅkāśa (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. शुच्योऽत्यापर्यंतमहे हि हुहुन्ति तत्रयो ब्रह्मो हर्षीयो रूढः। परस. मा. I. part 1 p. 220. सत्सेत्व पञिमे पामे हुहुन्ति पस्तुपीकः। स सात्म हृति विख्यतो विष्णुः संकोषे। च हुहुन्ति प्रेमस्य पामे हुहुन्ति ब्रह्म उपजसे। हृति विलोचनसम्बन्धात्। स्प्रितिच. I. p. 88.

1521. सुच्योऽत्यापर्यंतमहे हि हुहुन्ति तत्रयो ब्रह्मो हर्षीयो रूढः। परस. मा. I. p. 220. सत्सेत्व पञिमे पामे हुहुन्ति पुष्करीपः। स सात्म हृति विख्यतो विष्णुः संकोषे। च हुहुन्ति प्रेमस्य पामे हुहुन्ति ब्रह्म उपजसे। हृति विलोचनसम्बन्धात्। स्प्रितिच. I. p. 88.

1522. ब्रह्मा श्रुतिरिष्किरितान्नितेऽह्यः हि हुहुन्ति ब्रह्मो हर्षीयो रूढः। परस. मा. I. p. 220. सत्सेत्व पञिमे पामे हुहुन्ति पुष्करीपः। स सात्म हृति विख्यतो विष्णुः संकोषे। च हुहुन्ति प्रेमस्य पामे हुहुन्ति ब्रह्म उपजसे। हृति विलोचनसम्बन्धात्। स्प्रितिच. I. p. 88.
old people. Some works say that he who repeats the four verses called Bhārataśāvitrī in the morning obtains the reward of hearing the whole Mahābhārata and attains the highest Brahma. The Āhnikatattva (p. 327) quotes a verse to be repeated on getting up from bed in which the serpent Karkotaka, Damayantī, kings Nala and Rūpamati are remembered for removing the effects of Kāli, and the Smṛtimuktāpāha quotes a verse about Nala, Yudhīśṭhira, Sītā and Kṛṣṇa as punyaśloka (singing of whose glory is holy).

The Ācārārṇa (p. 10 a) states that one should repeat the names of certain famous and long-lived (oirajīvins) personages viz. Aṣvatthāman, Bali, Vyāsa, Hanūmān, Bībhīṣaṇa, Kṛṣṇa, Paraśurāma and Mārkandeya and also the names of five holy women, Ahalyā, Draupadi, Sītā, Tārā and Māndodari. 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 Kāli (misfortune or strife). 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 satītra (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 नित्यचारपञ्चन ग ि pp. 15-16, आश्मकपाल. p. 21. These verses viz. महाभारत, स्वार्थसाहित्यकाल पद्म 60-63, are called भारतसाहित्य (in verse 64). Their first pādas are मातापदितहस्याणि, वर्षशास्त्रादस्याणि, उत्तर- व्याहितिर्योपयोग, न जातां कामान्य भाग्य सोयाद्.

1524. कक्षककचय नामस्य द्वायन्या नवन च। विदुधार्य राज्यं कीर्तिं काल- नाशान्य। महाभारत, वनवयं 79. 10, quoted in आश्मकपाल p. 327 and स्वरितस (आश्मक) p. 211.

1525. पुष्पस्तोको नलो रजा पुष्पस्तोको दुविदित:। पुष्पस्तोका च वेदद्विरु पुष्प- आदोरों जनाविन:। quoted in स्वरितस. (आश्मक p. 210), आचार्यसंहिता p. 6.

1526. These verses are from गौतमसत्यम II. 163 and 165 (called कृष्णमहोदय also) quoted in आश्मकपाल p. 327, आश्मकपाल. p. 22, स्वरितस. (आश्मक) p. 211. I read पाभितु स्वरितस्य (and not स्वरितस्य) as these do).
hygiene are mixed up in the ancient works, they are given in works on dharma. Even in the Atharvaveda (XIII. 1. 56) it is said 'I cut off thy root who kick a cow with the foot or who urinate opposite the sun (facing the sun); thou shall not further cast a shadow.' Urinating while standing seems to have been condemned in the time of the Atharvaveda; vide VII. 102 (107). 1 'I shall urinate sitting erect; let not the lords harm me.' Gaut. IX. 13, 15, 37-43, Æp. Dh. S. I. 11. 30. 15-30 and I. 11. 31. 1-3, Vas. Dh. S. VI. 10-19 and XII. 11-13, Manu IV. 45-52, 56, 151, Yaj. I. 16-17, 134, 154, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 60. 1-26, Śaṅkha, 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 brähmana, water, the image of some god, cow, wind. Nor should one do these acts on the bare ground, but on ground covered with dry twigs or leaves or grass or loose earth. One should cover one's head and should face the north by day or when there is twilight and face the south at night, but when there is a danger one may face any direction. One should not urinate while standing or walking (Manu. IV. 47) nor should one speak while doing so. One should answer calls of nature away from a human habitation towards the south or south-west. Manu V. 126 and Yaj. I. 17 prescribe that, after answering calls of nature, one should perform cleansing the parts with water held in a pot and lumps of earth to such an extent that no smell or filth will stick. According to Manu V. 136 and 137 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 60. 25-26 one lump of earth is to be applied to the penis, three to the arms, ten to the left hand.

1527. वश्य गा पद्वं श्वाय संरति प्रत्यक्ष्म खर्च च मेहलि ।
सर स्वप्नानि न श्वायं करार्यातर ॥ अथवा XIII. 1. 56; मेहामस्यस्तिथिभास ना हितसुधरीयतः ॥ अथवा VII. 102 (107). 1.

1528. न गोमयक्षोदलत्वपविक्षवित्तम्भान-वंशमिक-वंस्मयोदपोविद्यविशिष्टचन्दिवेशु मेहेत भूताः ॥ शशु queret in śiṣṭā on p. I. 134.

1529. उत्तराये मैथुने चैव प्रच्छे दल्पापाने।
स्ताने मोहजन्ताने च पद्धत मौले
समाचरते ॥ हरित quoted in आचिकसाह स. 26. This is उत्तराये verse 40; अथवे 323 is पद्धते मैथुने होते प्रच्छे दल्पापाने। स्ताने मोहजन्ताने पद्धत मौले समाचरते ॥

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and seven to both hands, three to both feet together. This is the extent of sauca required for householders, and for brahmacārin, 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. Devaḷa (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. The Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 19) following Dakṣa V. 12 says that at night only half of the sauca 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. 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 yañopaivala should be suspended from the right ear or he should throw it on his

1530. यात्रासाधिति मर्यंति तत्वच्छौचः विधपते। प्रमाणं श्रीवास्तवयां न

1531. Vide vिश्वसन on या. I. 17 तत्वादिकाश्चाच्च जनतात् पवित्र श्रुतं च

1532. अर्थात् विमोचनम् हु मथम् प्रतिवर्तता च विकीर्ण च तद्धार्धोऽ

1533. अस्त्रायामसूचनार्था हु मथम् प्रतिवर्तका श्रुतं। किरीटं च गृहीतं च 

1534. अर्थात् विमोचनम् हु मथम् प्रतिवर्तता च विकीर्ण च तद्धार्धोऽ

1535. अस्त्रायामसूचनार्था हु मथम् प्रतिवर्तका श्रुतं। किरीटं च गृहीतं च 

1536. अर्थात् विमोचनम् हु मथम् प्रतिवर्तता च विकीर्ण च तद्धार्धोऽ
back in the *nivita* form. According to Yaj. I. 16 the *yajnopavita* should be suspended from the right ear only. Vanaparva 59. 2 describes that *kali* (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 *sauca*. *Sauca* is according to Gaut. VIII. 24 one of the *atmagunas*. Even the Rg. (in VII. 56. 12 and other verses) appears to emphasize cleanliness (*sucitva*). According to Harlita *sauca* is the first path to dharma, it is the resting place of brahma (*Veda*), the abode of *śri* (*prosperity*), the means of clearing (or soothing) the mind, the favourite of gods, the means of realizing the *Ātman* and the awakener of intelligence.

According to Baud. Dhs. S. III. 1. 26, Harlita, Dakṣa V. 3 and Vyāghrapāda (quoted in Sm. C. I. p. 93) *sauca* is of two kinds, *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. Harlita 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* (of one's body); Harlita divides *ābhyantara* into five, *manasa* (mental), *caksusa* (of the eye i.e. not looking at things that should not be looked at), *ghraṇya* (of the nose), *vācya* (of speech), *svādyā* (of the tongue). According to a verse quoted by Haradatta on Gaut. VIII. 24 *sauca* 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 *sauca* viz. of the mind, of actions, of *kula* (family), of the body and of speech. According to Manu V. 135, Viṣṇu Dhs. 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. अङ्करा अर्ग। कृता यद्रोपवित्र तु पुद: काजलमिष्टयः विण्युङ्ग धृत: कृष्णिः कुपाय: यहः कर्णेः समाहित:। कर्णेः निधानमेवस्वविश्वस्य। तथा च सांस्कृतयवृद्धाः। शयेश- विषोऽयोपवित्रसि कर्णः कृता मूखुरायिवर्तः कुपाय: हस्तः। स्मृतिवर्ग: I. p. 89. Vide अष्टाध्यायमुख IV. 12. 22 (S. B. E. vol 29 p. 126).

1534. छुँची दो हस्त: मतः छुँचीः छुँचीः हिनोऽर्थवर्तः कवित्स्य:। कसने सर्पभृत- साप अस्तुकविवधम: जयन्ति। ज्ञातस्माः।। य: VII. 56. 12.

1535. सर्व हरितस्त्रा। शोधिः नाम धार्मिकविपो ब्रह्मलाला विश्विनां विश्वात्वासी मनसः प्रसादम् वेयानां शिपः श्रेष्ठे श्रेष्ठार्थैः ब्रह्मायिवविधमः। यु: I. p. 522.

1536. श्रेष्ठो ब्रह्म भिन्नोऽर्थः बालमण्डलस्तरः तथा। सुमलाद्यः स्वरत्म घात्वः वेष्ट्वः स्वमितः स्ताधाराः॥ दश V. 3 and व्यामपादः.
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 saucy one has to rinse the mouth with twelve mouthfuls (ganduṣa) of water (vide Śṛtimukṭapahala, śhnikā 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 acamana.1537 A good deal has been said about acamana above (pp. 315-316) under upanayana. Acamana (sipping water) is to be done after tying the top-knot and tucking up the garment from behind; the water is to be poured in the hollowed palm of the hand in such a quantity that a grain of māṣa (bean) will be plunged in it and the three fingers except the thumb and the small one are to be joined together and the water is to be drunk from that part of the hand which is called brāhma tirtha described above (n. 750). The word tirtha means that part of the right hand by which water is taken in or poured in religious rites and the parts are given the names of deities for lauding them, as Viśvarūpa says.1538 In most śrītis their number is four, viz. prajāpatya or kāya, pitrya, brāhma, and daiva (for example in Manu II. 59, Viśnu Dh. S. 62. 1-4, Yāj. I. 19, Mārkaṇḍeya-pūrāṇa 34. 103–109, Dakṣa II. 18). Some works like the Śatyaśananakalpa and Viyddha-Vasiṣṭha quoted by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 19 name five tirthas viz. daiva (when a brāhmaṇa faces the east, the front part of his hand), pitrya (the right portion of the right hand), brāhma (the portion of the hand opposite the fingers), prajāpatya (the portion of the hand near the small finger) and pārameśṭhya (the centre of the right palm). The Pār. gr. pariśṭha names the above five, except that it substitutes the name āgneya for pārameśṭhya. The Saṅkhā-śrīti (in verse, X. 1-2) distinguishes kāya and prajāpatya and omits the name of brāhma altogether which is called prajāpatya by it. Vaik. I. 5 has six, the usual four, the fifth being āgneya (centre of the palm) and the sixth being ārṣa (the roots and tips of all fingers together). According to some, daiva tirtha means the tips of the fingers and the centre of the palm is either saumya or āgneya. According to Harīta the

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1537. तत्र हस्ती पादौ मक्खाय यज्ञापीती छुद्भुधी पादी मतिंदचतुष्कलिकः: पुजयोकाकामितेष्वरः स्मृतस्य महतित्थि फङ्गादेवुद्वृत्तित सेवतात्रुद्विज्ञानिनाद्वः शहीदवधुपु- 

1538. तार्थिकमिति च परिवण्णिः प्रकाशारियाः परिव- 

-मयुः मतिमवः। मानि च मनिकार्यपियकिलात् स्तुत्यर्थे देवतारिषार्यमथे। विश्वसप "

-भवः। भाँि च विसपकार्यपियकिलात् स्तुत्यर्थे देवतारिषार्यमथे। विश्वसप "

-भवः। भाँि च विसपकार्यपियकिलात् स्तुत्यर्थे देवतारिषार्यमथे। विश्वसप "

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daiva is to be used in mārjana, worship of gods, offering of bali and in bhojana; the kāya tīrtha is to be employed in lājahoma (homa of fried grain) and daily homa, the pitrya in all rites for dead ancestors. Touching the kamanḍalu (water jar), eating curds and fresh products of the fields (navāna) 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 ear.

Very elaborate rules are laid down in the digests on the subject of ācamana (e.g. Sm. C. I. pp. 95-104), Smṛtimuktāphala, Āhnika-prakāśa pp. 221-240, Āhnika-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 Āpas-tamba-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.); smarta (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 Śrauta-śtras for Vedic sacrifices). The first of these four is the method usually followed now by most brāhmaṇas.

Danta-dhāvana (brushing the teeth).

Danta-dhāvana comes after saucha 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. (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 āṅga (a subordinate

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1539. तत्र हारात्: मार्जनार्थयज्ञातिकांभोजनानि वैदेह तीर्यैन कुर्सत। हृति सैरं विधेयमप्रयुक्तं। स्वाच्छिक। I. p. 226.

