

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

INTRODUCTION

In the study of society and culture, the study of social structure is of vital importance. By social structure is meant "the ordered relations of parts to a whole with the arrangement in which the elements of social life are linked together. These relations must be regarded as built upon one another, they are series of varying orders of complexity";¹ thus the social structure is nothing else than the whole net-work of social relations as pointed out by Prof. A. R. Radcliffe-Brown.²

From this it follows that the study of social structure enables one to know how the various units of

1. Firth Raymond : Elements of Social Organisation, p.30.
2. Vide Radcliffe-Brown A.R., Structure and Function in Primitive Society, Ch.X, pp.188 ff; for a review of Radcliffe-Brown's view vide Strauss Claude Levi, Social Structure, Anthropology Today. (Edited by A. L. Kroeber), p.542.

the society, which are in direct or indirect contact with one another, behave in their social life with one another.

In the case of India which is "generally known as the classic land of castes and creeds",³ the whole net-work of social relations can be studied by a study of the caste-system which constitutes her social structure.

Attempts have been made to define 'caste', but the definitions proposed by various scholars suffer from imperfectness in describing the caste-system in its entirety⁴ and hence Dr. Ghurye, the doyen of Indian Sociology, wisely proceeds to describe the features of the Hindu society when it was dominated by the social philosophy of caste not influenced by the modern ideas of rights and duties thus :- (1) segmental division of society. It means that the society is divided into various segments; (2) hierarchy, an important feature by which is meant the particular order of ascendancy on the social scale, e.g. a Brahmin was at the apex

3. Majumdar D. N.: Caste and Race, Ghurye Felicitation Volume, p.205. This remark succinctly brings out the prominent feature of the Indian society which distinguishes India from other countries which have the class-system.

4. It would be instructive to note here the remark of Dr. G. S. Ghurye that "with all the labours of these students (i.e. students of caste-system), we do not possess a real general definition". Caste and Race in India, p.1.

and stood on the highest rung of the social ladder;
 (3) restrictions on feeding and social intercourse;
 (4) civil and religious disabilities and privileges
 of the different sectors; (5) lack of choice of
 occupation; (6) restrictions on marriage.⁵

VARNA AND JĀTĪ :

This enumeration of the salient features of the caste-system, naturally, leads one to refer here, the important concepts of Varna and Jāti before discussing the theory of the origin of the four Varnas. In the RV, the term Varna⁶ is used to denote 'colour' or 'complexion' or 'light' in most of the passages.⁷ In some passages,⁸ this term is associated with the groups of people having a blonde or a brunette complexion; thus suggesting thereby that there were two broad divisions of the society. It is in RV 10.90.13, that the four Varnas are mentioned, but the term 'varna' does not occur here. With the lapse of time, the term Varna underwent a semantic change and came to connote "social order" or "social division".

5. Ghurye G. S. : Caste and Class in India, pp.2 ff.
 For features of the caste-system, also vide Kane
 P.V., HDS., Vol.II, pp.23 f.

6. VI. Vol. II, pp.246 ff.

7. RV. 1.73.7; 2.3.5; 9.97.15; etc.

8. RV. 2.12.4; 1.179.6; 3.34.9; 9.71.2, etc.

"The idea of varṇa was 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".⁹

As pointed out by MM Dr. P. V. Kane, "the word jāti in the sense of caste can be traced back at least to the times of Nirukta".¹⁰ It "hardly occurs in the sense of caste in the Vedic literature".¹¹ The word jāti implies the 'heredity connotation' while the word varṇa implies the 'colour connotation' which was so strong that "when the classes came to be regularly described as varṇas, four different colours were assigned to the four classes by which their members were supposed to be distinguished".¹² In the MP there is no reference to the ascription of the four colours to the four varṇas, but the concept of colour-connotation has penetrated into the domain of religion and this is evidenced when the bulls of four different

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9. Kane P. V. : HDS, Vol. II, p.54.
For discussion on the concept of Varna and Jāti, vide Srinivas M.N., Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India, pp.34 ff; Srinivas M. N., A. R. Wadia, Essays in Philosophy Presented in his Honour, pp.357 ff.; Prabhu P.N., Hindu Social Organisation, pp.303 f.
10. Kane P. V.: Op. cit., p.55; Nirukta 12.13.
11. Ibid. p.55.
12. Ghurye G. S. : Caste and Class in India, p.47.

colours are recommended for making gift by four different varṇas. This may possibly imply that the differential specification of colours of bulls in matters of gift is based on the concept of ascription of four colours to the four varṇas. In the MP a red-tawny bull, a red one, a golden one and black one are recommended for gift by a Brahmin, a Kṣatriya, a Vaiśya and a Śūdra respectively.¹³

A distinction in the usage of these two terms was drawn at times, cf e.g. YS 2.69, 206 and it was, at times, obliterated.¹⁴ In the MP (e.g. 184.67, 68) these two terms are used promiscuously.

THEORY OF THE ORIGIN OF THE FOUR SOCIAL ORDERS :

Various theories have been expounded about the origin of the caste-system,¹⁵ e.g. Nesfield advanced the Occupational Theory of Caste. Sir Herbert Risley and Dr. G. S. Ghurye sought to explain the origin of the caste-system by their Racial Theory.

13. MP. 207.16 ff.; Cf. Mbh. {Cr.Ed.} 12.181.5 states that the colour of the Brahmin is white, of the Kṣatriya red, of the Vaiśya yellow and of the Śūdra black.

14. Cf. MS. 3.15; 8.177; 9.86,335; 10.41.

15. For various theories regarding the origin of caste, vide Hutton J. H.; Caste in India, pp.148 ff.

The Indian tradition ascribes the origin of the four varṇas to the limbs of the 'Primeval Man'. The earliest reference to this occurs in the renowned Puruṣasūkta (RV.10.90.12) which is regarded on the grounds of language and matter to be one of the late hymns of the RV.¹⁶ It states "the Brāhm^aṇa was his mouth; his arms were made into the Rājanya, his thighs were the Vaiśya, from his feet the Śūdra was born".¹⁷ The account of the origin of the four varṇas is reiterated in most of the later works with slight variations, modification and exegetical additions, e.g. the TS (7.1.1.4 ff) ascribes the origin of the four varṇas to the four limbs of the Creator and adds an explanation.¹⁸

The MS (1.31) also ascribes the origin of the four varṇas to the different limbs of Prabhu (Prajāpati).¹⁹ The Buddhists ascribe the creation of the four varṇas to Brahman, the grand-father of the Brahmins.²⁰

16. Macdonell A. A.: A Vedic Reader, p.195; A History of Sanskrit Literature, p.133.

17. Brown Norman W.: JAOS 51, 108-118.

18. For accounts of the creation and of the origin of the four varṇas, vide Muir J; OST, Vol.I, Ch.I.

19. Cf. Rāmāyaṇa, 3.14.30; Mbh.(Cr.Ed.), 12.73.4-5.

20. Cowell E. B. & Rouse W.H.D.: The Jātaka (Translation), Vol. VI, p.107.

The MP accepts the theory of the origin of the four varṇas as enunciated in the Puruṣasūkta with the difference that 'Puruṣa' and 'Brāhmaṇa' of the latter are substituted by 'Vāmadeva', the son of Brahmā and 'Dviija' respectively by the former.²¹ This passage can be allegorically interpreted to imply a scheme of social stratification based on the principle of division of work; thus the Brahmins who emanated from the mouth of Vāmadeva were to play the role of the preservers and the propagators of learning and instructors to humanity at large. The Kṣatriyas who sprang from arms, the symbol of strength and valour were duty-bound to protect the people. The creation of the Vaiśyas from the thighs signifies that he was to purvey all the means of sustenance to the society while the Śūdra who originated from the foot symbolized the fact that he was to serve the other three varṇas. "The whole social organisation is here conceived symbolically as one human being - the Body Social - we may say so with its limbs representing the social classes based on the principle of division of labour".²² This MP version is later than the R̥gvedic one.

21. Vāmadevastu bhagavān asrjan mukhato dviijān |
rājanyān asrjad bṛāhvor vitchūdrān ūrupādayoh || MP 4.28

22. Prabhu P.N.: Hindu Social Organisation, p.292.
These comments of Dr. P.N.Prabhu are in connection with RV 10.90.

In another place in the MP, the origin of the four varṇas is ascribed to 'eka⁽³⁰⁻²⁰⁾deha', which is rendered by the translators in two different ways :- (1) Brahmā²³ and (2) Virāt²⁴. The wording of the text in question is ambiguous, but in the light of the light of MP 4.28, the word 'eka' may possibly be interpreted as referring to Vāmadeva or Prajāpati who is by extension the creator of the four varṇas. This may probably suggest that the four varṇas were originally descended from one and the same stock.²⁵

There is a great deal of theorizing in the Epics and the Dharmasāstra literature on the problem of the origin and development of the four social orders; the current of this theorizing activity is also noticeable in the MP when it is declared that in the Kṛtayuga, the Golden Age, there was only one varṇa²⁶ but it was in the Tretāyuga that there came into being the four different varṇas i.e. Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Sūdras; (142.50 ff). Each varṇa has to discharge its own duties and functions.

23. SBH, Vol. XVII, Pt.I, p.91.

24. JA, mp, Vol.I, p.219, R.Tri, p.77.

25. For similar remarks, vide Muir J.; OST, Vol. I, p.238.

26. MP 144.78. The MP 165.3 in contrast to MP 144.78 states there were four varṇas in the Kṛtayuga; Cf., Mbh.(Cr.Ed), 3.148.17.

(30.20) e.g. the Brahmins perform the japa-yajña, the Kṣatriyas the ārambha-yajña, the Vaiśyas the havir-yajñas and the Śūdras the paricāra-yajña.²⁷

The unitary aspect of the Varna in the Kṛta-yuga and its ramification into the four different varṇas in the later ages may probably suggest that they, originally, belonged to one stock. The MP describes Bali as the establisher of four Varnas (48.28).

VARNA SYSTEM :

Brahmins : The very divine theory of the origin of the four varṇas involved the logical proposition that the Brahmin would be at the apex of the hierarchical organisation and would command the highest respect from the rest.

The Vedic studies, performing of sacrifices and making of gifts are the duties in common laid down for the twice-born. The special duties enjoined on the Brahmins by the Dharmasāstras are the Vedic studies

27. MP., 142.50., JA interprets ārambha-yajña as belligerent activity for the protection of the Dharma and the good; paricāra-yajña as the service of the Brahmins, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas by the Śūdras. mp. Vol.II, p.119.

officiating as priests at sacrifices and receiving
of gifts.²⁸

Even in the early Vedic period, Brahmins and learning had become, as if, inseparable twins. The MS 4.147 expressly lays down that the Brahmin should always study the Vedas. The MP furnishes ample evidence to the fact that Brahmins²⁹ studied the Vedas unremittingly and secured proficiency in them and this is clear from the use of epithets of Brahmins (who are recognised as worthy recipients of gifts and who also officiate as priests at the performance of various religious vows, sacrifices, gift, etc.). The oft-repeated ones are vedavidvat (68.20; 71.15; 77.7 eh), vedapārāga (70.12; 93.113; 105.17; 183.68 eh), śrotriya (105.17), trayī-śāstra-sūniscita (215.51) and traividya (215.54). Some Brahmins specialised themselves in the study of particular vedas (93.128-129, 131-132; 101.26; 69.43, 44 eh) while some others studied the Vedas with auxiliary sciences (48.44) and others specialised themselves in the Purāṇasāstra (274.38) and the Vedānta (274.37); thus the Brahmins

28. द्विजातीनामध्यधनमिच्छा दानम् । आहुणस्याधिकाः प्रवचनभाजनप्रतिश्र
। पूर्वेषु निभमस्तु । रात्रौऽधिकं रक्षणं सर्वभूतानाम् । वैश्वस्याधिकं कृषि-
भजिक् पाशुपालभक्तसीदम् ॥

GDS, 10.1-3, 7, 50, vide also ADS, 2.5.10.5-8;
BDS, 1.10.2-5; VDS, 2.13-19; MS, 1.88-90; 10.75-79;
MarP, 28.3-8; VIDS, 2.10-15; YS, 1.118-119.