1540. आपस्तु नैसिदिकमस्कर्काराचामनाय अवणस्त्यर्थ व्यास्यानानु:। हृतिः वैदेह स्वर्यपर्यस्त। p. 21.

1541. आपस्तम्भस्वति। आद्वी पौराणिकोऽभास स्मार्तस्मातमस्मच्च। वै उत्तरविच यागुर्यांचर्य महावर्तिनः। अभुधिः: समाचाराणामहेश्वराः। नामविनः। अभावान वर्षनामुः कृष्णविक्षेपयाचारिणिः मृदु ॥ स्वतिः। (आद्वित्ता) p. 221.

1542. या दृश्यो धातोऽस्वे स्वाच्छिक। नै. सं. II. 5. 1. 7.
constituent part) of bath or morning prayer.\textsuperscript{1542} \textit{Ap. Dh. S. I. 2. 8. 5} forbids\textsuperscript{1544} one who has returned from his teacher's home after finishing his studies to engage in the sight of his teacher in such acts of pleasure as cleansing the teeth, shampooing the body and combing the hair and also forbids the study of the Veda while such actions are going on (\textit{ibid. I. 3. 11. 10–12}).\textsuperscript{1545} The brahmacārin was not to engage in the leisurely actions of brushing the teeth (but was to rinse his mouth) according to \textit{Gaut. II. 19} and \textit{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 \textit{Gobhilasmiti} (which is also called Chandoga-parisīṭa 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 \textit{Pār. gr. II. 6} and \textit{Ap. gr. 12. 6} brushing of the teeth with an udumbara twig is prescribed in Samāvaratana with a mantra 'may you be ready for food; here comes the king Soma; may he clean my mouth with glory and good luck.'\textsuperscript{1547} Therefore the same mantra is to be employed every day after samāvaratana. In some of the digests (like the \textit{Āhnikaparakāsa...}
Very detailed rules are laid down about the length of the twig, about the trees of the twigs 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, karaṇja, badara, sarja, nimba, arimda, aparāṁga, mālatī, kakūba, bilva, āmra (mango), punnāga, śīrṣa and further the twig must be astringent, pungent or bitter in taste and not sweet or sour.  

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1548 Vide Brhat-Samhitā of Varāhamihira chap. 85, Laghu-Hārita (Jīvānanda part I. p. 183), Laghu-Vyāsā I. 17–18, Nṛśimhapurāṇa 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, śīṃsātaka, arīṣṭa, vibhītaka, dhava, bandhūka, nirgudī, āigru, tilva, tinduka, īnguda, āggulu, āamī, pilu, 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, Nṛśimhapurāṇa 58. 46). One must brush the teeth facing north or east, but not west or south (Viṣṇu Dh. S. 61. 12–13). Viṣṇu Dh. S. (61. 16–17) prescribes that the twig should be as big as the end of one’s small finger and twelve aṅgulas in length and it should be washed before its use and after using it it should not be cast off in an impure place. There are various opinions about the length of the twig employed. The Nṛśimhapurāṇa (58. 49. 50) says that it may be of eight aṅgulas in length or a
span in length (prādesa); Garga (quoted in Sm. C. I. p. 105) says that the twig should be 10, 9, 8, 7 or 4 angulas in length respectively for the four varnas 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).

According to Laghu-Hárta (Jivánanda I. p. 183) and Nṛśimhapurāṇa 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 water. According to Laghu-Hárta (Jivananda I. p. 183) and Nṛśirh-hāpurāṇa 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 Visnu-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 water. 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).

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Paithānasi (quoted in the Sm. 0. 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). Viṣṇu 155 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. ... 1551. ... 1552. ...
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 yajñepavita, it becomes useless and brings no reward here or in the next world' (quoted in Kṛtyaratnākara p. 47). Śatātapa says: 'in japa, homa, dāna, śvādhyāya (study of the Veda) or in pītṛtārpana one should have in his hand gold, silver and kuśas’. One should have at the time of ācāmana &c. a pavitra (a ring-like loop) of darbhas in his right hand or in both his hands on the finger next to the small one or have kuśa in his right hand. There were several views about wearing a pavitra or darbhas, as stated in note 1553. The darbha grass is to be collected on the darśa day (new moon) in the month of Śrāvana and the darbhas so collected are never stale and may be used again and again 1554. The pavitra of the four varṇas should be made with 4 darbhas or with 3, 2, or 1 respectively or it should be made with two darbhas for all (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 tma (grass). The darbha grass growing in a field of sesame and having seven blades is very auspicious.

The darbhas to be used in yajñas should be green in colour, yellowish for use in pāka-yajñas, they should be with roots when used in rites for the pītris and variegated when used in vaiśvadeva. Those darbhas that were held in the hand at the time of offering pindas to the dead or in śrāddhas or in pītṛtārpana or at the time of urination or voiding-foes should be thrown away (Smṛtyarthasāra p. 37). If kuśa grass is not available, then kāśa or dūrvā may be employed instead.

1553. शान्तानं: जय होमे तथा बुने स्नाध्यार्ये पितृतपंगेः। अशुवं ल शरं सुयांतस्यः। रोहनीः। स्पृयधम । पते। I. p. 108; vide स्पृयधसार for a similar verse. अन्त चत्वारं: पता।। हस्तस्ये बुभार्यं खु एवदेशे प्रविंचिते वाये सुया ब्रम्ह्य एवोभासमिति। आचार्याञि p. 24 b. Vide गोमितस्युति । I. 28 quoted by अवस्यां क. p. 234 and 480.

1554. मातेव नात्मयमानस्य तत्त्वं कर्मण्यं स्वपेयम्यं। अयातपमाग्ये बुभ्य स्वपेयम्यं। श्रुतं तु जम महातिन्तम मला।। हस्ताति quoted in स्पृयधम।। I. p. 107. Vide स्पृयधसार p. 36, हिन्दुस्वतस्य v. 41, महातिन्तम quoted in कपालाकार p. 67.

1555. अप्रवतात् समुद्रा बुभ्य: महातस्य कुषा। सुभाता। श्रुतं:। समुद्रा: कुषात्: महात्स्वित्सितथा। (सार्वसमीकरणिताः)।। हस्ताति VII. 43; this is quoted as कौतिक's in स्पृयधम।। I. p. 108.) and as of कार्यायण in स्पृयधय। (आचार्य p. 231.)

H, D. 83
The subject of snāna can be treated from various points of view. Snāna is either mukhya (principal) or gauna (secondary), the first being a bath with water and the second being without water. Each of these is again subdivided into various kinds. According to Dakṣa II. 48 snāna is nitya (obligatory every day), naimittika (to be performed on certain occasions), and kāmya (to be performed only if one desires certain rewards). All the varṇas 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 dvijatis have to do it with Vedic mantras. This is nitya. This 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.

Some works (Yaj. I. 95, 100, Laghu-Āśvalāyana I. 16, 75, Dakṣa II. 9 and 43 &c.), prescribe two baths a day for brāhmaṇa house-holders, one before day-break and another at noon. There is only one bath a day for brahmācārins, two for forest hermits (Manu VI. 6). According to Manu VI. 22 and Yaj. 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. 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...
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 brahmačārin, sacrificial priests, students of the Veda and those engaged in austerities (Smṛtyarthasāra p. 27). The morning bath is to be taken immediately after brushing the teeth before day-break when one sees the eastern direction lit up by the morning rays of the rising sun (Viṣṇu 1581 Dh. S. 64. 8). Gobhila-smṛti (II. 24) says that one should not lengthen out the process of taking the morning bath (by repeating too many mantras) as it would come in the way of performing the morning homa at the proper time, which is between the first appearance of light and the sun's reaching about one cubit above the eastern horizon (Gobhila I. 122-123). Vide Manu II. 15 also. The madhyāśna (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. This midday bath is not to be performed by one who is ill. The third bath (in the case of forest hermits and yatis) is to be performed before sunset, but not after sun-set or at night. No bathing is allowed for any one at night except when there is an eclipse or the sun passes into the zodiacal signs of Cancer and Capricorn (at night), a marriage, a birth or death or when a vrata is undertaken with some object. Night means specially the two middle watches (Manu IV. 129, Kullūka thereon and Parāśara XII. 27).
The obligatory (nitya) bath is to be taken with cold water and ordinarily hot water is not allowed. Śaṅkha (VIII. 9-10) says that if one bathes with heated water or in water belonging to another individual, he may effect the cleansing of the body but he would not secure the unseen spiritual result of a bath. Dakṣa II. 64 is to the same effect. Nāmītīkā 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 reservoir) or three or five jars from the well. The idea is that either the private owner would participate in the merit of the bath (as 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 ‘nādī’ and ‘garta’ (used in Manu IV. 203) are defined as follows: a nādī (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 (rajasvala is used in a double sense) one should not bathe in them in those months, except in rivers that

1555. Ṣraṁnaṁ ṛṣṭram bhūṣaṁ pṛthakāryaṁ | kṣāriṛṣuḥkṣirvijñāyaḥ na śraṁkārśaṁ lokante | śaṁkha VIII. 9-10; ṛṣyaṁ tapasaṁ śraṁṇaṁ ṛṣyāma jātasyasvādhvam | evaṁ tattvadṛṣṭaṁ vṛtya śrutasthānācaksuṁ | vrtha IV. 64. The first is quoted in Sn. I. p. 128.

1556. niśhdhau n bhūṣārāmnābhājanatatra sāvalyaḥ | tattvadrśyaṁ tāttvayācaḥ hṛdayābhicchedaḥ | upāhṛtya vāpya nṛśajñaptanukṛtānātmaso ’haiṣaṁ | niśamdākṣau niśārthampravāhāniśārtham- 
śrīḥ. ch. II. 3. 7 and 9. Vide durgārthasāraṁ p. 195 for explanation.
directly reach the sea. 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.

The actual bath is described differently in different sūtras, smṛtis and digests. Gobhila-smṛti (I. 137) says that the morning bath contains the same procedure as the mid-day bath. The morning bath has to be brief, as already stated, in the case of one who has consecrated the śrauta fires. The procedure of bathing will be indicated by a few brief extracts. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (64. 18-22) says ‘having removed the dirt from his body with water and loose earth, he should plunge in water, he should invoke the water with the three verses ‘apo hi śṭhā’ (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 Aghamarṣaṇa hymn (Rg. X. 190. 1-3, rtam ca satyam &c.) or he may mutter ‘tad viṣṇoḥ paramam padam’ (Rg. I. 22. 20) or the Drupāda Śāvitrī verse (Vāj. S. 20. 20) or the anuvāka beginning with ‘yunjate mana’ (Rg. V. 81. 1-5) or the Puruṣāsūkta (Rg. X. 90. 1-16).

‘Having bathed he should, with his garment still wet, perform tarpāṇa of gods and Manes while still in the water. But if he has changed his clothes, then he may do it (tarpāṇa) after

1567. नास्ते अवासिनाः सर्वाः नधी रजस्तला: । तत् ग्रामं न कर्पित शर्यदिवसा सत्तुः: ॥ धातु-सहस्त्रपदिः च गतिवासनं न विकर्ते । न तत् सदिस्तवयस्व गतोऽसे परिवीक्षितः ॥ उपासनेण चोतस्मेतः तेति त्यथा च। बन्धुद्वर्षको हैव मौद्रान्वो न विकर्ते ॥ मोनिलसूत्रि I. 141-143, quoted by अपराके p. 135, स्मृतिच I. pp. 130-131, श्रव. र. 197-198 &c. अपराके p. 905 quotes a smṛti that a dhanu is equal to 96 aṅgulas and that 2000 bows are equal to one kroṣa.

1568. उद्धुद्धतामोहरियुक्तं युगं स्थापात्सर्वध्रवं तत्सस्यादेयं तत्सामाजितं सामृपरिदृश्यते सर्ववा एव मागुकं । विश्वमर्तमुच्छ्व 64. 17.

1569. पयाहितं कर स्वास्तिं च यागाविऊप: । बन्धुसा नास्तं न पश्चाद एव चेष्टम- मन्त्रादेव ॥ मोहिल 1. 137; vide श्रव. र. p. 179 for explanation.

1570. पुष्पायेः बुद्धला-पक्षायेः निमस्यायो च तत्षद्विमः पद्याच्छिन्न: हि संग्रहविति निर्रिताः । पक्षतेति चतुर्दशम्भास्यायेव । तत्साधुनि सिन्धुसर्पिव मन्त्रादेव । तत्तिथिः परसः प्रदुषणेण वा । पुष्पायेः सावित्रिः वा । पुष्पायेः सावित्रिः सावित्रिः सावित्रिः सावित्रिः । विश्वमर्तमुच्छ्व 64. 18-24,
coming out of the water'. Even now many brāhmanas mutter the Puruṣasūkta while bathing. Śaṅkha-smṛti (IX) has a brief description of snāna which consists in invoking water, then mārjana with the three verses (āpo hi śtāḥ), then repeating certain Vedic verses like 'hiranyā-varnāḥ', 'śan-no devir', 'śaṁ na āpāḥ' (Atharvaveda I. 6.1 and 4) and thrice repeating Aghanamārgaṇa. Vide Madanaparijāta pp. 270-271, Gr. R. pp. 206-208 and Par. M. I. 1. pp. 274-275 where the whole of Śaṅkha (IX) is quoted. The Snānasūtra 1571 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 kuṣa blades (or pavitra) in his hand, tying up his top knot and wearing the yajnopavita, 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 viṣpur' (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-ābhyaḥ' (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 nāstoke'. (Rg. I. 114. 1 = Vāj. S. 16. 16). Then he should bathe with the

1571. अयोध्यास्य मुख्यस्तिविद्यामपि जित्तितत्त्व मृगेश्वरमात्र ग्यात्मकता। स्वास्थ्य शास्त्र वश्यप्रवर्तन कुस्तोधिनियो वज्रभ्रमणं तापस्यादीयस्य श्रद्धा द्वारा श्रुतमयी तद्वर्तनम् धर्मोत्पत्तिः।

पारम्परिकम्पिते कतिपयं, यद्यपि कर्माविद्या विद्या वश्यप्रवर्तन कुस्तोधिनियो वज्रभ्रमणं तापस्यादीयस्य श्रद्धा द्वारा श्रुतमयी तद्वर्तनम् धर्मोत्पत्तिः।

विद्या वश्यप्रवर्तन कुस्तोधिनियो वज्रभ्रमणं तापस्यादीयस्य श्रद्धा द्वारा श्रुतमयी तद्वर्तनम् धर्मोत्पत्तिः।

विद्या वश्यप्रवर्तन कुस्तोधिनियो वज्रभ्रमणं तापस्यादीयस्य श्रद्धा द्वारा श्रुतमयी तद्वर्तनम् धर्मोत्पत्तिः।
four mantras 'imam me Varuna' (Vāj. S. 21. 1-4), and with the verses 'mā āpo', 'uduttamam' (Vāj. S. 12. 12), 'muñcantu', (Rg. X. 97. 16 = Vāj. S. 12. 90), 'avabhṛtha' (Vāj. S. III. 48). At the end of these mantras he should dive into the water and then rise up out of it, perform ācamana and sprinkle with darbha blades his body with the nine verses, viz. the three beginning with 'āpo hi śthā' (Rg. X. 9. 1-3 = Vāj. S. 11. 50-52), 'idam-āpah' (Vāj. S. VI. 17), with the two verses 'hāvismatir' (Vāj. S. VI. 23) and 'devīrāpah' (Vāj. S. I. 12), 'apo devāh' (Vāj. S. X. 1), 'drupadād-iva' (Vāj. S. 20. 20), 'ṣan-no devir' (Vāj. S. 35. 12), 'apām rasam' (Vāj. S. 9. 3), 'apo devih', and 'punantu mā'. Then he should repeat thrice, while diving in water, the Aghamarsana hymn (Rg. X. 190. 1-3) preceded by the mantra 'cīt patir-mā' (Vāj. S. 4. 4), by the syllable om, by the vāārtī, 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 gauh' (Rg. X. 189. 1-3 = Vāj. S. 3. 6) or he should perform pāṇāyāma with the śiras (viz. āpo jyoti raso mṛtam 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 pāṇāyāma thrice'.1572

Yogi-Yājñavalkya quoted by Aparārka and other works says that when a man is unable to perform the elaborate snāṇa described by himself and others, he should engage only in this; he should invoke the water, then perform ācamana, then mārjana (sprinkling water on body with kuśa blades) and then snāṇa and muttering of Aghamārṣana(Rg.X.190.1-3)1573 thrice. The Gr. R. (pp. 215-217) quotes the method of snāṇa according to the Padmapurāṇa and the Nṛṣimhapurāṇa 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 śudras). The Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 28) also gives a brief procedure of snāṇa.
There are certain rules to be observed when bathing. One was not to bathe naked (Gaut, IX. 61 and Manu IV. 45), nor with all clothes on (but only with the lower garment) nor after taking one's meal (Manu 4. 29); one was not to rub the body in water but outside on the bank, one should not strike the water with one's foot or hand or dash a portion of the water against the rest.\textsuperscript{1574}

The earth to be employed (like soap) for cleansing the body was to be obtained from a pure place and not from an\textsuperscript{1575} ant-hill or from places infested by mice, nor from under water, nor from the public road, nor from the bottom of a tree, nor from near temples, nor out of what was left by some person after using a portion for his own sauca and is to be invoked with two verses 'āsvakrânte\textsuperscript{1576} &c.' Laghu-Hārīta (v. 70-71) says 'earth secured after digging eight angulas from the surface should be used, all earth is pure which is taken from a place not frequented by people and that ten kinds of earth should not be used at the time of bathing' (verses 72-73).

The brahmaśārin was not to bathe in a leisurely or sporting manner but to dive in water motionless like a stick.

The Mahābhārata, Dakṣa and others say that ten good consequences follow from snāna viz, strength, beauty, clearness of complexion and voice, (pleasant) touch and odour (of the body), purity, prosperity, delicacy and fine women.\textsuperscript{1577}

Bathing with water is divided into six varieties by Śaṅkha smṛti (VIII. 1-11), Agnipūrṇa 155, 3-4 and others, viz. nitya, naimittika, kāmya, kriyāṅga, malāpakarsana (or abhyaṅga-snāna),

\textsuperscript{1574} The verses are Ādhyātmya 192; vide Vistāra VI. 36-37 for the seven kinds of earth to be avoided.

\textsuperscript{1575} The verses are Śrī Sūtra II. 44-45. Vide Sūtra quoted by Śrī. R. p. 188 for the seven kinds of earth.

\textsuperscript{1576} The verses are Śrī Sūtra II. 46-47 and occur in Śrī. A. X. 1, the Sūtrāṇi 102. 10-12. Vide Śrītāca. I. p. 183.

\textsuperscript{1577} The verses are Śrī Sūtra II. 13 is similar which occurs also in Śrītāca. p. 25.
Ahnikā-procedure of bathing

kriyāsnāna. Nitya snāna (daily bath) has been described above. A few observations are made below on each of the others. On certain occasions or on coming in contact with certain persons or things one has to bathe, although one may have already bathed that day. This is called naimittika (due to some occasion or cause) snāna.

For example, on the birth of a son, in a sacrifice (at the end), on the passing away of a relative, in eclipses, one has to bathe and even at night 1578 (Parāśara XII. 26 and Devala quoted above).

Similarly a man has to bathe with all his clothes on if he touches an outcast (who is guilty of one of the mortal sins), a cāndāla, a woman who has recently delivered, a woman in her monthly course, a corpse, or one who has touched a corpse or one who has touched another that has come in contact with a corpse or when a man follows a corpse 1579 (Gaut. 14. 28–29, Vas. 4. 38, Manu V. 85 and 103, Yāj. III. 30, Laghu-Āśvalāyana 20. 24).

According to Manu V. 144, Śāṅkha-smṛti VIII. 3, Mārk. 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 Baudhāyas, Pāṣupatīs, Jaina, Lokāyatikas, atheists, dvijātis living by condemned actions and śūdras he should bathe with his clothes 1581 on, Tho 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. दुष्कर्मकर्मी योगोऽत्य धार्मिकार्माणि राहस्य दृष्ट्यन्तः ्चाँ यदैव नाश्चतः नाश्चतः निति ॥ परासर द्वितीय अध्यायः ॥ 26.

1579. पालितवाणावाक्यस्यवादाः सत्त्वसिद्धार्थविशेषानि सत्त्वान्वितावादानि कार्याचारार्थास्ततः न्यायेत् ्हि साधनमेव च नि भिः. 14. 28–29; सभिष्टानमेव सत्त्वसिद्धार्थानि कार्याचारार्थास्ततः न्यायेत् ्हि नैसिद्धिकेण सर्वचतोपसर्वानि निति ॥ द्वारात्मानः अन्वय ॥ 20. 24.

1580. दुष्कर्ममेण चतुर्दशोऽत्य तिलिते दुष्कर्मकर्मिणि जित्यवाहास्ततार्थानि शास्त्राणि सत्त्वाचारार्थास्ततः न्यायेत् ॥ परासर कुर्सियास्ततः निति ॥ परासर त्रेपलाई अध्यायः ॥ 30, which is slightly different from the printed परासर XII. 1; दुष्कर्मकर्मिणि वातन्त्रवास्ततकार्ममेव दुष्कर्मकर्मिणि नान्तकार्ममेव दुष्कर्मकर्मिणि नान्तकार्ममेव दुष्कर्मकर्मिणि नान्तकार्ममेव दुष्कर्मकर्मिणि नान्तकार्ममेव दुष्कर्मकर्मिणि नान्तकार्ममेव दुष्कर्मकर्मिणि नान्तकार्ममेव दुष्कर्मकर्मिणि नान्तकार्ममेव ॥ मक्खलिपुराण 34. 82–83; vide Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 52 for a verse similar to परासराः.

1581. श्रीवाहनाप्राप्तस्माद्दुष्कर्मस्योपज्ञानं लोकार्थानितिनितिसतः ॥ विकर्मिर्यादिनन्दनाः हिः श्रीवाहनप्राप्तस्माद्दुष्कर्मस्योपज्ञानं लोकार्थानितिनितिसतः ॥ ब्राह्मणपुराण quoted in लितों ॥ श्रीवाहनप्राप्तस्माद्दुष्कर्मस्योपज्ञानं लोकार्थानितिनितिसतः ॥ मक्खलिपुराण 118 quotes दुष्कर्मस्योपज्ञानम् reading 'श्रीवाहनप्राप्तस्माद्दुष्कर्मस्योपज्ञानं लोकार्थानितिनितिसतः'.

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several birds (like the crow) and animals (like the cook and village hog), which are passed over for want of space.

Kāmya-snāna \(^{1588}\) (bath for some desired object) is that which is taken when one goes to a tīrtha (a sacred place) or when there is some astrological conjunction like the moon being in the constellation of pusya (vide Śaṅkhāṃrti 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. \(^{1588}\)

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 abhyayaṅga-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 (āmalaka) 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 Śaṅkhāṃrti 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

\(^{1582}\) śrīvatsana-aṇḍika śrnam vṛṣṇi-vṛtthi-vrūtthi। tathā kāmāṃ sahaśvīdāna na-kāma-svarājyeśi। śāsān VIII. 4.

\(^{1583}\) etātāntākhyāyaḥ paraḥ kriyāṃ śrnamānayeśi। śrīvatsana-sātvāḥ p. 27; madapakāryaṁ-pāyaṁ ṛśrnam-śrāvyāparākhyā। madapakāryāparāyaḥ mārtiṣṭrasya nāmayā। śāsān VIII. 6.

\(^{1584}\) añcāntakaś ca śrnam kūrvaṃ śaṅkhastraśātvā। saṁsāraṁ na-viśaḥ pārśvakaṁ ca ṛṣīyate। śāsānaṇaḥ quoted in śrīvatsan I. p. 123.

\(^{1585}\) śrīvatsana-kāndā tathā kalōkhaṇaśeśa-śrāvyāḥ। śrīvatsana-sātvāḥ p. 27. Śaṅkhā 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*.

There is another method where a man is ill and something happens on which it is absolutely necessary for him to bathe; in this case one who is not ill should touch him and then bathe himself and then again touch him and bathe; when this is repeated ten times the person who is ill is deemed to have become pure as if he had bathed.

In the case of a woman in her monthly course, if on the fourth day she has high fever, she is not to be bathed, but another woman is to touch her and bathe with all her clothes on and perform ācamana and touch her and bathe again; this is to be carried out ten or twelve times and in the end the clothes worn by the ailing woman are to be taken off and new ones to be given to her and she becomes clean.

The bath with water is called Vāruna (as Varuna is the lord of waters, according to Rg. VII. 49. 3 `yāsam rāja Varuno` &c.) and Varuna is the principal kind of bath. There are six kinds of *gauna 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 Varuna as the seventh) are enumerated and defined in Yogayāñavalkya and other works and they are: mantrasnāna, bhauma, agneya, 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 `gurvanujja` as synonymous. Garga and Brhaspati omit bhauma and mānasa and speak of sārasvata-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 Ahnika-prakāsa

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1586. अधिकस्या भवेतः स्नां रगाग्न्यास्त्वात् कर्मिनां। आदित्यो वाससा गापि आर्यों। वेदिके विन्यः। जायानि quoted by अपेति p. 135; `आदित्यो कर्तवेणाकाण्डायां नापिरि` विन्यः। `ब्रह्मणिः` both quoted by स्युधिच् I. p. 134, आधिकमकास p. 197.

1587. आदित्यस्मात् उपस्ये वृषार्कुलो ब्राह्मण:। स्वातां स्वात्त्व स्वेदेवें तत्र स्वार्त्स ब्राह्मण:। यम (Jīvānanda, part I p. 565), ब्रह्मवाराह chap. VI. p. 203 (Jīvānanda, part II); quoted as यम` in स्युधिच् I. p. 121, आधिकमकास p. 197.

1588. अराहस्याश् नायी ज्ञानं परियुज्यतः। चतुर्थीं सम्बन्धं संबोध्यतः हनं हि जिवं। तत्र संवेदनासंवाचः स्मार्ता स्मार्त्वा हुन: स्युधिः। `ब्राह्मणस्वात्त्वाः` पर्यंत आचार्येऽवहुन:। पुनः। अन्य तह स्वासां श्रामन्तलाः। छुड़ा भवेः स।। उकासस: quoted by स्युधिच् I. p. 121.
The mantrasnana\(^{1589}\) consists in sprinkling water with the verses ‘\(\text{āpo hi sthā}’ (Rg. X. 9. 1-3), the bhauma (or \(\text{pārthiva}\)) in smearing the body with loose earth, āgneya in smearing the body with holy ashes, viyayya in taking on the body the dust raised by the hoofs of cows, \(\text{ātvya}\) in wetting one’s body with a shower of rain accompanied with sunshine and mānasa in reflecting on God Viṣṇu.