29. The words used for a Brahmin in the MP are, for example, brāhmaṇa, brahman, dvija, vipra, etc.

devoted themselves to the noble ideal of study which was a valuable asset to them. They, who were intellectual aristocrats, were, thus, the repositories to learning and cultural heritage.

Another duty incumbent on them was to impart instructions in Vedic lore. "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."³⁰ The MP does not furnish a specific instance, especially, of the teaching of the Veda, but this silence of the MP on this point need not be taken as invalidating the usual practice, because the Brahmins had in a way achieved a perfect monopoly in the profession of teaching of Brahmanical lore and hence they were the only competent authorities on the propagation of these studies.

This teaching profession was not lucrative and hence to supplement their meagre income, they found their duty and privilege of officiating as priests a better source for greater income. In the early period,

30. Kane P. V.: HDS, Vol. II, p.108.

Kṣatriyas also appear to have played the role of priests,³¹ but with the march of time and the increased complications in ritual, it became to be the Brahmin's exclusive privilege which was codified by no less an authority than Jaimini by prohibiting the Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas therefrom.³² The various chapters in the MP on various religious vows, gifts - major and minor - clearly testify to the fact that Brahmins officiated as priests in varied capacities and as a remuneration they received rich fees, e.g. cows, land, gold, silver, clothes etc.³³ The plethora of things given away at the time of the performance of religious vows and gifts - major and minor - were costly in nature and proved a rich and substantial source of income to them. The MP advocates a view in many a place that the various objects were to be gifted away to a Brahmin

31. RV 10.98.7 mentions Devāpi as the priest of Santanu and the Nirukta 2.10 adds that Devāpi and Santanu were brothers and descendants of Kuru. The MP (50.39 ff) mentions Devāpi and Santanu as brothers and also that the former abdicated the throne as he was a leper while the latter is known to be a great physician and whomsoever chronic diseased person, he touched with his hands was cured off and was rejuvenated; the MP does not mention Devāpi as the priest of Santanu.

32. brāhmaṇānām vetarayor ārtvijyābhāvāt | 6.6.18 P.M.

33. MP 17.51. Vide chapters on vratas, dānas and mahādānas. Note the munificent gifts of Yayāti mentioned in MP 42.23-24.

burdened with a family (64.22; 75.35; 96.13 eh). This has an economic implication underlying it viz. to render pecuniary help to such deserving poor Brahmins who stood more in necessity of financial assistance than those with no family.³⁴ "The poverty of the priestly Brahmins seems further to be indicated by their acceptance of gifts and food offered by prostitutes in the Anāṅgadāna-vrata"^(70.44-45)³⁵ The hypocrites were to be scrupulously avoided from the award of gifts (72.35 eh), as they were likely to enjoy undue benefit at the cost of the deserving and needy Brahmins and moreover, from a social point of view, they were likely to hamper the welfare of the society.

The Brahmins commanded honour and worship at the observance of various religious vows (93.113; 96.13; 66.4; 67.3 eh) as he was believed to be a visible and direct god.³⁶ They are often directed to be utilised as one of the mediums of worship.³⁷

Vide also

34. Hazra R.C.: Studies in the Puranic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs, pp.253-254.

35. Hazra R. C.: Ibid, p.254.

36. देवाः परेशदेवाः, प्रत्यक्षदेवा आरुणाः । VIDS 19.20;
इसे ये देवाः प्रत्यक्षं यद् आरुणाः । TS 1.7.3.1;
vide Hazra R. C.: Op.cit., p.258.

37. Cf. e.g. MP 57.22, here the Brahmin is considered as the Moon and worshipped; MP 70.44.

They were invited to dinner at the conclusion of religious vows and also at the Śrāddhas.³⁸

One of the temperamental aspect of a Brahmin is his easy susceptibility to wrath. A Brahmin is more dangerous and dreadful than an enraged venomous serpent or the raging fire as his ire is more horrid than the sting of a poisonous cobra or the stroke of a weapon, because the latter can destroy one's life while the former are believed to devastate the cities and nations.³⁹ The operation of this belief is noticed when Yayāti is recalcitrant to accede immediately to the proposal for marriage by Devayānī in the absence of the knowledge and consent of her father Śukra (30.23 ff), the court-priest of Vṛṣaparvan, the demon monarch. In contradistinction to this aspect of temperament, there is another viz. the benign, untumultuous serenity of mind. It was, if not innate, to be cultivated by practice, for the easy erascibility was considered a disqualification to act

38. MB. 7.19; 16.18,45. The MP. 16.7 ff mentions the persons fit and unfit to be invited at the Śrāddha; for details vide Kane P.V., HDS, Vol.IV, pp.383 ff.

39. MP. 30.23.25 cf. for a similar idea Mbh.Cr.Ed. 1.24.4,

अतिरक्ते विधं हस्तं विप्रो भवति क्षेपितः।

and cf. also 1.76.22 ff. Such eulogistic descriptions were meant to enable Brahmins to maintain their superiority over the other three varṇas.

as a priest at the performance of various religious vows etc. This is inferrable from a recommendatory prescription that a Brahmin tranquil by temperament was a worthy recipient of gifts etc. (95.29; 76.13).

The Brahmin is also connected with the antique institution of Fire-worship traceable to the Indo-European period.⁴⁰ The prevalence of Agni-worship is amply testified by the RV, the earliest testament of Indo-Aryans, which celebrates Agni in "at least 200 hymns..... and in several places he is invoked conjointly with other deities".⁴¹ The MP also refers to the worship of the domestic sacrificial fires. The dvijas, who style the ~~Āmanīya~~ fire as 'Abhimānē' worship Agni under different appl^eations (51.12,19). An āhitāgni Brahmin is looked upon as a worthy person for receiving the gift of the hide of a black antelope (206.3). The Chapter 51 is devoted to the narration of the dynastic history of Agni suggesting thereby the extent to which the Agni-worship had woven around itself the web of its family and history.

The Brahmin's association with political affairs is as old as the RV. In the MP a court-priest

40. Keith A. B.: The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads, HDS., Vol. ~~XXXII~~, p.625 ff. xxxii

41. Macdonell A. A.: Vedic Mythology, p.88.

appears to wield a notable influence in the governmental machinery. On his pleasure and displeasure depended the weal and woe of the state and this is observed from the episode of Vṛṣaparvan and Śukra, the court-priest. Śukra proudly styles himself as Yoga-kṣemakara. Vṛṣaparvan succumbed to the demands of Śukra who was the active providence ruling over the state and the monarch.⁴² This suggests the dominating attitude and the importance of the court-priest and the subservient position of a king in the political structure.

Vena ruled unrighteously and immorally and was a terror to the people and consequently his rule was put to an end by the Brahmins by churning his body,⁴³ without exciting the slightest opposition or opprobrium for their deplorable act. This instance suggests that the actions of the Brahmins whether commendable or deplorable met approval of the society and this might have been so, possibly as they acted as the mouth-piece of the rest of the society.

42. MP. 29.11,27,28; vide Ghoshal V.N.: History of Hindu Political Theories, pp.50 f; for a brief review of the inter-relations of Brahmins and politics, vide Patil D.R.: Cultural History From the Vāyu Purāṇa, pp.131-132.

43. MP. 4.44; 10.4 ff.; for the Vena-episode vide Patil D.R., op.cit., pp.28 ff and 134 ff.

The Brahmins also performed the ceremony of consecration of a king. After the sad demise of Vena, the Brahmins consecrated Vainya Prthu (10.10).

A Purohita was selected by a king and he discharged the function of performing sacrifices and was also entrusted with the task of assisting in achieving victory over an opponent by means of prayers or spells. Brhaspati was nominated as the court-priest of the gods and Śukra that of the demons and a keen rivalry existed betwixt the two to ensure victory for their masters for the consolidation of their powers (25.9-10). The enthusiastic role of both the priests is comparable to the role played by a priest in the Vedic period.⁴⁴ The prescription that the dvijamantravits should be consulted at the time of starting on an expedition finds a parallel in the Jātakas.⁴⁵

Vasiṣṭha was the priest of king Nemi who requested the former to perform sacrifice for him, but Vasiṣṭha told him to keep this thing in abeyance for the time being as he was fatigued, but the king

44. Macdonell and Keith, VI., Vol. II, p.5 ff.

45. Fick R. : Social Organisation in North East India in Buddha's Time, pp.164 ff.

did not want to tarry in this religious matter and therefore he thought of inviting another in his stead; and on hearing this proposal, Vasistha was all wrath and cursed him to death. (201.1 ff).

This shows the enormous influence and domination of a Purohita over a king who would submit to the will and whim of a priest and it also reflects upon the jealous nature of priests who would not tolerate the idea of another being invited to in lieu of them in the event of their inability to discharge their duty.

The Amātya, who was generally a Brahmin, figures as one of the seven limbs of the state (20.19). The direction that the mansion of a Purodhas be to the left of the royal palace (215.17) suggests the important and influential position held by him in political matters. It is worthwhile noting that⁴⁶ the Rāmāyana Vasistha wields a considerable influence in the matters of state and is at times mentioned as being prominent amongst the ministers.⁴⁶ "The Purohita or the chief

46. Dharma P.C.: Rāmāyana Polity, pp.47 ff.

priest was an indispensable appendage to the royalty of the period."⁴⁷ Compare here, the powerful position enjoyed by Śukra in the court of Vṛṣaparvan.

The court-priest appears to possess magical powers which he utilised to accomplish his task of defending his master and ensuring victory for him over his opponents and thus help in the aggrandizement of his master's position, - a feature traceable to the Atharvaveda wherein a Purohita is shown ministering magical practices for gaining victory.⁴⁸ Śukra, the court-priest of the demons knew the magical Sañjīvanī vidyā which could resuscitate the departed demons in the Devāsura wars (25.15), wherein the gods suffered the routing defeats and hence Kaca, the son of Brhaspati, the court-priest of the gods, was sent to Śukra to learn his magical lore.

It is especially to be noted that Śukra, who is a Bhārgava, appears here as the custodian of the magical charm and Bhṛguś are renowned as one of the sponsors of magical charm.⁴⁹

47. Vyas S.N.: The Caste System in the Rāmāyana Age, JOI, Vol. III, No.2, Dec.1953, p.117.

48. Shende N. J.: The Religion and Philosophy of the Atharvaveda, pp.9,86,

49. Shende N. J.: Ibid., p.8.

The MP does not purvey sufficient information about whether the Brahmins drank wine or not. There is a solitary instance of Śukra who was given through treachery a goblet of wine mixed with the pulverised corpse of Kaca (25.39); later on, Śukra coming to know of this, announced that whosoever Brahmins would drink wine, would be bereft of religious merits and would be guilty of a brahmanicide and would be deprecated in the society,⁵⁰ thus a taboo to Brahmins for wine-drinking is accounted for.

Amongst the other edible things prescribed for a Brahmin are garlic, onion, a pig, a tame cack and five-nailed animals and a deterrent punishment of the banishment of a Brahmin guilty of the violation of this rule was prescribed (227.190).

The announcement of a ban to drinking with special reference to Brahmin, may possibly, be interpreted to refer to diachronic points of the society, viz. the stage when the wine-drinking was not condemned or prohibited and another one when it was prohibited. With the advancement of time and culture and the development of higher ethical and moral ideas, it was

50. MP. 25.62; cf. Mbh. Cr.Ed. 1.71.54.

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thought, perhaps, wise to put a ban to this practice in order to maintain the high esteem in which the Brahmins were held and also against any possible treachery that might be played upon through jealousy.

The Brahmin's premier and unchallengeable position divested of jealousy and opposition is gleaned from the consequences prognosticated as the result of the unhealthy attitude shown towards ^{them} Brahmins (47.250). ^{kalki} is foretold to eradicate the haters of Brahmins (47.250). The Asuras are described as hating and quarreling with Brahmins when the destruction of Tripura was imminent (131.40,47). The king's disregard for enmity with and troublesome demeanour towards them are calculated to pretend the regal downfall (238.12 ff).