\textit{Tarpāṇa} (offering water to gods, sages and Manes) is an \(\text{āṅga}\) (a subsidiary constituent part) of snāṇa, just as it is an \(\text{āṅga}\) in \textit{brahma-yajña}. When a person plunges his whole body in water including the head, he has to perform tarpāṇa while still standing in the water. \textit{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 tarpāṇa on the bank of the river. There was a difference of opinion about tarpāṇa. Some said\(^{1590}\) that a man had to perform tarpāṇa as an \(\text{āṅga}\) of snāṇa immediately after it and before samdhya prayer and then again the same day as an \(\text{āṅga}\) of \textit{brahma-yajña}; while others held that tarpāṇa was to be performed only once in the day after samdhya prayer. One has to perform tarpāṇa according to the procedure prescribed in one’s sākhā (Vedic school) but Śaṅkha prescribes a brief tarpāṇa which consists in the words ‘\(\text{may the universe from Brahmā down to a bunch of grass be satisfied}\)’ (or satiated) and offering three \(\text{añjalis}\) (joined hands) of water. When he performs tarpāṇa

\begin{itemize}
\item[1589.] अनात्यायाःपरहृत्य कालात्यायाधिष्ठयात्। सम्भासुखात्मितः सत के सिवके यात्रिति सूयः। मात्र भीमं तथात्यायं वाच्यं स्वरं बच्चं सत समानाय- द्वस्यामान्तः। आते विद्रोहविनियोगेषु सुखात्मतः पारिवर्तः। आते भस्माद स्वाभवं वाच्यं कोर्तः स्वरूपः। वर्णं सात्सर्वं शरीरं स्वाभवयोगः। वर्णं ब्राह्मणाः सात्सर्वं विकृतं विनियोगः। तदार्कात्यायाधिष्ठयात् सत सम्भासुखात्मितः। आते भस्माद स्वाभवं वाच्यं कोर्तः स्वरूपः। वर्णं सात्सर्वं शरीरं स्वाभवयोगः। तदार्कात्यायाधिष्ठयात् सत सम्भासुखात्मितः।
\item[1590.] हृदि च स्वात्साहस्तयं स्वात्साहस्तिपलीयं वाच्यं। अस्वान्त मध्यमेकाया- लथोपविचार्यं। यत् काययोगमिति। संख्यानुसनमात्रयास्यामान्तः। तयादि वाच्यात्मिति सत सम्भासुखात्मितः। तत्र वाच्यात्मिति सतात्रयास्यामान्तः। आते विद्रोहविनियोगेषु सुखात्मतः पारिवर्तः। आते भस्माद स्वाभवं वाच्यं कोर्तः स्वरूपः। वर्णं सात्सर्वं शरीरं स्वाभवयोगः। तदार्कात्यायाधिष्ठयात् सत सम्भासुखात्मितः।
\end{itemize}
standing in water, he should not wring the water from the ends of his garment until he has finished it. He should then wring the ends of his garment and the water so falling down is deemed to be meant for the sonless deceased persons born in the family of the bather and he has to repeat a verse to that effect. Further details of tarpana are set out under brahmayajña below.

After one takes a bath one was not to shake one's head (for getting rid of the water), nor should one rub off the water on one's body with one's hand or with the garment already worn by one; one has to cover one's head with a turban (to dry the hair) and wear two fresh garments already washed and dried (Viṣṇu Dh. S. 64. 9-13).

What clothes the brahmacārin 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 (tatu) 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 dīkṣā (initiatory rite) for a Vedic sacrifice. In the Kathaka 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 'vāsah' (outer garment) and 'nivi'(under garment) used with reference to the same man. In the Rg. the word 'adhīvāsa' 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 Sat. Br. V. 2. 1. 8 it is said that when the Neṣṭī 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. आहिनका: आचार्यस्थापयति जग्न्द्विकल्पितं बुद्धत्वतः जलाभिन्द्रित बुधावृद्धसंकेतपर्यथा। आंबकाकान्त p. 145. चतुर: सर्वेण वार्षोव प्रत्याशाया निश्चिन्तकयास्थाया। ये के प्रतास्थाय जाता इति मन्त्रे मर्यात्। मन्त्रक काण्डात्तिनिनित्य:। ये के प्रतास्थाय जाता अप्रेत गोवितो बुद्धत्व:। ये दुन्तु मन्या बृहत स्वविग्नितानोपनिविवाहः स्तुवितस्। (आर्यक) p.250.

1592. ये वास: परिषारे यथा पीवित्वं पुरुषं तययं। अस्तेश्वर VIII. 2. 16.

1593. तत्साध्य: पदनामनथित्ववम्ध्वतः वास: परिवर्तति कौशं यथा बुधावृद्धसंकेतपर्यथा। विशिष्टस्मतः। विशिष्टविषयं। V. 2. 1. 8. कौशमय: विशिष्टस्मतः। विशिष्टविषयं। V. 2. 1. 8. कौशमय: विशिष्टस्मतः। विशिष्टविषयं। V. 2. 1. कौशमय: विशिष्टस्मतः। विशिष्टविषयं। V. 2. 1. कौशमय: विशिष्टस्मतः। विशिष्टविषयं। V. 2. 1. कौशमय: विशिष्टस्मतः। विशिष्टविषयं। V. 2. 1. कौशमय: विशिष्टस्मतः। विशिष्टविषयं। V. 2. 1. कौशमय: विशिष्टस्मतः। विशिष्टविषयं। V. 2. 1. कौशमय: विशिष्टस्मतः। विशिष्टविषयं। V. 2. 1. कौशमय: विशिष्टस्मतः। विशिष्टविषयं। V. 2. 1. कौशमय: विशिष्टस्मतः। विशिष्टविषयं। V. 2. 1. कौशमय: विशिष्टस्मतः। विशिष्टविषयं। V. 2. 1. कौशमय: विशिष्टस्मतः। विशिष्टविषयं। V. 2. 1. कौशमय: विशिष्टस्मतः। विशिष्टविषयं। V. 2. 1. कौशमय: विशिष्टस्मतः। विशिष्टविषयं। V. 2. 1. कौशमय: विशिष्टस्मतः। विशिष्टविषयं। V. 2. 1. कौशमय: विशिष्टस्मतः। विशिष्टविषयं। V. 2. 1. कौशमय: विशिष्टस्मतः। विशिष्टविषयं। V. 2. 1. कौशमय: विशिष्टस्मतः। विशिष्टविषयं। V. 2. 1. कौशमय: विशिष्टस्मतः। विशिष्टविषयं। V. 2. 1. कौशमय: विशिष्टस्मतः। विशिष्टविषयं। V. 2. 1. कौशमय: विशिष्टस्मतः। विशिष्टविषयं। V. 2. 1. कौशमय: विशिष्टस्मतः। विशिष्टविषयं। V. 2. 1. कौशमय: विशिष्टस्मतः। विशिष्टविषयं। V. 2. 1. कौशमय: विशिष्टस्मतः। विशिष्टविषयं। V. 2. 1. कौशमय: विशिष्टस्मतः। विशिष्टविषयं। V. 2. 1. कौशमय: विशिष्टस्मतः। विशिष्टविषयं। V. 2. 1. कौशमय: विशिष्टस्मतः। विशिष्टविषयं। V. 2. 1. कौशमय: विशिष्टस्मतः। विशिष्टविषयं। V. 2. 1. कौशमय: विशिष्टस्मतः। विशिष्टविषयं। V. 2. 1. कौशमय: विशिष्टस्मतः। विशिष्टविषयं। V. 2. 1. कौशमय: विशिष्टस्मतः। विशिष्टविषयं। V. 2. 1. कौशमय: विशिष्टस्मतः। विशिष्टविषयं। V. 2. 1. कौशमय: विशिष्टस्मतः। विशिष्टविषयं।
one who is initiated for the sacrifice wears. In the Br. Up. II. 3. 6. there is a reference to cloth dyed red with safflower or woollen cloth that is whitish in colour. Rg. IV. 22. 2 and Rg. V. 52. 9 are interpreted by Western scholars as referring to wool on the Paruṣṇī 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 kuṣa) 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 Ap. 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 yajñopavītis &c. The Baud. Dh. S. I. 3. 2. says the same and adds that a snātaka should wear a turban, a deer-skin as upper garment, shoes and have an umbrella. Aparārka (pp 133-134) quotes verses from Vyāghra and Yogayājñāvalkya 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. (1. 6. 5-6, 10-11) says 'among garments' the one that has not been worn is pure and therefore everything connected with sacrifice and worship should be done with fresh (or unblemished) clothes. The sacrificer, his wife and the priests should wear garments that have been washed, dried in the wind and are not worn out by use; but in sacrifices performed for abhīcāra (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. तथा हैलस्य बुद्धस्य क्षणं यथा महाराजन वाससं यथा पाण्डविरिकं & c. युध. उप. II. 3. 6.

1595. अथ स्तान्त्वकः अन्तर्वतं उपरिप्रस्तुतं मैण्डसु दृष्टं यात्रेदत् सोच्चुरं च करणहर्षं ह्वय। विपोषोपरिति। उद्वैयामिठेत्सात्तक्षणानं छद्दीपिपासं छद्दीषुपासं। वी. दु. च. I. 3. 1-6. Compare for red clothes and turban in magic rites श्रीर. ज्र. III. 8. 12 'हयने भूपः स्विलितक्षणीया स्वीक्षित्वसमा भविष्यति: मच्छङ्गः।'
of flax or if they are not available cotton or woollen ones. Sabara on Jaimini X. 4. 13 quotes śrutī passages to the effect that the sacrificer and his wife wear fresh unused clothes in the model sacrifice and in the Mahāvrata the sacrificer wears in addition a tārpya (silk garment) and his wife wears one made of kuśa grass. 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. Gaut. 9. 4-5, Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 30. 10-13, Manu IV. 34-33, Yāj. I. 131 and others enjoin that a snālaka 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. 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.' Cloth dyed in indigo is also forbidden and a male has to undergo a fast and take pāṇcagavya 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, Mārkaṇḍa p. 1600 34. 42-43 prescribe that one should not wear the shoes, garments.

1596. Mahābhāṣya on Ā. S. 3. 13. Vide Baud. Dh. S. I. 6. 13 as to how tārpya is to be purified. The word तार्प्य has two meanings; (1) cloth fresh from the loom (to be worn in marriages and similar maṅgalā ceremonies); (2) garment that is washed, but not used for many days, that is virtually new and has its fringes intact. Vide Śm. C. I. p. 113.


1600. उपप्पुराणवानीतिः धार्मिक सौभाग्यात्। उपप्पुराणवानीतिः धार्मिक सौभाग्यात्।
yajñopavita, 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 vāsya yellow ones, a śūdra should wear a dark one that is dirty. The Mahābhārata says that one has to wear garments at the time of worshipping gods that are different from those that one wears while walking on a road or when one is in bed. Prajāpati quoted by Par. M. states that in tarpāṇa one should wear silk cloth having a hem or one that is orange-coloured, but never one that is gaudy. Probably it is requirements like these that led to the practice of wearing silken garments at the time of meals and worship, which practice is observed even now in many parts of India. Manu IV. 18 and Viśnu 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 samnyāsin will be discussed below. The śrūtis 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, īrddhva-pūndra, tripūndrā &c.) according to one's caste or sect. In the Āhnikapraṅkāṣa (pp. 248-252), in the Smṛtimuktāphalā (āhnika pp. 292-310) elaborate rules are laid down on this subject. In the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa it is stated that for making

1601. अप्रयोगं भवेवः शायनीमथवेभु अप्रयोगश्च देवानामपर्यायामपावेभु।
अप्रयोगस्तव 104. 46, quoted by अपराध्य p. 173 and शुद्ध. र. p. 501. नाथकरणे
प्रजापतिः। कौम बाल्यः परंसति तथापि सहस्रं तथा। काव्याय धातरकथा वा मोहणे तथौ
कहित्वत्। अविद्याय p. 33a.

1602. पर्वताय नवीनिष्ठे सम क्षेषे भिक्षेषतः। सिस्तिरिये च वर्तकं हृदसीमूलमासिते।
धर्म तपस्या संरक्षणं प्रजियुपपुष्पिकाः। महाप्राणप्राण रूप इच्छति। इ. p. 115;
विदे सिस्तिरिकृपा pp. 42-43.
urdhva-pundrā (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 *tulasi* 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 back, the back of the neck, after taking the twelve names of Viṣṇu (viz. Keśava, Nārāyana &c.) for each of the above twelve parts of the body. The *tripundra* mark (three oblique lines) is to be made with holy ashes (bhāsman) and the tilaka with sandalwood paste. According to the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, the urdhva-pundrā is made after a bath with loose earth in such a way that it resembles the outline of the foot (of Hari), the *tripundra* with holy ashes after homa, and the tilaka (a circular mark) with sandalwood paste on worshipping gods (devapūjā). The Sm. M. (*āhnikā* p. 292) quotes Vāsudevopaniṣad for making the urdhva-pundrā mark on the forehead and other places with Gopicandana (magnesian or calcareous clay) or in its absence with earth from the roots of the *tulasi* plant. Sacrifice, gifts, japa, homa, study of the Veda, tarpana of the Manes, if done without the urdhva-pundrā mark, become fruitless (accordi.g to Viṣṇu quoted in Sm. M. *āhnikā* p. 292). The *Vṛddha-Hārīta smṛti* (II. 58-72) has a long note on urdhva-pundrā. The Sm. M. (*āhnikā* p. 296) notes that some texts of the Pāśupata and other Śaiva sectarians run down urdhva-pundrā and highly extol the *tripundra* mark, while Pāñcarātra texts enjoin the marking of the body with śaṅkha, cakra and other weapons of Viṣṇu and condemn *tripundra*. Devout worshippers of Viṣṇu who are followers of Madhvācārya brand the weapons of
Visnu 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-Hārīta* II. 44-45, the *Pṛthvi-candrodaya* condemn the practice of branding the body with marks of the conch &c. with red-hot iron as fit only for Śudras. The *Sr̥tyartha-sāgara* of Chalāri quotes passages of the Vāyupurāṇa and Visṇupurāṇa supporting branding. In the *Kālagnirudrapaniṣad* the procedure\(^{1605}\) of the tripundra mark is laid down. Holy ashes are taken from the sacred fire with the five mantras 'sadyojātām' (Tai. Ār. 10. 43-47) and they are then invoked with the mantras 'agniriti bhasma'; part of the ashes is then taken in the palm of one's hand with the mantra 'ma 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 'tryāyusam Jamadagner' when applying the ashes to the forehead, 'kaśyapasya tryāyusam' when applying to the navel (or chest) and so on (the head coming last). The Sāṅkhya-yāna gr. says\(^{1606}\) "He makes the tripundra mark with ashes with the five formulas 'tryāyusam' &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 *Sr̥timuktāphala*\(^{1607}\) (ānīka 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

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\(^{1605}\) 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 Āṣa. M. p. 7. 2 'व्यायुं जस्वैः कार्यमपि व्यायुपमः। यज्ञेषुनां व्यायुं तमेः अस्तु व्यायुपमः।' वाज. सं. 111. 62 has the same mantra with slight variations. About the ashes the following are repeated 'अभिसितिः भस्म वातुरित्वम भस्म जलमिति भस्म जलमिति भस्म ज्वोमिति भस्म सदैव च हुस्य भस्म,' quoted in *Nāraṇayana* (वीचिका on *कालालखिः* उपनिषदः."