The specific duties of Brahmins in normal times have been noted. In times of stress and difficulties the rigour of the law was relaxed and the bars waived off and they were allowed to practise other vocations, e.g. profession of arms, agriculture, sale and barter etc. From very ancient times, they appear to have followed the profession of arms.⁵¹

51. Note that Pāṇini devotes a special sūtra to explain the term 'brāhmaṇaka' (a country in which Brahmins follow the vocation of arms) cf. ^{ब्राह्मणके निवाके संज्ञायाम्} 5.2.71 Bhattoji Dīksita explains this as ^{अयुधजीविने ब्राह्मणिं संज्ञितम् इति स ब्राह्मणक} Siddhānta-Kaumudī, p.165. For other detailed references vide Kane P.V., HDS, Vol.II, pp.122 ff.

In the MP, in one place Brahmins holding various weapons are said to escort king Pramati of the Candramas gotra and of the Bhrgu family who was intent on extirpating the Mlecchas and other hordes at the time of the transitional period of the Kali in the Svāyambhuva-manvantara (144.53).

The Brahmins followed diverse religious creeds as they suited them the most. According to one reference the Brahmins can broadly be classified into two categories, Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava. To an observant of the Kṛṣṇāstamīvrata (Ch. 56), the Brahmin votaries of Śiva are recommended for worshipful respect (56.5) while an observant of the Asūnyaśayanavrata (Ch. 71) is directed to bestow the gifts on a Vaiṣṇava Brahmin (71.15).

In the ritual of the Tulāpuruṣadāna (Ch.274), one of the requisite qualifications of a Brahmin for officiating as a priest is Āryadeśa as his birth-place. (274.37) This qualificatory epithet viz. Āryadeśa-prabhāvā dvijendrāḥ, may possibly suggest that persons from regions other than Āryadeśa were proficient in the art and intricacies of rituals, e.g. that of the mahādānas and the non-Āryadeśa-Brahmins were not preferred to, perhaps with a view to maintaining and

aggrandising their monopolistic dignified position and disallowing and avoiding the infiltration and interference of the Brahmins of the non-Aryan regions in the technique of the ritual.

From times immemorial, the status of Brahmins has been the leading one commanding reverence from all the abberation from which was deemed tantamount to commital of a blasphemous act. The Brahmin stood on the highest rung of the social ladder as he was considered to be the best amongst the four Varnas. (30.20, cf. 34.15,19; 167.29 ff). Yudhishthira is shown offering obeisance to the Brahmins after having listened to the Prayāgamāhātmya from the revered sage Mārkaṇḍeya^e. (112.1). The kings are exhorted to pay their respectful homage to the aged Brahmins versed in the Vedic lore and are directed to study discipline and modesty from them with an attentive mind (215.51 ff)

Attempts were made to keep their lofty and dignified position in tact by slogans and adjurations, such as a person dowered with the ātmagūṇas should always do good to Brahmins and cows.

52. MP. 52.18; for ātmagūṇas vide MP. 52.8-11. For various measures adopted by Brahmins for redress, vide Hazra R.C., *Op.cit.*, pp.246 ff.

Honour and regard for Brahmins is said to wane with the close of the Dvāpara Age (165.13). In the Kali Age they are said to follow the customs and usages of Śūdras (165.17) and hence are aligned with Śūdras. They are, further, described as Mantrayonis (Sources of mantras) with the result that even Brahmins would approach them for receiving mantras.⁵³

Such a description of a drastic topsiturvied change in their behaviour-pattern and status permits a surmise of the unblithe and melancholy picture of their degraded position from the august one.

Ksatriyas : We now come to the next order of the society. The terms used in the MP for this order are rājanya, ksatra and ksatriya. "The term 'Kshatriya' of which 'Rājanya' is an earlier variant occurs seldom in the Rigveda".⁵⁴ In some places in the RV,⁵⁵ the term Ksatriya is used as an epithet of gods, while

53. MP. 273.47-48. The translation of 'brāhmaṇāḥ' śūdrayonisthāḥ' as 'Brahmins will sacrifice for Śūdras' is difficult to accept (SBH, Vol. XVII, Pt. 2, p.354). JA (mp, Vol.III, p.1278) and R Tri (p.727) come nearer to tone.

54. Majumdar R.C. and Pusalkar A.D.: The Vedic Age, p. 386.

55. RV. 7.64.2 Ksatriya : Sāyana : balavantam.
 RV. 8.25.8 Ksatriya : Sāyana : balavantam.
 Geldner : (two) rulers.
 Der Rig-Veda, HOS. Vol.34, p.334.
 Ksatra : Sāyana : bala
 Geldner : dominion, rulership,
 ibid., p.334.

in some other places⁵⁶ it stands for a king or a noble man. Likewise the later Vedic literature wherein it stands for one of the four varṇas,⁵⁷ in the MP also it is employed in the same sense. Another term employed in the MP to denote this order is Kṣātra which occurs in the RV.⁵⁸ In the MP in some places it is used in the sense of 'king' (cf. 50.32,48). The third term used to denote this order is rājanya which finds a solitary reference in RV. 10.90.12 and in the MP, it is used only once for the Kṣatriya order.⁵⁹

Whether the Kṣatriyas formed a compact order in the Rgvedic period is a subject on which opinions are divided. Dr. G.S. Ghurye, for instance, is inclined to think on the authority of RV. 7.104.13 that the Kṣatriyas constituted a compact class,⁶⁰ while after

56. cf. RV. 4.42.1; vide also Kane P.V., HDS., Vol.II, p.30.

57. VI., Vol.II, p.252; for its mention and connotation in different texts, vide Patil D.R., *Op.cit.*, p.139. Pāṇini derives the word Kṣatriya in the sense of a varṇa from Kṣātra cf. *अत्रादयः* 4.1.138 Bhattoji explains it as *अत्रादित्येव* / Siddhānta-Kaumādi, p.115.

58. In the RV. it generally denotes 'valour, dominion, strength', in some Vedic texts e.g. TB.2.7.18; Br.UP.1.4.11 etc. it connotes the Kṣatriya order. For detail vide Kane P.V., HDS, Vol.II, p.30.

59. MP. 4.28. The VP mentions the Kṣatriyas first in the cosmological account with regard to the origin of the varṇas and elsewhere, vide Patil D.R., *Op.cit.*, p.140.

60. Ghurye G.S.: *Caste and Class In India*, p.50.; vide also VI, Vol.I, p.207.

examining the same passage critically, MM. Dr. P.V. Kane concludes that the hypothesis is untenable.⁶¹

In the past-vedic period there took place the rigid stratification and internal solidarity of the four varnas.⁶²

Like the VP and other Purāṇas which profound the duties of the Kṣatriyas e.g. protection of the people, military service, etc., the MP does not detail the duties and functions of Kṣatriyas,⁶³ but make stray references.

In the Kṛtayuga, the golden age, the kings are known to be devoted to the regal duties (165.3), by which is meant the protection of the people etc., while in the Kaliyuga they are said to deviate from their sacred duties and the Śūdras to usurp and wield the royal powers in their stead (144.38). From the rājadharmā point of view, amongst the various duties, the foremost one a Kṣatriya is expected to mind, is of engaging himself in wars deeming himself to be duty-bound to this sacred cause (103.21 ff). Jarāsandha

61. HDS, Vol. II, p.31.

62. Ghurye G. S.: Op.cit., p.78.

63. Cf. PI, Vol.I, p.485, s.v. kṣatra (II); Patil D.R.: Op.cit., p.31.

carried out victorious campaigns and is styled as the conqueror of all kings (50.32), while Duryodhana is said to be the suzerain lord of all kings (50.48).

The Kṣatriya's being martial activities, were not detrimental to intellectual and spiritual pursuits like philosophical disquisitions, composition of hymns, etc. It was, then, no more, the exclusive proud privilege of the Brahmin to reign supreme in this demesne. Illustrious philosopher-kings like Janaka (SB.11.6.21.5), Aśvapati Kaikeya (ChU.5.11) and others of the Brāhmaṇa and Upaniṣadic fame contributed significantly by their learned discourses on abstruse problems like those of Brahman and allied topics.⁶⁴

In the MP, the king Nāhuṣa Yayāti holds a learned and brilliant discourse with his enlightened grandson Aṣṭaka,⁶⁵ Pratardana, Vasumān and Śibi. This enlightening disquisition is dilated on many vital and interesting problems such as the āśramadharmas, various heavenly regions, pleasures thereof, factors

64. For a note on Kṣatriyas and vedic learning, vide Patil D.R., Op.cit., pp.144 ff. There was been a polemic discussions as to who were the pioneers in the Brahmaśāstra. For an account of the champions of these two opposite camps, vide Kane P.V., Op.cit., Vol.II, p.106, fn.222.

65. MP. 38.12 states that Yayāti was the maternal grand-father of Aṣṭaka.

for the downfall from celestial regions etc.⁶⁶ Yayāti proudly boasts that none can stand in comparison with him in the province of austerities (37.2) and styles himself to be a brahmavit (41.11).

The sons of Ilīnā known as Ilīnas are spoken of as delighting in the profound problems of Brahman.⁶⁷ Some Kṣatriya kings are known to have been seers of hymns, Māndhātā⁶⁸, Ambarīṣa⁶⁹, Vaivasvata Manu and Aila Purūṛvas,⁷⁰ and others are renowned as mantrakṛts or mantravādins. According to the Anukramanikā, Purūravas is the ṛṣi of RV, 10.95,⁷¹ the theme of which is developed in the ŚB (5.1-2); while Manu⁷² is credited with the authorship of the RV.8.27-31 to which in his prefatory remarks Geldner writes that

66. For detail vide MP. Chapters 38 ff.

67. MP. 49.9. The VP reads Itinā for Ilīnā, vide Kirfel W., Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa, p.538; Patil D.R., Op.cit., p.140.

68. MP. 145.102; PI, Vol.II, p.687.

69. MP. 145.102; PI, Vol.I., p.69. In MP Ch.145, many personages are said to be mantrakṛts e.g. Vainya Prthu, Divodāsa (145.100), Yuvānāśva, Purukutsa (145.102), etc.

70. In connection with the problems of dialogue-hymns Prof. D.R. Mankad remarks that "these dialogues are likely to have been composed by some ṛṣi whose name was lost even then and therefore the Anukramanikā has introduced the name of the speaker in his place". Date of Rgveda, p.55. Vide PI, Vol.II, Purūṛvas (I) p.356 and p.357 fn.6.

71. VI, Vol.II, pp.129 f; PI, Vol.II, p.620.

"Manu is actually the name of the poet, it refers here to a younger Manu not to the famous one whom the poet in 27.7 (also Cf. 30.3) expressly invokes".⁷²

That some kings are styled as rājarsis⁷³ reflects upon their spiritual attainments or their behavioural attitudes or behavioural pattern. The following personages of celebrity are attributed the title of rājarsi :-

Nāhuṣa Yayāti⁷⁴ of Rgvedic fame⁷⁵ and Aṣṭaka⁷⁶ participated actively in the learned discourse.⁷⁶ Kārtavīrya Arjuna⁷⁷ is renowned for his munificent gifts and learning. His gift to Āditya who came to him in the guise of a Brahmin is noteworthy as his act of granting Āditya's solicitation entailed his own destruction, because this led to the burning of Āpava's hermitage which

72. Der Rigveda, HOS. Vol.34, p.338.

73. The term rājanyarṣi which is a variant of rājarsi occurs in the Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa. 12.12.6, vide VI, Vol.II, p.217.

74. MP. 24.64, 66; 25.6; 32.10,22; 34.1; PI, Vol.III, p.17; VI, Vol.II, p.217.¹⁸⁷ Pargiter has ably rebutted the theory of Macdonell and Keith that there is no trace whatsoever of his connection with Puru in the Epic (VI, Vol.II, p.187.) in AIT (p.12).

75. MP. 37.6. vide PI, Vol.I, Aṣṭaka (III), p.132, and also ibid., pp.131 ff.

76. Vide ante fn 66.

77. MP. 43.23; 44.2, etc. Cf. also PI, Vol.I, sv. Arjun (I), pp.106-107.

excited him to imprecate him to the effect that he would die at the hands of Parasurāma.⁷⁸ Kroṣṭu⁷⁹ was a worthy son of a worthy father Kārtavīrya Arjuna (43.46). His line was sanctified by the birth of Viṣṇu in the family of Vṛṣṇis,⁸⁰ and the account of his line is furnished in the MP 44.14 ff. Marutta was a descendant of Śaśabindu and a son of Titikṣu in the famous line of Kroṣṭu and is known to be the best of all the rājarsis.⁸¹ Śamīka was a son of Śūra and Bhojā⁸² and got strong aversion to voluptuous life (bhojatva). Abandoning the mundane pleasures in disgust and being disillusioned, he repaired to the forest and attained the covetable status of a royal sage (46.28)

Janamejaya : was the son of Purañjaya and the father of Mahāśāla who was equal in powers to Indra.⁸³ The Harivaṃśa also mentions him as a rājarsi.⁸⁴

78. MP. 44.3 ff; 43.41 ff; 44.13. For Āpava vide Pārgiter F.E. Sagara and the Haihayas, Vāsistha and Aurva. JRAS, 1919, p.362.

79. MP. 44.14; also PI, Vol.I, pp.483 ff.

80. MP. 44.15, vide also AIHT, pp.102 ff.

81. MP. 44.24; Cf.PI, Vol.II, p.641. ^{SV} Marutta(III); for other Marutta vide ibid; Prof. V.R.R. Dikshitar (ibid) states Marutta as a son of Uśanas but according to MP. 44.24 he is the son of Titikṣu who was the son of Uśanas; vide. AIHT, p.144.

82. MP. 46.1 ff.; PI, Vol.III, p.384.

83. MP. 48.13; VP 99.15; ViP 4.18.5-6.

84. Kirfel, 6p.cit., p.523.

Divodāsa and Ahalyā were the twin children of Vindhyāśva and Menakā (50.7) and Mitrayu was Divodāsa's son (50.13). He is renowned as the seer of hymns⁸⁵ and their marital alliances with Bhrgus are prescribed.⁸⁶ Vadhryasva and he played a priestly role in the RV. (10.69.2, 4, 9, 10) and in the later literature.⁸⁷ All the royal sages were votaries of Mahesvara (182.2). Some other kings are also known as royal sages, but as the references do not throw any necessary and specific light on the problem of 'rājarṣi', they are not mentioned here.

From the afore-mentioned discussion it appears that it was generally an attribute given to a king in recognition of his spiritual attainments, of his learning and scholarship, of his poetic abilities and it was not necessarily an innate one, but it was attainable by austentices, literary activities etc.

Relations of Ksatriyas With Brahmins :

The Brahmins were the undisputed heads of the social organisation and acted as guides to the

85. MP, 145.100; VP, 59.87; Br.P.2.32.106.

86. MP, 195.42; PI, Vol.II, p.92. sv. Divodāsa (IV); also vide for other details, *ibid*, pp.91 f.

87. *Ibid*, VI, Vol.I, pp.363-364. AIHT, pp.153-154. Pargiter comes to the conclusion that there were two Divodāsas (*ibid*, p.251); For a note on Divodāsa, vide Patil D.R. *op.cit.* 143. Vide Sørensen, An index to the Names in the Mahābhārata, for information about him in the Mbh.

Kṣatriyas who were expected to follow the mandates and directions to the extent that an act against a Brahmin's will was tantamount to inviting one's own death. The relations between the Brahmins and Kṣatriyas were generally happy and the Brāhmaṇa literature shows how both were interdependant;⁸⁸ but in the later period, the Brahmins tried to assert their superiority over the Kṣatriyas. The later, when they ^{raised a} protest against the former, invited a reaction from the former to suppress them.⁸⁹

The MP retains some reminiscent glimpses of the discordant relations between the two varṇas.

There is a quaint reference to the episode of Paraśurāma who stood as a champion to re-establish the Brahmins' supremacy over the Kṣatriyas who had estranged their relations with the former. Paraśurāma is described as the very death of Kārtavīrya Arjuna.⁹⁰

88. Majumdar R.C.: and Pusalkar A.D.: The Vedic Age, p.451.

89. Ghurye G. S.: op.cit., pp.69 ff.

90. MP 43.44, vide also ante fn. 78.

The episodes of Vena (10.4 ff), Nimi and Vasiṣṭha (61.33; 201.1 ff), Janamejaya and Vaiśampāyana (50.88 ff) demonstrate how kings were mere pawns in the hands of priests and an act against their will and whim resulted into imprecations of death.

Yayāti's maltreatment by his inconstancy to Devayānī and his secret sexual relations with Śarmiṣṭhā with whom such liaison was inhibited,⁹¹ constrained Śukra, the father of Devayānī, to condemn him to premature decrepitude (32.31). Despite this lamentable situation, at the time of repairing to the forest, he relinquished the throne in favour of Pūru, the son of Śarmiṣṭhā and not in favour of the son of Devayānī inspite of the vehement protestations of the people headed by Brahmins who were mollified on the ground that that unusual action was sanctioned by Śukra himself (32.41; 34.15 ff.).

91. MP 30.36; for Yayāti-Devayānī episode vide MP Chs. 30 ff. Rāmāyaṇa 7.58 ff. Gaya Prasad Dixit has made textual comparative study of the Yayāti episode of the Mbh and MP on metrical grounds in his paper 'The Story of Yayāti' as found in the Mahābhārata and in the Matsya Purāṇa; A textual comparison., Proceedings of the Fifth Indian Oriental Conference, 1928 (1930), Vol.I, pp.721 ff.

It seems that kings like Yayāti and Kārtavīrya Arjuna did not follow the dictates of the priestly class. Such kings were shrewd enough to win them over when circumstances demanded.

Such isolated references need not be taken as evidence marring the general picture of the happy and amicable relations between the two Vṛṇas. The honour the Brahmins enjoyed on occasions such as vratas and dānas clearly indicates the reverential attitude towards the Brahmins and the cordiality existing between them. The mythological stories even testify to this observation, e.g. Umā (154.318) and Himālaya⁹² are shown according warm welcome when the sages paid a visit to them.

Kṣatriyan Brahmins :

The problems of Kṣatriyan Brahmins is very interesting from a sociological point of view. The Purāṇas use the term 'Kṣatropetadvijātayaḥ' for this group and Pargiter translates it as 'Kṣatriyan Brāhmanas'.⁹³ He devotes chapter XXIII in his AIHT

92. MP 154.409; Himālaya accorded a warm reception to Nārada when he went to him on a mission of arranging a marriage of Umā and Śiva (MP 154.120 ff).

93. AIHT. p.243.

for a discussion of this problem. In his opinion, the term is used very comprehensively and it includes the following three classes: "Kṣatriyas who relinquished their own status and became Brāhmaṇas such as Viśvāmitra; others of lower rank who became brāhmaṇas such as Kaksīvant (p.220) and Kṣatriyas who became brāhmaṇas and still retained their kṣatriya status that is, 'kṣatriyan brāhmaṇas', and it is this class to which the term more properly and mainly applies."⁹⁴ This happened in the Solar and the Lunar lines.

The MP notes mainly the following Kṣatriyan Brahmins⁹⁵:

Bhāradvājas Bharadvāja, an illicit son of
and 96 Āṅgīrasa Brhaspati and Mamatā was an
Bhāratas adopted son of Bharata whom he was
presented by Maruts (49.29) and who was later on
known as Vitatha Bharadvāja (49.32). He was the
progenitor of Brahmins and Kṣatriyas known as divyā-
muṣyā^{ya}nakauṭṣīnāḥ i.e. belonging to two families (49.33).

94. AIHT. p.244.

95. For a list of Kṣatriyan Brahmins in BrP, ViP, VP, vide PI, Vol. I, p.487.

96. For Bharadvāja, vide PI, Vol.II, pp.541 ff. For Bhāratas, vide AIHT, pp.247 ff. The problem of Bharata and Bharadvāja is excellently discussed by Pargiter in AIHT, pp.159 ff.

⁹⁷
Gargas : They were the descendants of Garga who was the grandson of Vitatha Bharadvāja who was a Brahmin by birth and a Kṣatriya by adoption and consequently his descendants were known as Kṣatriyan Brahmins (49.38,41). Śibi was Garga's son and his descendants were known as Śaibyas.⁹⁸ They belonged to the Angirasas (49.41) and stand in exogamous relations with Bharadvājas, Saityas, Tittiris and Kapibhūs.⁹⁹

Vṛddha Garga is said to be the best of all the Dharmabhṛts and appears as the narrator of the chapters 229-238¹⁰⁰ dealing with portents and their pacificatory rites to the sage Atri on the banks of the river Sarasvatī (229.2-3). One Garga appears to be the preceptor of Kauśika's seven sons who tended his cow, killed it under the heavy pressure of hunger and made a good meat of it under the pretext of Śrāddha (20.2 ff) and their tale of rebirths is

97. Pl. Vide also PI, Vol.I, p.520, sv. Garga (I), AIHT, pp.249 f.

98. MP 49.37-38. Prof. V.R.R. Dikshitar reads Śini (Chini) for Śibi. PI, Vol.III.

99. MP 196.23-24,48. Pargiter suggests the reading Śainya for Saitya, AIHT. p.249 fn.9.

100. Ch. 230 missing in a and ca; chs. 234-237 missing in gha.

connected with the account of king Brahmadatta
(Chs. 20-21).

One more Garga is referred to as one of the
renowned teachers of the science of architecture.¹⁰¹

Gargas are also famed as the seers of hymns.¹⁰²

Sāṅkṛti :¹⁰³ They are the descendants of
Sāṅkṛti, the son of Nara who was the grandson of
Vitatha Bharadvāja. The sons of Sankṛti and Satkṛti
are Gurudhī and Rantideva.¹⁰⁴ They constitute a
gotra among the Āṅgirasas and stand in pravara-
relationship with Trimārṣti, Manu and others and
their marital alliances are tabooed with Āṅgiras
and Gauravīti.¹⁰⁵ Sāṅkṛti figures also as a

101. MP. 252.3; The other teachers are : Bhṛgu,
Atri, Vasiṣṭha, Viśvakarmā, Maya, Nārada,
Nagnajit, Viśālākṣ, Purandara, Brahmā, Kumāra,
Nandiśa, Saunaka, Vāsudeva, Aniruddha, Sukra
and Brhaspati. MP. 252.2-4.

102. MP. 145.101, cf. Br.P.2.32.107; VP. 59.98.

103. Vide PI, Vol.III, p.504, sv. Sāṅkṛti (II);
AIHT, pp.248 ff.

104. MP. 49.37. Pargitar's remark "The other Sāṅkṛti's
name is given as ... Gurudhī (Matsya) (AIHT, p.249)
is misleading as according to the MP version
Gurudhī is the son of Sāṅkṛti, cf. Narasya
Sāṅkṛtiḥ putras tasya mahāyaśāḥ || Gurudhī Ranti-
devasā Satkṛtyām tāv ubhau smṛtau | MP.49.36-37
Gurudhī v.l. Purāndhī, na.

105. MP. 196.30,32; MP. 190.30 is missing in ka, kha.

hymn-maker amongst the Āṅgirasas.¹⁰⁶ According to Pargiter, Gurudhī "is no doubt the same rishi who is named among the Āṅgirasas as Guruvīta and Gauravīti and the correct name is Gaurīvīti."¹⁰⁷

Kāvyas and Uruksavas :¹⁰⁸ Uruksava¹⁰⁹ was the son of Āhārya¹¹⁰ and the great-grandson of Vitatha Bharadvāja. He was married to Viśālā and had three sons Tryuṣaṇa,¹¹¹ Puṣkri¹¹² and Kavi.¹¹³

106. MP. 145.101; cf. BrP. 2.32.107; VP 59.98.

107. AIHT, p.249. The corresponding name of Guruvīta in VP 59.99 and BrP 2.32.108 is Purukutsa. (Ibid, p.249, fn.5). Whether Gaurīvīti was an Āṅgirasa or a Vasiṣṭha is difficult to decide as the evidence is not exactly precise; vide for details AIHT, p.249.