\(^{1606}\) व्यायुपमिति प्रभुर्मिते वैदिकादिग्नाते हुस्ते च वैशिष्ठस्यः शानि च तत् श्रुते च पञ्चम अस्मान जिविपुरि करोऽसि स एवो वेदानामेके हि चौत्र वर्णनिश्चिते। सत्यायणमुद्ध्रा quoted in *स्थुलिस्थः.* (आद्विक p. 303). Vide S. B. E. vol. 29 p. 76 where this passage is said to be a late addition.

\(^{1607}\) अद्यान्तः हिंज्यसे तिज्युपपत्तावरणाशिप्ति व्यायुपपायायो धृत्ये च प्रकटिनिपाठिति विज्ञापने। चौपानितिः quoted in *स्थुलिस्थः.* (आद्विक p. 301).
of the tripundra mark with ashes (bhūti). This is a fine example of how sectarianists twist the words of ancient texts to bolster up their practices and dogmas. In the Kādambarī (para 34) Hārīta is described as ornamented by the tripundra mark of ashes. The Ācāramayūkha quotes a verse from the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa 'of him who does not bear the tripundra mark, truthfulness, tāuca, japa, homa, pilgrimage and worship of gods—all this becomes futile' and a verse from the Smṛti-ratnāvali 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 (āhnika 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 pundra mark that is deemed to be pleasing to any deity without calumniating other sect marks'.

The Nirṇayāsindhu (II pariccheda) when dealing with the 11th day of Asāḍha sets out from the Rāmārcaṇa-candrika passages about the marking of the body with conch figure by means of heated metal pieces and also quotes the Pīthvīcandrodaya and other works that condemn such practices and remarks that one may follow the śīṣṭas. The Ācāracarata (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 brahmana 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
sun rises one cubit above the horizon (Gobhila-smrti I. 123). The evening homa is to be performed at a time when the stars clearly appear in the sky and the ruddy colour has left the western horizon (Gobhila-smrti I. 124). ṛṣabha Śr. II. 2 and ṛṣabha 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 saṁdhyā prayer even after homa. It has been shown above (p. 425) that the belief was that a man owed three debts one of which, viz. that to the gods, was discharged by performance of sacrifices and that a man had to perform āgniḥotra (fire worship) to the end of his life. The fire to be tended was either śrauta or śmaṛta. As to the first there were certain rules. Only a person that had attained a certain age was to kindle the śrauta fires, viz. one who had a son or had reached an age when he could have a son and whose hair was still black (i.e. who had not become middle-aged or old). There were two views on the necessity of kindling the śrauta fires. Vas. Dh. S. XI. 45-48 says "a brāhmaṇa must necessarily kindle the three śrauta fires and offer (in them) the Darśa-Pārṇamāsa (new moon and full moon sacrifices), the Āgrāyana iṣṭi, the Cāturmāsya, 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. संध्याध्ययनमस्ताने तु त्याय होमो विच्ययते | वृष II. 28; पारुषक्रमस्मारः नाम पारिस्तमस्त च दुर्गान्तादेहसाराधिकारिः। हस्तार्कारः सबीवधानसारः हिस्विका न गच्छति। साधुःसबीवधिः। पुनः वाशूःविषवधानसारः। गोभिरसम्बृद्धिः। I. 122-123. Manu II. 15 refers to the several views about होमकारः. समाध्ययनम in Manu is explained as the time before the sun's disc appears after the stars have become invisible. Vide सूत्तिकत्र p. 161 and श्र. सं. परिशिष्ट I. 72 for explanation of उङ्ग्र, समाध्ययनम &c. - The सूत्तिकत्र p. 35 says पारुषिनि संध्याध्ययनः यात्र तथा। संध्याध्ययनम होमकारः ना भाविकः। *

1610. होम वैतानिकोऽक्ष्यम स्मार्यम कृपः चिऱ्ठिचिऱ्ठः। स्तुतिनिष्ठेऽवस्तुस्मात्स्मात्स्थापतिः केचिं। शुचा विचः। भर्ताज quote in सूत्तिकत्र I. p. 163; vide विच्ययपत्रतिः p. 314 and संध्याध्ययनम p. 890. *

1611. अवरम्य भाष्यावधानसारः | दुर्गाष्ट्रपारुषक्रमसारः। शुचावधानसारः। अवरम्य विनयातिः। भर्ताज quote in सूत्तिकत्र I. p. 163; vide विच्ययपत्रतिः p. 314 and संध्याध्ययनम p. 890. - The भर्ताज explains that the Āgrāyana 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 ending of the uttarāṣṭāṇa and of daksināṣṭāṇa (i.e. twice a year) and a Soma sacrifice once a year at its beginning. Vide also Yaj. I. 125-126.
indebted in three debts, in sacrifice to the gods &c." Šabara on Jaimini V. 4. 16 expressly says that there is no particular time fixed for kindling the sacred fires and that a person may do so the very day on which the pious desire to do so arises in his mind. The Trikaṇḍamandana I. 6-7 refers to the two views that āḍhāna (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 Grhya 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 explaining Rg. VIII. 19. 5 in which reliance is also placed on two more Rk verses (viz. Rg. VIII. 24. 20 and VI. 16. 47). The purpose of all this is to show that even the study of the Veda, the performing of namaskāra and offering of a samidh in the fire are equivalent to a real sacrifice. That shows that it was not obligatory on 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 Treta) are the Āhavanīya, Gārhapatya and Dakṣināgni. The Āhavanīya fire-place is a square, Gārhapatya is round (as the earth is round) and Dakṣināgni is in the form of half the orb of the moon (vide Vṛddha-Gautama p. 604, Jīvananda). In the Brāhmaṇas and Śrautasūtras elaborate discussions are held about the kindling of fires (agnyādhana), 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. भैरवधाने काभितकालिनियोऽदत्तिः। चुढ़ष्ट्रेण अध्योपमेत्यचुढ़ष्ट्रात्वाधित इति।

1613. य: समिद्रा यावदुहो यो वेदवन दुःखा सत्यः अग्रे॥

सत्येद्वैतर्वत् ऊर्ध्वं आंशिकसत्य चुढ़ष्ट्रम वधा न।

न तमोऽवेद्वैतं दुःखन न सत्येद्वैतं चुढ़ष्ट्रम।

महान्न. VIII. 19. 5-6.
History of Dharmakāstra

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 brāhmaṇas who performed the New and Full moon sacrifices, the Āgrayana iṣṭi and the Caturmāsya. But in modern times even such agnihotris have become very rare and in certain parts of India one can hardly find a single agnihotrin keeping śrauta fires even among thousands of brāhmaṇas.

Every one who has kindled the sacred fires has to offer every morning and evening the Agnihotra (oblations of clarified butter) in the 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 anpāsana, āvasathya, aupasada, vaivāhika or (-hana), śmāra or grhya or sālāgni. There are various views about the time from which this fire is to be maintained. The view of the vast majority of writers is that the grhya fire is the nuptial “fire which is kindled on the day of marriage by the newly married pair. We saw above (pp. 530, 557) that the 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. अग्रहोत्रच च ज्ञुपादावप्ते पुनिष्ठोऽत्रदुः कुष्ठी। भुव. IV. 25.

1615. परिमस्यय विप्रेण श्रृद्धाचार्यानुमोक्ष ज्ञानोऽभिध्वंवक्ते विनिमयाविष्णुष विभिन्न। विनिमयाविष्णुष विभिन्न विनिमयाविष्णुष विभिन्न। विनिमयाविष्णुष विभिन्न विनिमयाविष्णुष विभिन्न। विनिमयाविष्णुष विभिन्न विनिमयाविष्णुष विभिन्न। विनिमयाविष्णुष विभिन्न विनिमयाविष्णुष विभिन्न। विनिमयाविष्णुष विभिन्न विनिमयाविष्णुष विभिन्न। विनिमयाविष्णुष विभिन्न विनिमयाविष्णुष विभिन्न। विनिमयाविष्णुष विभिन्न विनिमयाविष्णुष विभिन्न। विनिमयाविष्णुष विभिन्न विनिमयाविष्णु�
another village) the nuptial fire is continually carried in a vessel (called ukhā) in front till he reaches his house. The Aṣv. gr. I. 9. 1-3 says 'beginning from the holding of the hand (i.e., marriage) he should worship the domestic fire himself or his wife, also his son or his daughter or pupil. The worship of fire should be constantly kept up'. A man's nuptial fire may go out and he may not re-instate it through neglect or other cause or his wife may be dead and he may remain a widower. In such cases he has to offer his daily offerings in the ordinary fire on which he cooks his food (laukika or pacana fire); so that so far five kinds of fires (viz. the three śrauta ones, aupāsana or grhya and the laukika) are spoken of. There is another fire called 'sabhya' (which is the sixth). According to Medhātithi on Manu III. 185 the sabhya fire is that which is kept burning in the hall of a rich man for the removal of cold and for the diffusion of warmth. Vide Śat. Br. (S. B. E. vol. 12, p. 302 n 1), where the translator says that the sabhya fire was kept only by ksatriyas. The Kātyāyana Śrutā sūtra IV. 9. 20 prescribes that the sabhya fire also is generated by friction like the Gārhapatiya fire. Ap. Sr. sūtra IV. 4. 7 says that the sabhya fire is to be kindled in the hall (of gambling, according to the comm.) to the east of the place of the āhavantiya fire. The Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 14) says that a householder should maintain six fires, five, four, three, two or one, but should never remain without fire. When he keeps the tretā, aupāsana, sabhya and ordinary fire he will have six; when he maintains the tretā, aupāsana and sabhya he is called paṅcagni, who is among the brāhmaṇas that are paṅkti-pāvanas (i.e., that sanctify the company at dinner). Vide Gaut. 15. 29, Ap. Dh. S. II. 7. 17. 22, Vas. Dh. S. III. 19, Manu III. 185, Yaj. I. 221. He who maintains tretā and aupāsana will have only four, he who maintains only tretā

1616. विवाहाधिकारि दौस्तुः नवयितः । आचा श्रवः 1. 8. 5 ; समोप्येत्तमिद्वहुराहि । नितायो धायः । आप. श्र. V. 14-15.

1617. परिमहाधिविध गुणं परिषर्तवचयं परस्यपि व जुनं: कुमार्यार्तेवासी व । निताय- इन्द्रहितं स्वातः । आचा. श्र. I. 9. 1-2.

1618. सर्वोऽ नाम वा महासाधनस्य शिवापनोद्धारिणिव भद्दु वेदताः श्वाहिष्ठती । मेघावमू मदु III. 175 ; वृद्धान्त 15th chap. p. 604 (Jivananda part 2) defines 18 'आत्रसब्यं ते चाचायं पचविषया प्रच्छन्तते । तेषां स्वंगतो वास्यः सप्तय इत्यभिप्रयोगे अग्नि महानीयं सर्वस्य अक्ष । आप. श्र. IV. 4. 7.

1619. गुर्जरस्य स्फरिष्टं । स्वायार्धास्मिनस्तरिणिकः । स्वायु हिदत्यास्सैकार्तिनिं शिरहरिनी कर्मचन । सूतवर्षसार प. 14.
will have three, he who maintains upāsana and the ordinary
fire will have two and one may only maintain the ordinary
fire. The rites prescribed in 1620 the grhyasūtra of a person's
śākha were to be performed in the upāsana; 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 grhya fire. Gaut. V. 6, Yāj. I. 97, Pār.
gr. I. 2 and others refer to an optional course viz. setting up the
gṛhya fire at the time when one separates from other members
of the family. The Śaṅg. gr. I. 1. 2-5 refers to four alternatives
in all (including the two already referred to); the other two
are: When 1621 a pupil is about to return from his teacher's
home, he may keep as his grhya fire that fire on which he puts
the last samidh; or a person may, if he is the eldest son, keep
the fire of his father on the latter's death or of his eldest brother
on the latter's death (if there is no division and the family
continues joint). Baud. gr. II. 6. 17 says 1622 that the grhya
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 vyāhṛtis and with fuel sticks, from
samāvartana to marriage with vyāhṛtis and clarified butter,
and from marriage onwards with offerings of boiled rice
or barley.

1620. पारंपारिके कुमारसर्गाधारीहि तौ लोकिके। समां च लोकिके कार्यं बोधे यथा-
निकाशस्य स्तुत्यविशिष्टत: १४; अनान्तप्रकारप्राप्तिवायवायः युज्यस्य। साक्तेन
विचित्र्येन युज्यथाः त्वीकेश्चितः ॥ वेदयज्ञसूत्तिः III. 31-32

1621. भारताः प्रवृत्ति पावनीच। शी. V. 6. अभिसमावस्थायानी यज्ञान्याः समि-
धार्मिकयज्ञसूत्ररिवीति। वैवैधः च। सुवयाहकातः । चेते वा यथातिति तत्थ यज्ञाति।
श्री. य. I. 1. 2-5; compare मोहिलपु. I. 1. 12.