108. Pargiter reads 'Kāpyas' and 'Uruksayas' instead of 'Kāvyas' and 'Uruksavas' in his collated text in AIHT, p.249, fn.1. Kirfel also accepts this lection and notes the lectia of the MP in the footnotes; op.cit, p.542. The ga, ca and na note 'Kapi' as the v.l of 'Kavi' (MP.p.102, fn.4 and Pargiter) and the ga reads 'Puruksata' for 'Uruksava'. (MP. p.102, fn.1).

109. MP.49.38; vide also PI, Vol.I, p.241. Empassant it may be noted that the MP 271.4 mentions Uruksaya as the son of Brhadbala and as the father of Vatsadroha as the future kings. According to Prof. V.R.R. Dikshitar, this Uruksaya is a sage and there is no marriage alliance with Āṅgiras (PI, Vol.I, p.241), here the learned Professor seems to confuse Uruksaya of the Paurava family of the Lunar line (MP.ch.49) with the future Uruksaya of the Ikṣvāku family of the Solar line and his comments "a sage, no marriage alliance with Āṅgiras" (ibid) applies more fittingly to Uruksava whom he notes separately (ibid) and not to Uruksaya.

110. Pargiter reads Mahāvīrya in his collated text & notes Āhārya as the MP.-lection, AIHT, p.248.fn.1.

111. v.l. Aruṇa. ga, na, ca.

112. v.l. Puṣākara. ga, na, ca. 113. vide fn.108.

One Aśvabhārya (145.103) of the Āṅgiras gotra is mentioned as a composer of hymns whom Pargiter is inclined to identify with Āhārya.¹¹⁴

Amongst the Uruksavas i.e. Tryuṣaṇa and Puṣkari and their descendants seem to have achieved the status of Brahmins¹¹⁵ while the Kāvya remained merely as Kṣatriyan Brahmins.¹¹⁶ It is a happy thing to note that three amongst the Kāvya achieved the distinction of being renowned as Mahārṣis. "With descendants of Uruksava's two elder sons formed Uruksavas and those of Kapi a distinct gotra. All joined the Āṅgirasas, and so in the Āṅgirasa vaṃśa is named Uruksava, though not Kapi unless Kapibhū stands for it."¹¹⁷

114. AIHT, p.250. Apropos of the variations in forms viz. Mahāvīrya and Āhārya, Pargiter opines that Āhārya appears to be a better form and the variation suggests that the name is corrupt and conjectures on the authority of the ascription of RV.10.118 to Uruksava Amāhiyava, Amāhiyu may, probably, be the true name here as the two names can be easily its corruptions (ibid.)

115. MP.49.40 ab; PI, Vol.I, p.242. Kirfel (op.cit. p.542) puts 49.40 ab into a bracket.

116. MP.49.40-41. VP.91.115; BrP 3.66.86. According to Pargiter, a line seems to have been dropped between MP 49.40 ab and MP 49.40 cd (op.cit, p.248, fn.1).

117. AIHT, p.250; MP. 196.29, 48, 49.

The ṛsis having Āṅgiras, Damavāhya, Urukṣaya, Tittiri, Kapibhū and Gārgya as their pravara are said to be exogamous (196.29,48,49).

¹¹⁸
Mudgalyas and Maitreyas : The next group of Kṣatriyan Brahmins is formed by the lineal descendants of Mudgala who was a descendant of Bharadvāja, the adopted son of Bharata.¹¹⁹ This constituted the North Pāṇcāla dynasty.¹²⁰ Mudgala was the son of Bhadrāśva whose other sons were Jaya, Brhadīṣu, Javinara and Kapila (50.3). The Mudgalyas are said to join Āṅgirasas (50.5). Mudgala's son was Brahmi-¹²¹stha by name and this suggests, as Pargiter points out, that "he became a Brahman and a rishi"¹²² and apparently he did not become a king.¹²³ His great-grandson was rājarsi Divodāsa of the Ṛgvedic fame, the brother of Ahalyā who was married to Saradvat whose descendants were known as Gautamas (50.7 ff).

118. PI, Vol.II, pp.739f, 743.

119. vide the geneological tree on p.

120. vide AIHT, pp.115 ff.; vide Pargiter F.E., The North Pāṇcāla Dynasty, JRAS, 1918, pp.229ff.

121. MP.50.6; v.1. Vasiṣṭha, na.

122. JRAS, 1918, p.239.

123. JRAS, 1918, p.233.

Divodāsa's grandson was Maitreya whose descendants were known as Maitreyas, who belonged to the Yati-pakṣa and joined the Bhārgavas (50.13-14). Those having Bhṛgu Vadhryasva and Divodāsa as their pravara¹²⁴ mutually form the exogamous group. The veteran scholar Pargiter's sweeping remark "Neither the Maudgalyas or the Maitreyas produced any rishi of note"¹²⁵ is difficult to accept as one Āṅgiras Mudgala is noted as a mantra-kṛt (145.3). The ViP professes to have been narrated by Parāśara to a Maitreya. Maitreyas are said to form an ārṣeyapravara (195.41).

These Maudgalyas who are collaterals of Kāṇvas are also known as Kāṇvamaudgalyas,¹²⁶ probably because they might have been highly influenced by them and might have joined with them.

Kāṇvāyanas : They were descendants of Medhātithi, the son of Kāṇva who was the son of Keśinī and Ajamīdha. The latter was a descendant of Bharadvāja and thus by descent they were Kṣatriyan Brahmins,

124. MP.195.42; MP.196.42 ff mentions the exogamous groups for Mudgala and Maudgalya.

125. AIHT, p. 251.

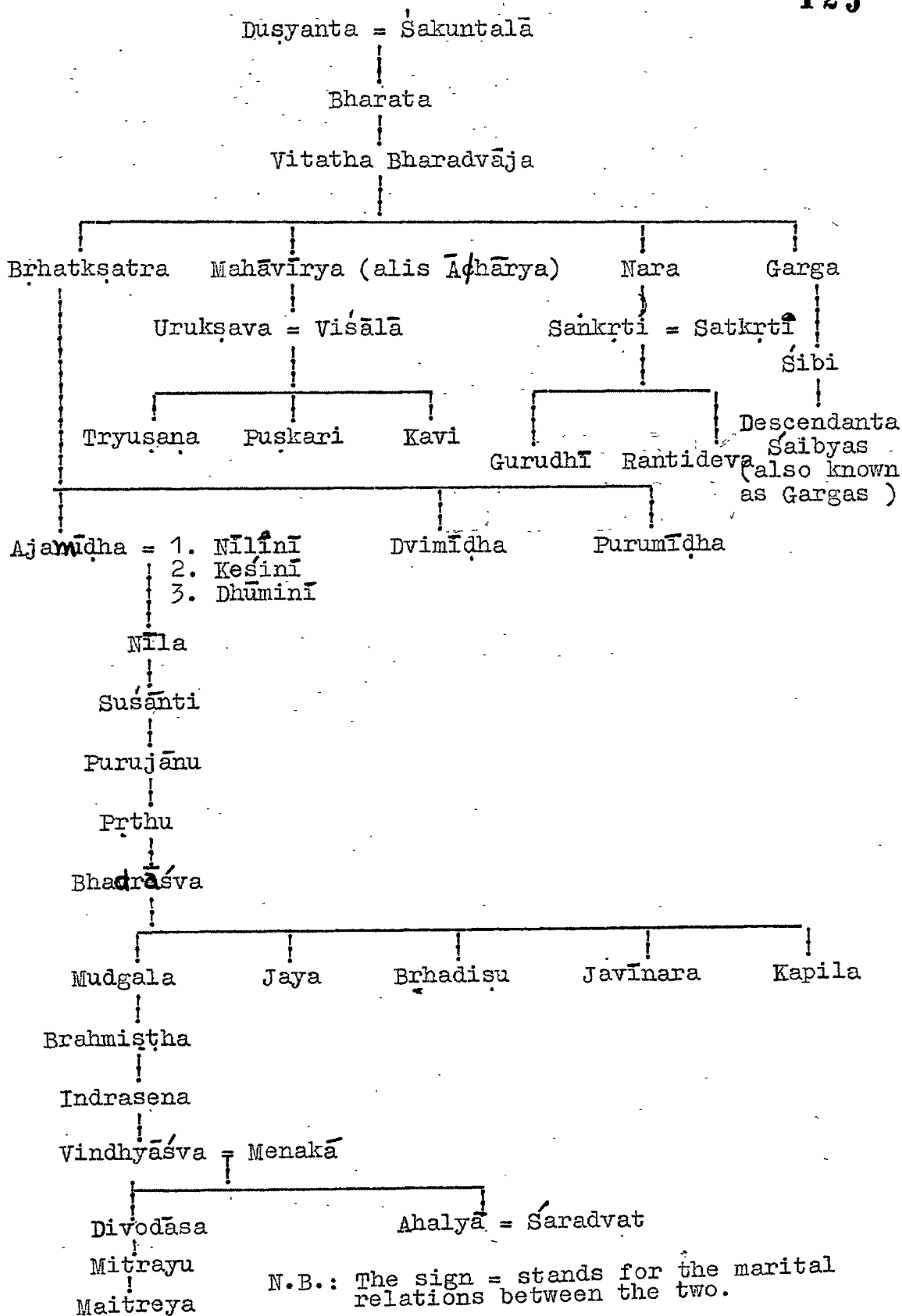
126. Vide. PI, Vol. I, p.346.

but they seem to have attained the status of Brahmins, for they are styled 'dvijas'.¹²⁷ They belonged to the Āṅgīrasa group¹²⁸ and stand in exogamous relations with those whose pravara ṛsis are Āṅgīras, Brhaspati, Bharadvāja, Garga and Saitya.¹²⁹

Some reputed monarchs of the Solar line are reputed as authors of hymns.¹³⁰

The relationship of these different personages of the Lunar line, wherein this phenomenon mainly took place, can be shown as under in the form of a stematta codicum, wherein the important personages useful in the discussion are noted.¹³¹

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127. MP. 49.47 (missing in ĥa); vide PI, Vol.I, p.346; for discussion and detail, vide AIHT, pp.225 ff. The VP reads Kānthāyana which is a misreading according to Pargiter (AIHT, p.226.fn.1).
128. MP.196.21; MP.200.9 mentions Kāṇvas among the Vasisthas also.
129. MP.196.24; For those constituting the exogamous circle vide MP.196.21 ff.
130. Vide ante Intellectual Activities of the Kṣatriyas.
131. For a consolidated genealogical tree, vide AIHT, p.112; for the discussion of Pauravas vide *ibid*, pp.110 ff; and for the North Pāṇcāla dynastic genealogical tree, *ibid*, p.116.



From the above survey, it is clear that this composite character of descent and recognition is mainly discernible in the Lunar line while in the Solar line only eminent kings are styled as authors of hymn or royal sages, but from this it is hazardous to surmise that by their literary activities or behavioural pattern, they could assert their claimancy to both the varṇas and they could raise the varṇa-status. It is chiefly in the Lunar line that this phenomenon of double varṇa-recognition transpired. This was primarily due to the adoption of Vitatha Bharadvāja who was by birth a Brahmin and a Kṣatriya by adoption as he was presented to King Bharata by Maruts and hence his claim to the recognition to both the varṇas. It is, hence, a natural corollary that his agnatic descendants claimed a double varṇa-status. It is significant to note that some of his descendants could attain the unmixed recognition as Brahmins.

Vaiśyas : The terms used to denote this order are viś and vaiśya which are of Vedic antiquity.¹³²

132. For viś, ^{vide} VI, Vol.II, pp.305 ff and for vaiśya, ibid, pp.333 ff.

The word *viś* is polysemic.¹³³ "*Viś* cannot in almost all hymns of the *Rg*^(veda) mean '*vaiśya*' but means the 'people' or 'āryan people' when no epithet like '*dāsīh*' or '*daivīh*' is prefixed".¹³⁴ In the later Vedic literature the word *viś* stands for one of the four *varṇas*.¹³⁵ It is significant to note that in the MP, the word *viś* in '*viśāmpati*', a Vedic phrase, is used in the sense of 'people'. *Vaivasvata* *Manu* is said to be *viśāmpati* i.e. the lord of the people (58.19).

The other term employed to connote this order is *vaiśya* which occurs for the first time ~~and~~ in RV 10.90.12 only. It is found frequently from the *Atharvaveda* onwards and sometimes in the form of *Viśya*.¹³⁶ In the MP, the word *Vaiśya* also stands for one of the *varṇas*.

133. e.g. people, settlement or dwelling, homestead, house, community, tribe, people, subdivision of *Jana*, clan, Macdonell A.A., A Practical Sanskrit Dictionary, p.289; VI, Vol.II, p.355 ff.

134. Kane P.V.: HDS, Vol.II, p.33.

135. For passages vide VI, Vol.II, p.307, fn.12.

136. VI, Vol.II, p.333. AV 5.17.9; VS 33.5 etc.; AV 6.13.1; VS 18.48 etc.

The special duties and functions of a Vaiśya¹³⁷ were agriculture, commerce, pastoral pursuits etc.

In the Kṛtayuga they were devoted entirely to agricultural pursuits¹³⁸ - a feature comparable to that found in the Vedic literature.¹³⁹ In the Kaliyuga, they like the members of the other Varnas are foretold to deviate from their duties (144.38).

It is significant to note that Yayāti displayed a favourable disposition towards the Vaiśyas by granting protection to them and showed special favours to others in various ways and also kept others under proper check and control by varied means and devices (34.5). This incidentally suggests that Vaiśyas had come to enjoy special royal favour of protection betokening the state-interest, as the smooth and unhampered following of their profession, possibly, constituted a source of veritable income

137. Vide ante fn. 29.

138. MP 163.3. Such statements can support Hopkins's view that Vaiśya was really an agriculturist. India, Old and New, 222 et. seq. This view is referred to by Macdonell and Keith in connection with the Vaiśya's role in the Vedic society. (VI, Vol.II, p.333, fn.7).

139. Majumdar R.C. and Pusalkar A.D.: The Vedic Age, p.451; VI, Vol.II, p.233.

to the royal coffer, moreover as they formed the major bulk of the populace, they deserved certain favours and prerogatives even from the social welfare point of view.

In eschatological matters, the Vaiśyas do not seem to have suffered from any serious disabilities; for after death in Avimukta, they all, like the members of other varṇas, are promised undiscriminated celestial pleasures in Śivapura (181.19 fr). But a note of suppression and discriminative policy against them is heard in matters of crime and punishments (227.66-67). It appears that the Vaiśyas did not divorce themselves nor were barred from the intellectual activities, and this is testified by the instances of Bhalandaka, Vāsāśva and Sankṣāla who are noted as authors of hymns.¹⁴⁰

This shows the liberal spirit of the MP in noting a tradition that the Vaiśyas were not cut off from the participation and substantial contribution to the literary and intellectual sphere of life.

140. MP 145.116-117; Vāsāśva v.l. Vatsa^(A'ca) ga, ṇa.

Sūdras : The terms used in the MP to denote this order are sūdra, pādaja and antyaja.

The word sūdra occurs in RV 10.90.12 and as Drs. Macdonell and Keith point out "it could in fact be applied to all beyond the pale of the Aryan State,¹⁴¹" but the conquered ones would have been employed as domestic servants approximating very nearly to the position of slaves.¹⁴²

The Sūdra in MP 4.28 is said to emanate from the feet of Vāmadeva and the significant term 'pādaja' ~~is~~ in the MP (15.14) ^{stands for} a Sudra and this implies that he stood on the lowest rung of the social ladder and was the servant of all. The history of the caste-system through the ages reveals that since times immemorial, he suffered severe disabilities, was denied certain rights and was bound to the servitude of all.¹⁴³

141. VI, Vol.II, p.388.

142. Ghurye G. S., op.cit, p.51; VI, ibid, p.388.

143. For a survey of the position, disabilities etc. of Sūdras, vide Kane P.V. HDS, Vol.II, pp.33 ff, pp.154 ff; Patil D.R., op.cit, pp.149 ff; Ghurye G.S., op.cit, Chapters 3 and 4.

In the Kṛtayuga they were duty-bound to the service of and attendance to the members of the other three superior orders (165.3). In ^{the} evil iron age of Kali they are said to rise to the zenith of their power and attain the laudable and respectful status of kings.¹⁴⁴ This situation does not appear to be liked and approved of by the Brahmanical writers, because it is reckoned as one of the awful evils of the Kali age and such an undesirable situation is forestalled to come to an end by the enthusiastic activities of Pramati, the antakṛt of Śūdras.¹⁴⁵

Their status was deplorable. They suffered from various disabilities such as inhibition to Vedic studies and Vedic sacrifices,¹⁴⁶ liability to higher punishments etc.¹⁴⁷

144. MP 50.75; 144.40. cf. i.e. the Maurya dynasty, 272.18 ff.

145. MP 44.58; 144.54; in 47.250-252, Kalki is mentioned.

146. cf. Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtra, 6.1.25-38.

147. Vide ante fn. 143. Note also that Bādari held a liberal view in this matter in contrast to the views of the conservative thinkers like Jaimini. cf. the Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtra 1.3.27. 'Nimit्तार्थेना Bādariś tasmāt sarvādhikāraṃ syāt!'

In the MP there is nothing to show that in the normal times a Sūdra was allowed to study the Vedas and perform sacrifices; it is only in the irreligious and abnormal period of the Kali age that Sūdras are prognosticated to be on a par with others and suffer no more from disabilities such as the bar to Vedic studies (144.39,42).

In consonance with the views of the Dharmaśāstra writers,¹⁴⁸ the MP allows the Sūdras to perform Śrāddhas without the recitation of Vedic mantras. They were allowed to perform the Sādhāraṇaśrāddha (17.64,70) and the Vṛddhi-śrāddha by uttering the formula 'namah' in lieu of the Vedic formula (17.40) and it is recommended in connection with Śrāddha, that he should chiefly indulge in making gifts as this act is calculated to fulfil all desires (17.71). They, "the resplendant offerers of Śrāddha sport in the aerial cars fulfilling all desires"¹⁴⁹ in the Jyotirbhāsi region.

148. Kane P.V.: HDS, Vol.II, pp.117 ff.

149. Kantawala S.G., The Cult of Manes as Depicted in the Matsya Purāṇa, JOI, Vol.V, No.4, p.408; MP. 15.13-14.

They were also allowed to observe vratas e.g. Rohinīcandraśayanavrata (57.6), Aṅgārakavrata (72.28), but certain points in the ritual were tabooed and alternatives were prescribed in their stead e.g. in the case of the observance of the former vrata, he is to recite the Paurāṇic mantra 'Somāya varādaya Viṣṇave ca namo namaḥ' (57.5-6) instead of the Vedic mantra '[āpyāyasva...] (RV.1.91.16^a) prescribed for an observant of the other three varṇas, while in the case of the observance of the latter vrata, he is to observe silence and meditate on the Mars while a dvija for the same is directed to recite 'agnimūrdhā...' (72.28cf. RV.8.44.16^a). This relaxation in the rigour of the religious matters by waiving off some bars and by prescribing alternatives suggests the liberal spirit and attitude of the MP which is in conformity with those of some of the Dharmasāstra-writers.¹⁵⁰

150. For the views of various Dharmasāstra writers vide Kane P.V., HDS., Vol.II, pp. 156 ff. For example Manu permits a religious Sūdra to perform religious acts without the use of Vedic mantras. (MS. 10.127); cf. YS.1.121.

The Sūdras were liable to higher punishments for the commission of certain crimes (227.66 ff.). This discriminative attitude in this matter is cogent with that of the Dharmasāstra writers.¹⁵¹

The Sūdras were employed, as noted above, as servants even from ancient times and a reminiscent example of the same is preserved in the MP in the case of a Sūdra-maid working as a nurse (dhātreyikā) in the royal seraglio of Bali. She was sent for cohabitation to Dīrghatamas by Sudeśnā, the consort of Bali, in lieu of herself who was appointed for the same under the levirate system (48.62).

This reflects a stage of society when Sūdras were no more looked upon as alien and hostile but were absorbed and assigned a place in the society and were employed in services, of course, not respectful and possibly also not responsible.

This also permits a possible and probable surmise that these Sūdra maids and nurses had not the strict moral ideas about sexual chastity or they

151. Vide Kane P.V., HDS, Vol.II, pp.159 ff;
Jolly. J., Hindu Law and Custom, pp.273, 277.

were compelled to abandon these nobler ideas under the imperative imperial orders from fear of loosing their daily bread.

One Śūdra Śaunda by name who was the servant of the religious-minded courtesan Lilāvati, a votary of Śiva, is said to be a goldsmith and he is accredited with the honour of preparing trees ~~under~~ other things of gold necessary in the observance of the Lavanācala-pradāna vow without any remuneration as it was a religious act (92.23 ff).

From this it may be surmised that some of the Śūdras employed as servants by various persons, knew various arts and crafts amongst which goldsmithery might have been one of them.¹⁵²

Yayāti is known to have shown a special favour of compassionate attitude towards Śūdras who appear distinct from Dasyus who were kept under restraint and vigilance.¹⁵³ "The reference to Śūdras in

152. This story is considered by Dr. R.C. Hazra as one of those "fictitious stories of kings and others who made gifts with great effect." (op. cit. p.251); but this character of the story does not rule out a possible surmise about the social data, for a poet may stand above the society, but cannot stand outside the society.

153. MP. 34.5; VP.93.66.

connection with Yayāti," as Dr. D.R. Patil remarks, "where they appear as distinct from the Dasyus must be considered inapplicable to the period of the king who is mentioned in the RV. It only shows that a large number of aboriginal inhabitants had been incorporated into the Āryan fold and the Dasyus signified probably the remaining aboriginal tribes."¹⁵⁴ This reference also suggests a stage of the society when the absorbed aboriginals displayed a docile attitude towards the state-authorities and also perhaps their pitiable condition led them to earn a special favour of compassionate demeanour towards them while the unabsorbed sector exhibited a hostile attitude and hence they were required to be kept under proper check and vigilance on their diverse activities.

Apropos of the transmundane matters, the indiscriminated pleasures of Śivapura are promised in unequivocal terms to those Sūdras who die in Avimukta (181.19 ff) .

154. Patil D. R., op.cit. p.150.

Antyajās : In the MP are met with two synonymous terms, antyaja and antyajānman. "In the early Vedic literature several of the names of castes that are spoken of in the Smṛtis as antyajās occur".¹⁵⁵ Various castes e.g. Cāṇḍāla, Paulkasa and others were denominated by the common term antyaja.

The term 'antyaja' or 'antyajānman' literally means 'last born' or 'lowest born' and naturally then, it refers to 'Sūdra' who was the last as well as the lowest born one according to the account of the origin of the four social orders. In the MP, these two terms denote the Sūdra.¹⁵⁶ The MS 8.279 also uses the term 'antyaja' in the sense of 'Sūdra'.¹⁵⁷

A bull of the black hue is recommended for an antyajānman (i.e. a 'Sūdra') in the Vṛṣotsargavidhi.¹⁵⁸

155. Kane P.V.; HDS, Vol.II, p.165. Vide ibid, Ch.4 for detailed information, also vide ibid, p.70. The various references of different texts show that by the word antyaja more than one low caste only ~~are~~ denoted.

156. Prof. V.R.R. Dikshitar also interprets this term in the sense of 'Sūdra' (PI, Vol.I, p.66).

157. 'antyajah sūdrah' Kullūka on MS.8.279, p.322.

158. MP.207.19. This interpretation of 'antyajānman' as 'Sūdra' logically follows as the term occurs after the mention of the other three varnas and also this is conspicuous by the absence of the mention of the word 'Sūdra'.