1622. मामिल्याः प्रवृत्तिः तत्समां ज्ञाएः तत्समायाय तत्समाएः तत्स्मात्समाम्
पारंपारिकस्य तस्मिन युज्यस्य कस्मिन् किंतु । ... स एव उपर्य न्यास्य व्याहितिः: समि-
निर्दृढः यो तत्समायानां । समावस्थायायां यज्ञाय यथातितिपुर्वे यो पाणिन्धायान ।
पारंपारिकस्य वैवैधित्यं शैवायं कर्मवेता अन्ये ज्ञातिः अन्ये महाययायें स्वातः
हृति तत्स्मातः । चुंबक चैत्यादृशयात्रत महायायें स्वातः
हृति तत्स्मातः । श्री. य. II. 6. 17, 19-21; अम्ये
स्वातिः सार्यं ज्ञातने यथैव । श्री. य. I. 9. 8.
The deities to whom agnihotra is offered in the morning and evening are Agni and Prajapati (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, Bhâr. gr. III. 3, Ap. 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 (Äsv. gr. I. 2. 1). It is either boiled rice or barley (Ap. gr. VII. 19).\(^{1623}\) Gobhila-smṛti (I. 131 and III. 114) says\(^{1624}\) that among havisyas the foremost are yavas (barley), then comes rice, but one should eschew māsa, kodrava and gaura among corns even if nothing else is available, that if rice and barley are not available one may employ curds or milk or in their absence, yavāgū (gruel) or water. According to a verse quoted by Nārāyaṇa on Äsv. 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 Ap. 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 Äsv. 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 Prajapati.\(^{1626}\) There is another rule that fluid materials are to be offered into fire with the sruva ladle, while solid havis is to be offered with the right hand.\(^{1627}\)
The Gobhila gr. (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 vaisya 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 vaisya or one may produce it by attrition; this last is holy, but does not bring prosperity. One may do as one likes'. There are similar provisions in Śāṅ. 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 up. 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 fires).

1628. वैदिकसूत्राम्बर्शीपादित्यप्राप्तावाद्योत्सताः अथि वा बुद्धमात्र एवादेशाः
वाज्रयहा वा राजस्यवा वैदिकसूत्राः अथि वा वै भविष्यवाद्योत्सताः
मूर्तयेत्वा अधिकारस्य मूर्तयेत्वा किंतु यथा यथा मूर्तयेत्वा किंतु यथा
गोभिलस्मृतमयौ 1.15-19; कातकसंहिताः VIII.12
हस सो वायुः सो वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै
The words (of Manu IV. 53) 'one should not blow on fire with the mouth' as applicable to ordinary fire.

1629. भुजाहिताथ्यायं वन्यी हससिद्धे विद्यूषये ।
साक्षारे विदितवाच सो ततः सत्यम्
कथविषयः स्तुत्येतस्य मा 35; vide स्तुतिको I. p. 163 for similar quotations from several smṛtis and vide मोनिलस्यस्ति I. 133-134.

1630. The गुजः (Bg. X. 90. 13) says 'सुतालोपास्थि गुजः माणान्त्यस्जापतः
The गुजः (Z. D. M. G. vol. 35 p. 541) I. 70 requires that the blowing should be with the mouth 'सुतालोपपमेत्वातः गुजः अद्वितियाचेत वश्वसत्कुलिनी
not with a piece of cloth nor with the hand nor with a winnowing basket. Vide हरदृशं on आप. च. च. 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 Daksa 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. We saw above (n. 1617) that the Āsv. gr. (I. 9. 1) allows the wife, a son, an unmarried daughter or a pupil of the householder to attend to the worship of the householder's grhya fire. Śaṅ. 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 paryuksana. Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 15–16 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 śrāuta 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 śrāuta sacrifices only; while as regards the daily homa in the grhya fire the wife and others specified by Āsv. are held to be competent if the sacrificer is ill or has gone abroad. Haradatta (on Āsv. gr. I. 9. 1–2) says that either the husband or the wife must always be near the grhya fire. Laghu-Āsvalāyana (I. 69) says that one who has kindled the grhya fire should not leave the boundary of his village without his wife, as the texts lay down that homa is to be performed in the place where the wife stays. A brāhmaṇa 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
absence of both is useless. 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 savarṇa wife or by associating with himself an asavarga wife)" says Gobhila smṛti. III. 9. Gobhila then refers to the story of Rāma, who performed sacrifices with a golden image of his discarded wife Śīta 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 Satyāśādha in his śrauta sūtra. There is no pratiniśthī (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 Satyāśādha have reference only to a human substitute for a wife and that other smṛtis allow a substitute made of gold or kuśa. For example, Vṛddha-Hārita 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. असमक्ष तु कुम्भोऽर्थर्य सारवद्रविनः। ब्रह्मरुपस्मक्ष तु भवेज्ञनमार्थकः॥ स्मिरितस्वति III, 1, quoted in स्मृतिचन्द्र I. p. 161.

1636. व्यतार्थमपि भारवियां वैव्यक्तिपि न व हि स्यैत। उपाधिनांति तत्कर्म पायकथियत ॥ समाप्येत्॥ रामार्थम प्रवचन सारविनष्टः। इत्य यथा मुख्याय। सह भावार्थि। विचित्रे॥ गोमिदस्वति III. 9-10. These are explained at length by अपरार्के pp. 114-15 and the स्मृतिचन्द्रका I. p. 167.

1637. न स्मार्थितस् भारविया पुजस्व देवस्य कार्यार्थवेदवाय। कर्मणां च महत्मिनिधिंघरेत॥ सर्वार्थमात्र III. 1.; compare "स्मार्थितस्वेदवाय भवार- 

cर्थम् मात्रमिद्वाय तथा विनिधिंघरेत।" आय. अ. 24. 4. 1; जैनमित VI. 3. 18-21.

1638. कुता कुत्सिष्ठिः पत्तीं पाषाणमस्वमिति। जुझपातिष्ठितोऽहं पवाख्यायिकं 

क्षया। ब्रजविष्णुति 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, Visṇu 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 vrātya and patita. The MundaVa Up. I. 2.3 declares that if a person fails to perform the Darśa-Pūrṇamāsā 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 satndhyā 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. 19.13 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 Śāṅkhāṃśūṭi chap. XI (with some variations) and in Visṇu Dh. S. 56 (in prose). Some

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1639. भायोमरणसेवणे व प्रेषाट्वमसेविपि वा। अधिकारी भवेश्वरस्त्राय पातकशद्दुष्टे॥ अभि 108।

1640. तस्मादव्यापदिकोपि अश्रयोऽभ्राततेन। ततगतेर्मवाच्यमाथा गीयते । वृजेसनाथस्त्रैर्मृणमहोदयंदेशित । चज्ज्ञासनासु:॥ अः । भ. 32.8।

1641. अभ्रोटिताः अन्तुक्तयाः अन्यायोः वा शुद्धस्तम्योऽभवति। वसिष्ठ III.1; ज्ञातवरो न वै निदेशायतान्तपिन्नम विना। निःशेष चेत्र वृजेश्वरस्त्राय पतितो भवेत्॥ गार्गयो न नै प्रायो भवेत्॥ तां । स्वति । उपसना । अद्वितीयः भण्टराय परम्पराग्राहपते। वाया परम्परा भागणं अद्वितीयः पुरवासम्मन। स्ये स. 1.5.2 । काटकसंहिता । XIX.2 ( reads the words as श्रीराह ... ... श्रुतावप्पे )

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of these Vedic texts are well known, such as Aghamāraṇa (Rg. X. 190. 1-3), Pāramāṇi verses (Rg. IX), Satarudriya (Tāi. S. IV. 5. 1-11), Trisuparṇa (Tāi. Ār. X. 48-50) &c. Manu II. 87, Vas. 26. 11, Śāṅkhaśārīti 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 śārīti 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 tarpāna or after the morning homa or at the end of vaiśvadeva and that it constitutes brahmjayāṇa (II. 28-29). Viṣṇu Dh. S. (64. 36-39) avers that japa should comprise sacred hymns, particularly the Gāyatrī and Purusāsūkta, as nothing else is superior to these. Japa is of three kinds, vācika (audibly uttered), upāmśu (inaudibly uttered) and mānasā (mentally revolved), each succeeding one being ten times superior to each preceding one (Laghū-Hārīta chap. IV, p. 186, Jīvananda I). Vide Manu II. 85 (= Vas. 26. 9, Śāṅkha 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. 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 Purusāsūkta (Rg. X. 90) and similar hymns and a brāhmaṇa who knows only the

1642. स्त्रापक विपश्यण यथाधारित जोपति। विशेषतः साधिशिष्टमिववर्ग जरेयक्यवशुरंके च। नैतत्प्राप्तायस्मिन्सति। विश्ववर्त्तक 64. 36-39.

1643. The verses of Laghū-Hārīta about three kinds of japa are quoted in the Śrītacandrika I. p. 149 from Nṛsiṁhasūrya (chap. 58. 78-81).

Gayatrl should repeat the texts of the purāṇas.\(^{1645}\) Vydhda-Hārīta (VI. 33, 45, 163, 213) prescribes that the mantra of 6 letters (om namo Viṣṇuve), 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 fruitless\(^{1646}\). Saṅkha-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 putrajivaka or a man may count by knots of kuśa grass or by bending the fingers of the left hand.\(^{1647}\) Bṛhat-Parāśara V. p. 85 and Laghu-Vyāsa (Jīvananda part II. p. 375) contain similar provisions about aṅgamalā 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 aṅkṣa seeds. Bāṇa (Kādambarī para 37) speaks of counting by means of rings of rudrākṣas. Vide Sm. C. I. pp. 152-153, Par. M. I. part I, pp. 308-311, Madanapārijāta p. 80, Āhnikapraķāsa 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 समस्तदेवाध्ययनयता आदायारम्भेत नेपातदेन स्मार्य: करणीय:।

\(^{1646}\) अस्तेवार दु प्रजनम वर्षि सस्त्रिणि भवेत। अतिरिक्त नृत्तिकार पृष्ठार ।

\(^{1647}\) कुरुक्षेत्रमासिते: कुरुस्तीविश्वास खुप्पविविधाविन्यास:। आधुनिक:।

\(^{1648}\) अद्वैतकारणां कुरुक्षेत्रविभाषिन्यां तथा। सत्ताविषतका कार्यं ततो नेपालाय सि।
What objects a man should see on getting up has already been stated (p. 648). According to Nārada (prakōrāka 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 Vāmanapuraṇa (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 Adīparva 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, 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 saucā, dantadhāvana, śnaṇa, sarīdhyā, homa, japa would occupy the first of the eight parts of the day. In the second part of the day a brāhmaṇa householder was to go over and to revise his Vedic studies and to collect fuel sticks, flowers, kuṣa &c. (Dakṣa II. 33, 35, Ṣā. 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. देवकार्य ततः कुर्सा युगमकलणकिष्मां । दश ११. ३० । आचार्यव हुनाकुर्मांचतः केद्रामाधवसः । आदिशासनेमकलणकिष्मांनानिति च ॥ नवव्युर्याणाः quoted in यूह. र. p. 183.

¹⁶⁵⁰. होकरितमकलणकिष्मांद्विक ब्राह्मणो गोहूंतेलटाणां । हिरण्य सरिारिंदर आपो राजा तयाबान । नात्रु ( मकरण एक ५४ ) quoted in स्तुस्तिच्छ. I. p. 168.

¹⁶⁵¹. होम च कुर्लासम्य युगमां ततो चहिंदरिंभयं मद्यमस्य । हृद्धी च सर्विन्दोपि सोदवुष्क्षव च च सवस्ताधरुणं सुर्यवर्ष । सूक्रोन्य स्वस्तिकमस्य आदित युगमकायणकायांक । शोतानि युगमां तथा होम च कुर्लासम्य युगमकायण । अवर्धुष्क्षशं समाधान ततथ कुर्लासम्यातिवृत्त ॥ वामनपुराणत्व । १४. ३५–३६ quoted in स्तुस्तिच्छ. I. p. 168, यूह. र. p. 187.

¹⁶⁵². हितस्य च तथा भागे वेदाभ्यासो विधिषाये । ... समिष्टुकुर्मकाविंचां स काल परिकृष्ठितं । दश २२. ३३ एव ३५; वेदवाग्यामिख्यां शास्त्राणि विनियमिन्ति च । या र. I. ६९.
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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, Yaj. 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 shelter. In this world only that man may be said to live on whom many depend for their livelihood; other men who only fill their own belly are really dead, though living (Dakṣa II. 40).

In the fourth part of the day (i. e. before noon) one was to have the mid-day bath (with tarpana) and then the mid-day sārṇḍhyā prayer and devapūja &c. (Dakṣa II. 43 and Yaj. I. 100). Those who bathe twice (in the morning and at noon) will strictly follow the routine sketched above in Dakṣa, Yaj. 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 tarpana of gods, sages and pitṛs; devapūja and the five daily yajñas. These will now be described in detail.

Tarpana—(satiating by offering water). As stated in Manu II. 176, every day one has to perform tarpana of gods, sages and pitṛs. The water to be offered to gods is poured by that part of the right hand which is called devatālītha and that for the pitṛs by the pitṛ-tālītha. A person was to perform tarpana according to the grhyasūtras of the Vedic śākha which he or his ancestors studied. There is a good deal of divergence among the several grhyasūtras. Here the procedure of tarpana prescribed

1653. ज्ञातिपौषुत्र: क्षीणसर्धानाथः समाभितः। अन्यायादि धन्युकरण पौषप्यस्य उदाहरत:। द्वाि 11. 36-37.