The punishment for a sexual intercourse with an antyajā woman is the observance of the Cāndrāyana vrata (227.49). A Brahmin who unintentionally approaches a cāṇḍāla woman of the cāṇḍāla caste or of an antyaja caste, who eats the food of such persons and accepts presents from them becomes outcast, but if he does it intentionally, he becomes their equal.¹⁵⁹ This separate mention of the two terms cāṇḍāla and antyaja suggests that these were two different castes. The house of an antyaja was deemed ominous if it cast a shadow, as it was believed to be indicative of fear from weapons (255.14)

159. MP.227.54 which is the same as MS.11.175. Bühler on MS 8.175 renders antyaja as 'of very low caste' (SBE. Vol.25. p.466). Kultūka on the same comments : antyajānām mlecchasarīrādīnām striyaḥ ! p.457. For the interpretations of different commentators, vide SBE. Vol.XXV, pp.466-467, fn. 176. Can we not take here Antya = Antyaja i.e. a Sūdra which would be in conformity with MS.8.279 where Kultūka interprets antyaja = sūdra. For the word cāṇḍāla can subsume the other castes. The word antya according to VDS.16.30, MS.8.68* is a genuine appellation for all lowest castes like cāṇḍāla, Kane P.V., HDS, Vol.2, pp.69 f.

Mixed Castes : The Indian society is composed of not merely of four varṇas but also of mixed castes which constitute the component parts of the structure of the society.¹⁶⁰ The phenomenon of the mixed caste is denoted by the word 'varṇasaṅkaratā' and the word 'varṇasaṅkara' means 'mixture of castes by inter-marriages'.¹⁶¹ In the MS 5.89 and 10.40 "the word saṅkara seems to be used in the sense of 'mixture or intermingling of varṇas'".¹⁶² Various factors such as hypergamy or hypogamy brought about this phenomenon.¹⁶³ In the MP (47.260; 144.73; 213.9) in some places in the description of the Kaliyuga and in other places the word 'saṅkara' is used in the sense of 'mixture or intermingling of varṇas' as in the MS as noted above,

160. In the RV, over and above the four varṇas, other occupations and crafts with specific names are mentioned e.g. vaptā, barber (RV.10.142.4), taṣṭā, ^{trastā} carpenter, (RV.1.61.4; 7.32.20); bhiṣak, medicine man (RV.9.112.1,3); for other references from the RV and other Saṃhitās, vide Kane P.V.; HDS, Vol.II, pp.43 ff.; Ghurye G.S.; Caste and Class in India, pp. 52 ff.

161. Macdonell A.A.: A Practical Sanskrit Dictionary, p.271.

162. Kane P. V.: op.cit. p.59., Bühler on MS.5.89 "Those born in consequence of an illegal mixture of castes", SBE. Vol.25, p.184; also vide fn. to 5.89

163. Vide for detail Kane P.V.; op.cit., pp.59 ff.

ASCETICS AND HERMITS :

The picture of a society would remain incomplete without the survey of all constituent sectors of the society as they play a significant role in the texture of the society. A reference to sages, ascetics and hermits is necessary as they are one of the important constituent elements of a society even though they belong to no caste. Indeed, "there can be no great and complete culture without some element of asceticism in it, for asceticism means self-denial and self-conquest by which man represses his lower impulses and rises to greater heights of his nature".¹⁶⁶

^{ci}
"Ascetism and monastic organisation are two unique contributions which Indian civilisation has made to the common stock of culture. Asceticism concerns the theory and practice of individual conduct. Asceticism is a complex of traits whose main content is formed by some kind of bodily mortification, religious discipline and withdrawal of life both mentally and physically. Its essence lies in passivity as contrasted with activity and renunciation

166. Ghosh Aurobindo.; The Foundations of Indian Culture, p.85.

The ADS 2.9.21.1¹⁷⁵ uses the word muni to denote a person in the fourth stage of life and in the MP, the word 'muni' is used generally to denote a person in the fourth stage of life or a sage.

The salient features, characteristics and duties of a muni are as under :

He dwelt in the forest and was not lured away by the various objects of a village (40.9,11) and if he sojourned in a village, he did not develop a feeling of attachment to the objects of a village and in the case of his developing an attitude and feeling of detachment, there was no objection to his sojourning in a village.¹⁷⁶ He owned no house, kept no fire and was divested of his gotra and carana and had only a loin-cloth to don.¹⁷⁷ He took that much quantity of food that would sustain his life.¹⁷⁸ He relinquished all his desires and actions and controlled his senses¹⁷⁹ ;

175. Catvāra āśramā gārhaṣṭhyam ācāryakulaṃ maunaṃ vānaprasthyamiti | ADS. 2.9.21.1.

176. JA on MP 40.11, mp. Vol.I, p.268.

177. MP 40.12, cf, MS 6.25; Kane P.V., HDS, Vol.II, p.936.

178. MP. 40.13, cf. MS.6.57,59; VDS 10.21,22,25; YS.3.59.

179. MP.40.14, cf. MS.6.8; YS.3.48; cf. also Kane P.V. HDS, Vol.II, p.920.

moreover he observed silence and after all these tribulations, he obtained salvation.¹⁸⁰ He had to clean his teeth, cut his nails, take his bath daily (perhaps thrice a day) and remain decent.¹⁸¹ He did all good actions without any limit and commanded high respect from all.¹⁸² A forest-hermit was to live on by his own labour, was to be guileless, was to make gifts to others, was not to cause pain to others and was to be regular in food and action.¹⁸³

He lived on sylvan roots and fruits.¹⁸⁴ Some lived on water and air. They used their teeth as pestle. They ground with stones and did the pañcā-gnitapaścaryā. They observed laudable^{v. 105} and were devoted to truth and religious pursuits. They observed celibacy and cherished for the attainment of the supreme state.¹⁸⁵ Celibacy is said to be the abode

180. MP.40.14; cf. MS.6.43, cf. also Kane P.V., *ibid*, p.937.

181. MP.40.15; cf. MS.6.22, 24, 52, cf. also Kane P.V., *ibid*., pp.936 ff.; 920.

182. MP.40.15; in 61.6 Dānavas are said to have tormented the munis.

183. MP.175.32; cf. MS.6.5, cf. Kane P.V., *ibid*., p.920.

184. MP.40.4; cf. Kane P.V., HDS, Vol.II, p.920.

185. MP.175.33-36; 161.25, cf. MS.6.8, YS.3.48.; MS.6.17, YS.3.49; MS.6.23-24, YS.3.52. Five fires are the fires in the four directions and the sun above; also cf. Kane P.V., *op.cit.*, pp. 920 ff

of truth and penance.¹⁸⁶ The practice of yoga was deemed to be a pre-requisite of prime importance (175.39). On account of severe austerities, his flesh, bones, blood and every thing were emaciated and by transcending duality and observing silence, he conquered not only this world but the yonder world (40.16-17). He took food whatever he got, without least attempt, in the manner of beasts who exert no pain to get their food. This conduct implies the paramahansa stage of the muni concerned.¹⁸⁷ A muni observed a vow of non-violence (61.15).

The munis on the Himālayas are said to beam with the lustre comparable to that of the sun by the power of austerities (154.128) and are also said to offer evening adorations to the Sun (154.582) and are said to be the knowers of truth (154.43).

186. MP.175.38; MP.175.37 ff. eulogizes celibacy and states that the Brāhmaṇya of a Brahmin is due to his observance of continence and such Brahmins are said to take up their abode in Elysium. Brahmacharya is considered as the highest type of austerity.

187. *Āsyena tu yad āhāram govan mṛgayate munih* | *AMP 40.17*,
~~MP.145.24.~~ Kane P.V., *ibid*, p.942.

The munis, the denizens of Vārāṇasī, are promised by Lord Śiva the Sāyujya type of liberation. They, the sarvasiddhāntavids, are described as avyakta-¹⁸⁸lingas i.e. exhibiting no visible signs of their order.

Various munis are referred to in the MP, but as their accounts do not throw light on their mode of living etc., they are not mentioned here.

In the MP, Yatis are also referred to. In the RV, they appear to be associated with Bhṛguś and seem to be actual or historical persons.¹⁸⁹ After discussing several passage of the Vedic literature, MM. Dr. P.V. Kane remarks that they were "people who had incurred the hostility of Indra... ...Originally they were probably beyond the pale of the Vedic Āryans."¹⁹⁰ Dr. B.R. Bhandarkar is also inclined to take them to be non-Āryans,¹⁹¹ while Dr. G.S. Ghurye is disinclined to accept this view.¹⁹²

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188. MP.180.60-61. According to the Jābālopaniṣad 6, the avyaktalingatva is one of characteristics of the Paramahansa stage; vide Kane P.V., *ibid*, p.941 and also fn. 2156 on the same page.
189. RV 8.3.9; 6.18; VI. Vol.II, p.185.
190. Kane P.V., HDS, Vol.II, p.419; vide also VI, Vol.II, p.185.
191. Bhandarkar D.R., *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture*, p.80.
192. Ghurye G.S., *Indian Sadhus*, p.17; for a discussion of the different views, vide *ibid*, pp.15 ff.

The word 'yati' is used in the Sūtra and Smṛti literature to denote a person in the fourth āśrama.¹⁹³

The characteristics as delineated in the MP tend to suggest that it denoted a person in the fourth āśrama and ordinarily it denotes a sage. He is said to be a yati as he endeavours for the practice of yoga.¹⁹⁴ They

are depicted as having curbed their senses.¹⁹⁵ It is prescribed that they should saunter for eight months and sojourn in one place for a period of two months or four months;¹⁹⁶ but this prescription for the Vihāra

is invalid for those who stay in the sacred city of Avimukta.¹⁹⁷ The yatis desirous of salvation are said to reside in Avimukta (184.49).

Tāpasas : Tāpasas are mentioned in connection with Yayāti, who, after enjoying varied pleasures of the

193. VDS.11.34; MS 6.87.

194. Yataṁāno yatih sādhuḥ smṛto yogasya sādhanāt / MP 145.24.

195. MP 184.32, cf. MS 6.41,49; GDS 3.11

196. MP 184.32-33. Śaṅkha quoted by the Mitākṣarā on YS 3.58 (p.337) allows a yati to stay in one place in the rains, cf. Kane P.V., HDS, Vol.II, p.932.

197. MP 184.33. Such glorificatory statements about Avimukta are meant to bring out its greatness and sanctity.

world to his heart's content, abnegated the throne in favour of his youngest son Pūrṇ^ṽ and repaired to the forest in company of ascetic Brahmins (tāpasaiḥ brāhmaṇaiḥ).¹⁹⁸ That A king was enjoined to dedicate his kingdom and himself to ascetics^(215.65) shows high position in the society.

Ascetics are also described as tapodhanas i.e. they considered austerities as their very wealth (131.46; 49; 214.11 etc.); this suggests the significant place of tapas in the life of an ascetic.

Asuras behaved in an unhappy and troublesome manner towards the ascetics, the benignant personages of the society, and to add to that ^{they destroyed their penance-groves} that when the downfall of Tripura was imminent (131.46, 49; 132.1).

This suggests that Asuras harboured inner jealousy and animosity against the ascetics and became expressly ruthless and aggressive in times of stress and strife.

¹⁹⁹
Vaikhānasas : They are well-known to form one of the categories of ascetics. They form a mythical

198. MP.34.29, cf. Mbh.Ār.Ed. 1.80.25.

199. Vide Kane P.V., op.cit., pp.418,917 ff.

group of sages who are said in the Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa (14.47)²⁰⁰ to have been slain at Munimarāṇa²⁰¹ by Rahasyu Devamalimluc. In the Anukramaṇī are noted one hundred Vaikhānasas as the seers of RV.9.66 and RV.10.99 is attributed to one Vamra Vaikhānasa.²⁰² It is interesting to note that this word is connected with the nails of Prajāpati.²⁰³

"Vaikhānasa" as MM Dr. P.V. Kane points out "means 'vānaprastha' in the Sūtras and it is possible that this is the germ of the idea of vānaprastha."²⁰⁴

According to the BDS(2.6.19), a vānaprastha is defined as one who follows the practices laid down in the Vaikhānasasāstra.²⁰⁵

200. Vide VI, Vol.II, p.327.

201. Vide VI, Vol.II, p.168.

202. Vide Kane P.V., op.cit., p.917.

203. ye nakhās te Vaikhānasāḥ / ye vālās te vāla-khilyāḥ / Tait Ā.1.23.