1654. चतुर्थेर्थस्थानम भागे स्नानार्थे बुद्धमहर्ष्टः। तिरंधुपपुसार्वभवः स्नायानाशाहस्ति।
ताहे। द्वाि 11. 43 (quoted by आचार्य p. 128); स्नाना वेदविश्ववृत्ति वर्त्तवृत्ति-समाधय:। या. I. 100, on which the Mit. remarks ततो मध्यावधे सास्त्रकवित्पिना तत्राविद्वे
स्नाना देवार्थ सुरान्यादात विवृत्ति च वकारावृत्तिः वेदविश्ववृत्ति धर्मितीपथ तथयेत।
तत्रस्तरं मध्यशुभ-कृत्तितितहिपरमाद्यभूतिनामस्तमें यथावर्तसुभुधः सामाजिकोपायकाले। स्व-
मासामित्वं बहुये विनामकारकु सत्राधिवेयो भतिपिनताता।

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by the Āsv. gr. (III. 4.1-5) will be first set out. In the Devatātarpana the deities are enumerated and one has to add the words 'trpyatu', 'trpyetām', or 'trpyantu' with each devatā according as it is one deity, two deities or more and offer water to each (e.g. 'Prajāpati-trpyatu, Brahmadeva trpyatu, ....... Dyāvāprthivī trpyetām' &c). The deities are 31 viz. Prajāpati, Brahmadeva, Vedas, devas, rṣis, all metres, omkāra, vaṣṭikāra, vyāhrtis, the Gāyatrī, sacrifices (yajñas), heaven and earth, the air (antariksa), days and nights, the Sāṅkhyaśāstra, siddhas, oceans, the rivers, the mountains, the fields, herbs, trees, Gandharvas and Apsarases, snakes, birds, cows, sadhyas, vīpras, yakṣas, the rakṣases, 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 Āsv. 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 'raksānai'. He further adds that the tarpana 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 nīvita form. The twelve sages are those of the hundred rks, the middle rṣis (i.e., of mandalas 2 to 9 of the Rgveda), Grūtṣamadā, Viśvāmitra, Vāmadeva, Atri, Bharadvāja, Vasiṣṭha, Pragāthas, the Pāvamāṇi hymns, sages of the short hymns and those of the long hymns (the tarpana formula will be 'satarcinas-trpyantu, mādhyanās-trpyantu, Grūtṣamadas-trpyantu &c.). It will be noticed that the sages from Grūtṣamada to Vasiṣṭha are the seers of mandalas 2 to 7 of the Rgveda. The Pragāthas stand for the eighth mandala of which the first hymn is ascribed in the Anukramani to Pragātha of the Kanva gotra and the rest of the eighth mandala is ascribed to various scions of the Kanva gotra. The verses of the ninth mandala are called Pāvamāṇyah; but as it is a tarpana of sages, we rather expect the form pāvamānāḥ as in the Sāṅkhya-grhya IV. 10. ‘Śatarcinah’ refers to the sages of the first mandala, and ‘kṣudrasukthāḥ’ and ‘mahāsukthāḥ’ to sages of the tenth mandala. 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 prăcināvīkā form (i.e. it is suspended over the right shoulder and under the left arm). There are two sub-groups here. In the first the verbal forms ‘trpyantu’ or ‘trpyatu’ are used with the nominative of the words for the sage; i.e. ‘Sumantu-Jaimini-Vaiśampāyana-Paila-sūtra-bhāṣya-Bhārata-Mahābhārata-Dharmācāryās trpyantu’;1655 ‘Jānanti-Bhāavi-Gārgya-Gautama-Śākalya-Bādhṛavya-Māṇḍavya-Māṇḍūkeyās trpyantu’; ‘Gārgi-Vācaknavī trpyatu, Vādava-Prātītheyī trpyatu, Sulabhā-Maitreyī trpyatu’. These together are five sentences. It is remarkable that in this list three women are mentioned as sages (Gārgi, Vādava 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. Kahoḷam tarpayāmi, Kauśītakam tarpayāmi.....Āśvalāyanam tarpayāmi). These 17 sages are: Kahoḷa, Kauśītaka, Mahākauśītaka, Pāṅgya, Mahāpāṅgya, Suyajña, Śāṅkhya-yāna, Aitareya, Mahaitareya, Śākala, Bāṣkala, Sujatavaktra, Audavāhi, Mahaudavāhi, Sāujāmi, Śaunaka, Āśvalāyana. The 18th is ‘may all the other ācāryas be satiated’ (ye cāneye ācāryaḥ-te sarve trpyantu). All these sages are connected with the Rgveda, its Brāhmaṇas, its Āraṇyakas and other related works like the Prātiśākhyā 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 tarpana. 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 pitṛtarpana ‘after satiating the piths 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.

Brahmayajña of which tarpana is a constituent part). In modern times the deceased ancestors and relatives to whom water is offered are stated below. Water is offered to each thrice (except to women ancestors other than the mother, grand-mother and the great-grandmother) by the pitṛ-tirtha and the relationship, the gotra and the name of each are recited when doing so. For example, water is offered to the deceased father in the form, ‘I offer svadhā and bow to and satiate my father, so and so by name, whose gotra was so and so and who has attained the form of Vasu’ (asmatpitaram amukaśārmānām amuka-gotram vasurūpam svadhānāmas 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, sapatnlkam 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 ādityarūpa.1657 The names of women ancestors have the affix ‘da’ added and all persons both male and female other than those specified above are described as ‘vasurūpa’.

A few points of divergence will be noticed. Haradatta on Āsv. gr. III. 3. 6 notes that some do not include the mother and maternal relations in the daily tarpana, and that according to the established practice in his day the tarpana 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. Īdubhvan on Ābh. gr. III. 3. 6 says ‘मातृण नातामाहार्दीनां नातामाहार्दीनोऽच तर्यामिच्छति।तत्र विराजिति। केवलिन्याद्रार्दीनां नातानि तर्यामिच्छतिः। द्वेषद्वत् यथवज्ञच्छिन्निमिति। एवं नाताद्रार्दीनामपि।मलिक्रस्तवचारादिततं तर्यामिच्छति।’
do not say that the names and gotras of the relatives are to be repeated in daily tarpāṇa. The words 'svadāh 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 tarpāṇa differ in each sūtra. The words ‘svadāh namas’ do not occur in many sutras, but some do contain them (e.g. Baud. Dh. S. II. 5 ff., Vaik. I, 4). The devatās of tarpāṇa differ in each sūtra. The San. gr. (IV. 9) which belongs to the Rgveda just as A6valayana’s does, enumerates the deities differently in the beginning (it has Agni, Vāyu, Sūrya, Viṣṇu, Prajapati, Viṛūpākṣa, Sahasrākṣa &c.). Its order of sages is somewhat different and it adds some names such as Śākapūṇī, Gautami &c. The Baud. Dh. S. II. 5 contains the most elaborate tarpāṇa of all sūtras. It puts ‘om’ before each devatā, ṛsi and pitrā. It includes not only many more deities than elsewhere, but includes several names of the same deity (e.g. Vināyaka, Vakrataṃḍa, Hastimukha, Ekaḍanta; Yama, Yamarāja, Dharma, Dharmarāja, Kāla, Nila, Vaivatsvata &c.). Among ṛsis it includes many sūtrakārās like Kaṇva, Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, Satyāgādha, and also Yājñavalkya, Vyāsa. The Hir. gr. II. 19, 20, Baud. gr. III. 9, Bhāradvāja gr. III. 9–11 contain long and interesting lists of deities and particularly of sages.

If a man has no time for this lengthy tarpāṇa the Dharmaśīndhu 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 kapāḍikā) of Kātyāyana attached to the Pār. gr. contains a description of tarpāṇa. Like the Baud. Dh. S. it lays down that ‘om’ is to be uttered before the name of every deity (devatā) and ‘trpyatām’ (or trpyantām if the word denoting the deity is in the plural) is the verbal form employed. The deities are only 23 and slightly differ from those of Āsv. The group of sages is made up of only Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanātana, Kapila, Āsuri, Vodhū, and Pañcaśikha (Kapila, Āsuri and Pañcaśikha are according to the Sānkhya-kārikā the names of the founders of the Sānkhya 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 Kavyavāḍ Anala.
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Offerings of water mixed with sesame are to be made thrice to each of the above with joined hands (jālānjali) and this is to be done by all householders even if the father be living. The remaining part of tarpana (viz. pitṛtarpana) is to be done only by him whose father is dead. Gobhila-smṛti II. 18-20, Matsyapurāṇa 102. 14-21 are very similar to the Śnana-sūtra. According to Āśvalāyana and others water is offered with the right hand only while according to Katyāyana and others water is offered with both hands.1659 The Sm. C. I. p.191 says that the householder should follow his gṛhya-sūtra and if there is nothing in it on this point there is an option. Kāśyapini prescribes that in śrāddha and marriage only the right hand is employed in making an offering or gift, but in tarpana both hands (made into an aṅjali) are employed. One1660 aṅjali of water is offered to each of the gods, two to Sanaka and other sages and three to each of the pitṛs. When tarpana is performed while the householder is still in the water with his wet clothes on, he offers the water in the stream itself; but when he wears dry clothes and performs tarpāṇa, 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 kūsas (Sm. C. I. p. 192). There were several views on this point (vide Gr. R. pp. 263-264).

In modern times daily tarpāṇa 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

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1658. Yoga-Yajñavalkya quoted by Aparāśika pp. 138-139 gives the same names of devatās and of the divine pitṛs as the Śnana-sūtra. Vide Mānu III. 195-199 for apakhyānta; sāmatā and bhātavat that are all pitṛs of various kinds. Bhāvatāraṇā 3rd chap. p. 74 (Jivāntā, part 2) says that all from Kavyāvāda Anala to Barhiṣad are divine pitṛs (divyōḥ pitarōḥ). Vide Sābhājarāva 11. 45 for seven groups (gaṇas) of pitṛs, four of whom are said to be corporeal and three disembodied. Kāśyapini quoted by Aparāśika p. 138 says that the seven sages from Sanaka to Paṇcaśikā are the sons of Brahmā.

1659. अखङ्क विषयकारे तु पामयेन्द्रे कृदि: तर्पणे तुम्ह्येन्द्रम विषयेत यात्य तस्माद वेदस्य ग्रहितम्। यद्भवायम् हृदयं तय: तस्मादं विषयेत यथा तद्वद्व:।

1660. तथातः यस्य तस्मिन विषयम् ग्रहितम्। अर्थं तस्मिनि तस्मिनि ग्रहितम्। तथा तस्मिनि तस्मिनि ग्रहितम्। तथा तस्मिनि तस्मिनि ग्रहितम्।

1661. विषयं महायातः तस्मिनि ग्रहितम्। अर्थं तस्मिनि तस्मिनि ग्रहितम्। तथा तस्मिनि तस्मिनि ग्रहितम्। तथा तस्मिनि तस्मिनि ग्रहितम्।
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, Madanapārījāta 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. Ar. 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.

Gobhilā-śmrīti 1661 (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 Āsv. gr. places tarpana immediately after śvādhyāya (or brahmayajña) it follows that he treated it as a constituent though subordinate part of it. The Gobhilāsmṛti (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 Āhnikapraṅkāsa (pp. 336-377) gives summaries of tarpana according to Kātyāyana, Śāṅkha, Baudhāyana, Viśnu-purāṇa, Yogiyājñavalkya, Āśvalāyana, Gobhila-grhyā.

1661. तथा श्रुतानि स्वव्रानि स्थवराणि चाराण च। विष्णुदृष्टिज्ञाति सववः सुतः "तत्र ब्रह्माण्डपभीमेवः । दुप्यते ब्रह्मण्युस्तहिष्ठेती भास्मिति हि " गोभिलस्मिति II. 22-23, quoted in स्वविन इ. p. 196.

1662. अहिन्द्रभस्मिति परित्राभिः परंतपाण्यो वान्यायो तं पर्यायव त हिष्ठयेदा व स एत तत्रोद्धवश्रव-शोचनमुनिर्दृष्टिऽपिन्ति तद् श. V. 4. 4. 1.

1663. यथा श्रुतिगाः मौक्को ब्रह्मण्युज्ञाः स चोचयते। स चाराणकस्तर्पणात् कार्यः पराभवं वालारहुत्त ष्वेदं वेदावात् वा नायन्त्रस्व-विनिर्दृष्टिकाराः " गोभिलस्मिति II. 28-29, quoted in त्र. 1. p. 273, आद्यिन्द्रप्राण p. 335.
CHAPTER XVIII

PAṆCA MAHĀYAJÑAS

Panca 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 mahāyajnas indeed are spread out continuously, viz. devayajña, pitryajña, bhūtayajña, manusya-yajña, brahmayajña. That is fulfilled as devayajña when one makes an offering in fire, even if it be a mere fuel-stick; when one offers 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 bhūtayajña, when he gives food to brahmāṇas that becomes manusya-yajña. When one studies svādhyāya even if it be a single ṛk or yajus formula or a sāman, it becomes brahmayajña'.\(^{1665}\)

The Āsv. 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 everyday. Nārāyaṇa on Āsv. gr. III. 1.2 expressly asserts that the

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\(^{1664}\) The words are quoted by H. H. Wilson on p. 101. The Śatapatha proceeds to define these 'अहर्वः दृश्यो च वत्व छरति । नवैः शृङ्गो समाः समापतिः वर्जयसमापतिः स्वातः कुर्यः वेदांत्यतः वेदम् विदेयज्ञ समासमातिः आधृत्य वेदान्तः कालस्य यज्ञम् समासमातिः' अथ ब्रह्मयज्ञः; \(\text{स्वाद्या} \text{स्ये} \text{भृगुयज्ञः; }\) तथा भृगुयज्ञः; ।

\(^{1665}\) पञ्च वा एते महायज्ञः सतादिव यज्ञोऽस्तित्वे देवयज्ञः विद्वते। विद्वते उवस्यति सतादिव तदेवयज्ञः संतित्वे। वत् विद्वते। स्वातः क्रोधेवपस्तित्वेत्यतः। वत्ते। विद्वते। तदस्य अवस्य विद्वते। तत्र भृगुयज्ञः। यत्र विद्वते। तत्र भृगुयज्ञः। सतादिव यज्ञः।
basis of the five yajñas is the Tai. Ar. The Ap. Dh. S. (I. 4. 12. 13-15 and I 4. 13. 1) names and explains them similarly and states that they are called (in the Tai. Ar. II. 10) 'great yajñas' and 'great sacrificial sessions' by way of laudation. The word 'yajña' applied to these five daily duties is figurative and the adjective 'great' is applied only for belauding them. Gaut. V. 8 and VIII. 17, Baud. Dh. S. II. 6. 1-8, Gobhilaśrītī II. 26 and numerous śrītī 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. आयातः पञ्च पञ्जां: द्वेरवा गुत्यमः विद्यायः बलवपयः मदवपयः हृति।
आया. यु. III. 1. 1-2; पञ्चवा यानो विद तेसितायाययकं मूर्ति पञ्चाः वा एवे मदर्थिः नद्याति।
नातांण्यमें आया. यु. III. 1. 3. The परः मा. I. part 1 p. 11 also notes that the five yajñas are prescribed in the Tai. Ar. and draws therefrom the sweeping generalization that all śrīti rules were known to śrūti.

1667. अथ वाद्रयोक्ति विधयः। तेवं मद्यपिता मद्यसभ्रण्णीति च संस्थिति:। अबत:-
द्वेरवत्तिविल्गेभयं यद्याविल्गेत्तमम। बेदेयः स्वाभाकार आ कालिविन्यमः स्वधकार
Baud. Dh. S. II. 6. 1-8 for very similar words.

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great Gods 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, kindliness 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 saṃskāras, as ennobling the soul by freeing it from mere selfishness and elevating the body to become a fit vehicle for higher things. 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, Śāṅkha V. 1-2, Harita, 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 yajñaś were devised by the great sages as atonements for the sins arising from these five sources of injury to life. These five are: brahmāyajña which consists in the study and teaching of the Veda, pitṛyajña which consists of tarpana, daivayajña which consists in offerings made into fire, bhūtayajña which is offering oblations to beings and manusyayajña which consists in honouring guests. He who performs these daily according to his means is never tainted by the sin of the injuries arising from the five places mentioned above. Manu (III. 73-74) further says that former sages had a different nomenclature for the five

1668. त्मामे आत्मित्यस्त अत्य त्या जिहि छ्याययमकिरे करे। श्री. II. 1. 13; ते अधि विचे अधुतासो अनुय आसा देह हावित्यस्यहयम। श्री. II. 1. 14.

1669. स्वाधिपाचन नैहैत्यकीविवेचनेयया हुते। महायज्ञेश्व पञ्चशे भाद्रीयं कियते। श्री. II. 28.

1670. आच. श्र. I. 1. 2-3 supports मदु। चर्य: पावकवज्जा। हुता अद्य हृयमाना अनसी मदुत्ता माहायमोजने भार्यणि हुता।
yajñas i.e. ahuta, huta, prahuta, brāhma-huta and prāśita, which were the same respectively as japa (or brahmayajña), homa (devayajña), bhūtayajña, manusyayajña and pitṛtarpana (pitrtyajña). 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'. Huta and prahuta in the sense of homa to gods and bali to bhūtas occur in Br. Up. I. 5.2. But in some grhyasūtras 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. 7 explains that they are respectively the same as agnihotra (or daivayajña), bali (bhūtayajña), pitṛ-yajña and brāhma-huta (or manusyayajña). The Harita-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. Brahmācārins 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 cooked seeds under the teeth cannot be removed by any of these'. Although in the Āp. Dh. S. and others the five yajñas are enumerated in the order of bhūta-yajña, manusyā-yajña,
devayajña, pitryajña and svādhyāya, still the proper order from the point of view of the times of performance is first brahmayajña (japa &c.), then devayajña, then bhūtayajña, then pitryajña, and lastly manusyayajña.\[1674\] 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 brahmayajña\[1675\] and pitryajña. According to Gobhila-smṛti II. 28–29 quoted above (n. 1663), japa prescribed in śāmadhyā adoration may be looked upon as brahmayajña, that the latter may be performed before tarpāṇa and after the morning homa or after vaiśvādeva. Nārāyana on Āśv. gr. III. 2. 1 says that brahmayajña may be performed before or after vaiśvādeva. According to the Snānasūtra of Kātyāyana, brahmayajña precedes tarpāṇa and Āśv. gr. as stated above (p. 695) appears to regard tarpāṇa as part of it. Manu III. 82 (Visnu 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 tarpāṇa (done after bath) constitutes pitryajña. Therefore Gobhila says that śrāddha, tarpāṇa and the bali offered to pitṛs constitute pitryajña and even when one of them is gone through, the performance of pitryajña is effected and it is not necessary to perform all three.\[1676\] In the bali-harana (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 brahmayajña is one’s own daily study of the Veda, compares several elements required in the ordinary sacrifice to certain elements of brahmayajña, viz. the jhuṭ spoon, upabhṛt, dhruvā, sruva, avabhṛtha (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

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1674. न चाययुम्बेदभकामोदवाद उपयुपते। अछुदनां तु ब्राह्मणो वेषपञ्चो शृदपञ्चः। वियुम्बो मत्यम्यज्ञा हृदि। हर्षक्षुं यां आय. ध. स. 1. 4. 13. 1.

1675. कालासूर्यं जयोतान्च स्वात्मेयान्विताः। जयोत्तक्ततः तद्भच्छादुर्याद्रे।

1676. अव्रो गीतिस्य: स्मात्वि वियोधितिरपापि वा। गोभिरस्वामूह क वित्तुपिताः। वित्तुपिताः प्रकरणसन्तः। चेतन: पिताः। आिधिकाकाः p. 391.
are present in brahmayajña). 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 pitrs. 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, Nārāśaṁśis (i.e. stanzas in praise of heroes). The Tai. Ār. (II. 10-13) has a more lengthy passage on brahmayajña; Tai. Ār. II. 10 is almost the same as Śat. Br. except in two respects, viz. in the Tai. Ār. Atharvāṅgirasah are said to be honey offerings and brāhmaṇa texts, itihāsas, purāṇas, kalpas (works on śrauta ritual) and Gāthā Nārāśaṁśis are said to be fat offerings and the rewards, bestowed by the gods when delighted by the brahmayajña, are long life, brilliance, lustre, prosperity, glory, spiritual eminence and food. Tai. Ār. II. 11 describes how and where brahmayajña is to be performed 'one who desires to offer brahmayajña should repair to a place so far away to the east, north or north-east of his village that the thatch covering houses is not visible and when the sun rises he should wear his sacred thread (in the upavita form) under his right arm, should sit down (on a pure spot), should wash both his hands with water, should sip water thrice, should wipe his hand twice with water, should

1677. Juhū, upabhṛt, dhruvā and sruva are sacrificial ladles and will be described later under śrauta sacrifices.

1678. According to the Tai. Br. II. 7. 5 'ननुध्यं वि नरासांस: ', vide शास्त्राययाच 16. 11 where many lists of नरासांस hymns occur, Rg. I. 125 being one hymn of that kind. अध्य एक्ष. 127. 1 has the word नरासांस and ब्र V. 18. 5. is नरासांसी.

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 pavitas (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 ōk (Rg. I.164. 39 is quoted). He recites the syllables bhūḥ, bhuvah, svāḥ; he thereby (by repeating the vyāhṛtis) employs the three Vedas. This is the truth (quintessence) of speech; he thereby has employed the truth of speech. Then he recites thrice the Gāyatrī verse, which is addressed to Savitr, 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). Tai. Ār. II. 12 states that if a man is unable to go out of the village he may perform brahmyajña 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.
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the great Visnu'. Then he should sip water and return home; thereafter whatever he gives becomes the fee of the sacrifice (i.e. of brahmayajna).

The procedure of svādhyāya (or brahmayajña) in Āsv. gr. III. 2-III. 3. 4 is practically in the same words as in the Tai. Ar. quoted above. One or two points may be noted. The Āsv. gr. prescribes that one should recite gazing at the horizon or one may close one’s eyes or one may look in such a way that one feels that one can concentrate one’s mind. According to the Āsv. gr. the shortest brahmayajña would be: om bhūr bhuvah svaḥ; the Gāyatri verse repeated thrice; then at least one ṛk verse and then the verse ‘namo brahmane’ (quoted above) repeated thrice. The Āhnikapraśāsa 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 Gāyatri should repeat ‘om’ as brahmayajña every day. Āsv. gr. (III. 3. 1) mentions the following works for svādhyāya, Rgveda, Yajurveda, Sāmeveda, Atharvāṅgirasah, Brāhmanas, Kalpas, Gāthās Nārāyaṇis, Itiḥāsas, 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 Śāṅ. gr. I. 4 prescribes several hymns and verses of the Rgveda for reciting in brahmayajña. Others following different Vedas and Śakhas differ as to the content of the brahmayajña. Vide Āhnikapraśāsa pp. 328-336 for brahmayajña according to Kātyāyana and according to the followers of Sāmaveda. Yaj. I. 101 prescribes that as time and ability allow one may include in brahmayajña the Vedas together with the Atharväveda, Itiḥāsa and philosophical texts.

Brahmayajña is very rarely performed every day (except by the most orthodox vaidikas and śāstris) in modern times and a fixed formula of brahmayajña has been decided upon, which is recited once a year in Śrāvana by most brāhmanas in the Deccan. The formula for students of the Rgveda is as follows:

1681. नमः ब्रह्मणे नमोऽस्मिः नमः पूजित्ये नमः आद्वेर्णीश्वः। नमो वाचे नमो वाचे पार्श्वपत्ये नमो विषयेव बृहस्ते करोपिन्॥ तै. आ. इ. 13. This occurs in आद्व. यृ. III. 3. 4 where महे is read for बृहस्ते.

1682. स्यायस्यामेव ग्रामजानीश्वयत्व परिच्छयायः। नमो ब्रह्मणे...करोपिन्॥ आद्व. यृ. III. 3. 4 on which Nārāyaṇa observes ‘स्यायकाळेश्वाश्वयमानस आस्मान सम्बेद सत्यकालेश्वापीयति न वृहस्त्या वे तथाः इति लिङ्गमः। ततो श्रुव्यं सत्यकालेश्वापीयत्र तेषांश्च लिङ्गनिश्चलविनिश्चलन्ति’।

1683. इत्यक्षे मातुकादशाविनि सुप्रसुव्यक्तिपदेन सायत्रीमासार्धाविनि निर्विद्व ब्रह्मणे करोपिन्॥ आद्विक्षितकास्य प. 329.
After reciting 'om bhūr bhuvah svah' and the sacred Gāyatrī, he recites Rg. I. 1.1–9, then the first sentence of the Ait. Br., the first sentences of the Black and White Yajurveda, of the Sānscaveda, of the Atharvaveda; the first sentences of the Niñghantu and the six Vedāngas viz. Āsv. śrauta, Nirukta, Chandas, Niñghantu, Jyotisa, Śikṣa, Pāṇini's grammar in order; the first 'pāda' of Yaj. I. 1 and of the Mahābhārata (I.1,1), the first sūtra of the Nyāya, Pūrvavimāṃsā and Uttaramāṃsā; then a benedictory formula ('tacchāmyor... catuspade') and lastly the verse 'namo brahma' is repeated thrice. After this brahmayajña, tarpāṇa of devas, sa... and pitṛs follows.

The Dharmasindhu (III. pūrvādha p. 299) says that brahmayajña is to be performed once either after morning homa or after midday samādhyā or after Vaśvadeva, but those who study the Āsvalāyanaśūtra should perform it only after midday samādhyā. After ācamana and prāṇāyāma one should make the samkalpa (sṛparmāvaparpratyartham brahmajñānāṃ kariṣye tadaṅgatāyā devarṣayācārya-tarpāṇāṃ kariṣye) and if one's father is dead one should add in the samkalpa (pitṛtarpāṇaṃ 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 śākha repeat the words 'vidyūd-asi vidya me pāmāṇam-ṛtāt satyam-upaimi' at the commencement and the words 'vrṣṭiraśi vrṣca me pāmāṇam-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 śākha and of the Vājasaneyā Samhitā tarpāṇa is not a part of brahmayajña and so tarpāṇa may be performed by them either before brahmayajña or even some time after brahmayajña.

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1684. After Rg. I. 1.1–9 the following are repeated अन्तिमेऽदेवानाम-
स्वस्मी विश्वः परमः। अयः महाज्ञातसः। एव पण्या एवलकः। अयः 
संहिताय उपयिष्टोऽविवा। बिवा 
पवपृवित्वः। महाज्ञातसः पश्चात्तित्वास सामवेश्यः। इत्यक्रोधः त्वा। 
अयः आयाये वीतये। हो नो 
वृहारसिद्देः। अभित्वः 
समास्यः। समास्यः। समास्यः। सवसांभवलस्मितः। 
हैः। द्वा। पवसांसांमयः। अयः 
सिक्रासं ममपायनाः। इतः 
सवसः। द्वाः। पवसां 
सन्तकः। अयः 
भीः। पवसांसांमयः। अयः 
सिक्रासं ममपायनाः। अयः 
भीः। पवसांसांमयः। अयः 
सिक्रासं ममपायनाः। अयः 
भीः। पवसांसांमयः। अयः 
सिक्रासं ममपायनाः। अयः 
भीः। पवसांसांमयः। अयः 
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भीः। पवसां