204. Kane P.V., op.cit., p.418; cf. In the BDS 3.2, the term Vaikhānasa stands for this Āśrama.

205. vānaprastho vaikhānasasāstrasamudācārah / BDS.2.6.19. ms 6.21 refers to 'vaikhānasa' and Kullūka explains it as 'vaikhānaso vānaprasthastad dharmapratipādakasāstradarśane sthitaḥ /' Vaikhānasas and Pāñcarātrikas were the two Schools of Vaiṣṇavas as pointed by MM. Dr. P.V. Kane on the authority of Vṛddha Gautama (Ch.8,p.564). BDS, Vol.II, p.917. For detail vide, ibid.

Vaikhānasas are also referred to in the MP. Yati, the son of Mahuṣa and the eldest brother of Yayāti is reported to turn a yogī Vaikhānasa even though when he was in the prime of youth.²⁰⁶

The fact of his turning a Vaikhānasa in his budding youth may probably suggest that he betook himself to this stage of life overriding the intermediate stage of a householder. This view seems to be further substantiated by the fact that the MP does not refer to his marital alliance and Pargiter notes no descendants of Yati.²⁰⁷

This action of Yati is in conser~~va~~ance with the alternative laid down by the Jābālopaniṣad 4 viz. that one can become a parivrājaka immediately after he finishes his study or immediately after the household^{er's} way of life.²⁰⁸

206. MP.24.51. yatiḥ kumār^aphāve'pi yogī vaikhānaso 'bhavat / cf. PP.5.12.104. According to the VP (93.14) and the BrP(3.68.13) versions, he is said to have married Go, the daughter of Ka(ā)kutstha, AIHT, p.167.

207. AIHT, pp.86,88.

208. yadi vetarathā brahmacaryād eva pravrajed grhād vā vanād vā / yad ahareva virajet tad ahar eva pravrajat / Jābālopaniṣad 4. This view is countenanced, as noted by MM. Dr. P.V. Kane (ibid.p.424), by VDS.7.3, Laghu Viṣṇu 3.1.; YS.3.56; ADS 2.9. 21.7-8, 2.9.22.7-8.

In the case of Yati, there appears to be no difference between the stages of a Vaikhānasa and a Parivrājaka. The name may refer to the religious practices and belief followed.

Yati might have followed the rules of conduct as inculcated by the Vaikhānasa school²⁰⁹ which "had come to stay and the Pāñcarātra was yet a thing of the future".²¹⁰

Agastya, with his wife and surrounded by the Brahmins, is said to have practised severe penance, according to the Vaikhānasa ordinances on the Malaya mountain.²¹¹ The distinguishing feature of a Vaikhānasa is his practising of penance in a forest.²¹²

209. For discussion on the Vaikhānasasāstra, vide Dikshitar V.R.R., The Matsya Purāṇa - A Study. pp.61 ff. He remarks, "The antiquity of this work is attested to by the unimpeachable reference to it in the Sādhāyanadharmasūtra" (ibid. p.63). MM. Dr. P.V. Kane places Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra between 200 A.D. and 500 A.D. (HDS.Vol.II, p.XI).

210. Dikshitar V.R.R., op.cit., p.63.

211. MP.61.37. This reference is not noted by Prof. V.R.R. Dikshitar. *Vaikhānasavidhānataḥ v.1. vaiśvānaram vidhānavit[gha, ca.*

212. *tāpasas ca tathā'raṇye sādhuḥ vaikhānasasḥ smṛtaḥ/* MP. 145.24.

Bhikṣu : As in the GDS (3.2), the word 'bhikṣu' in the MP also is used to denote a person in the fourth stage of life (40.1). It may be noted that "a Buddhist monk was generally known as Bhikk(h ?)u or Bhikṣu. He is generally referred to in Sanskrit works as Parivrājaka"²¹³.

The salient features, characteristics and duties of a Bhikṣu as adumbrated in the MP are as follows :

A Bhikṣu is enjoined not to live on by any craft or art. He owns no house and has to control his senses. He is expected not to be lured away by various objects, emotions and instincts e.g. desire for a wife, for a son, for money etc. and he has to develop spirit of non-attachment to beauty, taste, ego etc.²¹⁴ He is not to sleep in a house. His requirements are few and simple. He wanders alone in many a land.²¹⁵ He

213. Ghurye G.S.: Indian Sādhus, p.43.

214. MP. 40.5; cf. MS. 6.43, mp.Vol.I, p.266; cf. MS.6.41,49.; GDS.3.11.

215. MP.40.5, cf. MS.6.42. Ka reads 'ekāmbara' (putting on one garment) for ekacāra (moving alone). The Dakṣa-smṛti (7.34-38) recommends that a bhikṣu should stay alone, otherwise the noble purpose of life would be foiled and other undesirable consequences would follow. Vide. Kane HDS, Vol.II, p.933 and also fn. 2151 on the same page.

dwells in the forest and checks his maddening senses at night when other people are engrossed in the enjoyment of the gross sensual pleasures. He attains liberation not only for himself but also for his ten ascendants and ten descendants when his mortal coil returns to dust (40.6-7).

It would, thus, be seen that the hermits and ascetics who form a distinct sector of the society are variously called, as MM. Dr. P.V. Kane writes, "parivrāt or parivrājaka (one who does not stay in one place), bhikṣu (one who begs for his livelihood), muni¹ (one who controls his senses). These words suggest the various characteristics of the man who undertakes the fourth āśrama²¹⁶....; moreover, from the foregoing discussion, the following traits of the complex of asceticism are noticeable viz. celibacy, austerity and concentration.²¹⁷

216. Kane P.V.: HDS, Vol.II, p.417.

217. Vide Ghurye G.S., op.cit., pp.17 ff. Dr. Ghurye adds ecstasy as the fourth one to the above three (ibid., p.17).

SOCIAL MOBILITY :

The phenomenon of social mobility is an interesting subject to a student of sociology. It arises in a society which is stratified into different castes or classes. The system of stratification may be open or closed i.e. it may be possible, difficult or impossible to pass from one class to another.²¹⁸ This movement may be vertical or horizontal as the case may be.²¹⁹

The history of the caste-system reveals that various movements were made and are being made to raise the caste-status of one's own or of the group on the social ladder by diverse means e.g. by what Dr. M.N.Srinivas²²⁰ calls the sanskritizing of one's ritual process or by westernizing some modes of life. The mobility was easier in early times when the rules of movement were lax and flexible; but the situation reversed when the rules became rigid and rigorous and the groups were crystalised into water-tight compartments.

218. Vide Sprott W.J.H.: Sociology, p.100.

219. Vide Mac Iver and Page, Society, pp.368 ff.

220. Srinivas, M.N.: Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India, pp.30-31; vide also "A note on Sanskritization and Westernization", the Far Eastern Quarterly, Vol.XV, No.4. August 1956. pp.481-496; Ghurye G.S.: Caste and Class In India, Chapter VII.

The Varnas in the Vedic society seem to have been 'open classes' to use the term of Cooley²²¹ i.e. the movement upward or downward on the social ladder was permissible. The story of Kavaṣa Ailūṣa in AB 8.1. amply exemplified the case of vertical mobility.

With the march of time, the rules hardened, as the stress was laid more and more on birth, the mobility was hampered.

In the MP are preserved some instances of social mobility which are of absorbing interest as they are reminiscent of a stage of society when the rules of caste-movement were lax and naturally these instances date back to an early period.

Prasadhra was cursed to be a Śūdra by his preceptor as a punishment for his simple act of killing a cow (12.15). Kāksīvat practised austerities on Girivraja for a long time and attained the status of a Brahmin and thereby he relinquished his śūdra-hood

221. Quoted from C.H. Cooley's 'Social Organisation' Ch. XXI by Prabhu P.N. in his 'Hindu Social Organisation'. p.294.

inherited from his mother (48.84 ff). Viśvāmitra, the renowned prince and the sage, attained the coveted status of a Brahmin by dint of his severe penance (198.2). When Bali's sons by the celebrated sage Dīrgatamas reached the position (i.e. majority), he caused them to be appreciated to the Brahminhood.²²²

The Kṣatriyan Brahmins also present a notable instance of social mobility, for "they were real brāhmaṇas with the kṣatriya status superadded. There is no suggestion that there was any difficulty in the assumption of brāhmaṇhood in such cases."²²³ "There are abundant instances of kings' becoming rishis, rājārshis without any difficulty and that was tantamount to becoming brahmins."²²⁴

These instances tend to suggest that various processes such as penance, curse adoption etc. brought about this phenomenon.²²⁵ The process of penance sometimes

222. pratisthām āgatānām^{hi} brāhmaṇyaṁ kārayaṁs tataḥ / MP. 48.49. The phrase 'brāhmaṇyaṁ kārayaṁ' is not unanimously interpreted by the translators; "making them (him) brahmins" (MP.Vol.I.p.365); "causing the sacraments worthy of a Brahmin to be performed" (R.Tri. p.132); "the sage took all the sons through a course of ceremony enjoined on all the twice-born". (SBH, Vol.XVII, Part 1, p.44.)

223. AIHT, pp.244-245. 224. ibid, p.244.

225. In the MP, the instances of the working of the processes of jātyutkarṣa and jātyāpakarṣa are not met with. For information vide Kane P.V., HDS, Vol.II, pp. 61 ff.

The hoary antiquity and the divine origin have been attributed to this system in the MP. Brahmā is accredited with ~~in~~ the instituting of the systems of Varnas and the Āśramas in the Tretāyuga (142.55). The decadence of these systems set inⁱⁿ the Dvāparayuga, and the inversion of their serial order and their overthrow also commenced in the Dvāparayuga (144.6,26). It is in the transitional period (sandhyāmsā) of the Kaliyuga that people degraded from varṇa and āśrama are prognosticated to meet with an awful mixed confusion (144.73); this rings out a gloomy note of the future of these systems.

In Śākadvīpa, the Varnāśrama system is followed, and the Varnāśrama-saṅkaratva is said never to ensue (122.38,42). In Puṣkara and other dvīpaś, these systems are said to persist (123.23). Varnas and Āśramadharmas are said to subsist by the power of the Lord who is described as Caturāśramadharmesā.²³² "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".²³³

232. MP. 247.42; 248.16 (missing in gha).

233. Kane, P.V.: HDS, Vol.II, p.416.

Smṛti-writers like Manu²³⁴ and others expound the theory of the four Āśramas. In the MP also, the theory of the four āśramas, with a difference in nomenclature from the generally accepted one, is propounded in unequivocal terms in consonance with the Dharmaśāstra-writers. Amongst the multifarious duties of a king, the maintenance of the varṇāśrama^{system} claimed his special attention (215.63). The nomenclature as employed in the MP (40.1) to denote the persons in the different stages of life is as under :-

1. Ācāryakarmā : A student
2. Grhastha : A house-holder
3. Vānaprastha : A forest-hermit
4. Bhikṣu : An ascetic

The salient features of the different stages of life as outlined in the MP are as follows :-

1. The Stage of an Ācāryakarmā :

An individual enters upon the first stage of life with the performance of the upanayana ceremony,²³⁵

234. Vide MS 4.1; 5.169; 6.1-2; 6.33; for other references, vide Kane P.V., HDS., Vol. II, p.418.

235. The MP 52.17 states, 'dvāvimsatistathā'stau ca ye samskāraḥ prakīrtitāḥ /' i.e. to say there are 22+8=30 sacraments. Vide Vāikhānasa Smārtasūtra 1.1.1.

with which is inaugurated the era of disciplined and regulated life. This ceremony marked the commencement of the Vedic studies at the teacher's house where he had to lead a disciplined and celibate life and help and co-operate with the teacher in the discharge of various duties either menial or intellectual. He was entrusted to the preceptor for the acquisition of lores.²³⁶ The period of studentship is a period of adolescence which is characterised by the rapid growth of body, emotional instability, development of sexual functions and stimulation of sexual activities. It is a period of storm, stress and impulsiveness and of strong self-expression.²³⁷ The Hindu sages of great sagacity provided a healthy checking to this disturbing instincts and provided a channel for the healthy development of body and intellect by laying down the brilliant scheme of the āśramas.

236. divyānām (v.l. vidyānām -ga) sādhanāt sādhur brahmacārī guror hitaḥ / MP.145.23.

237. Kapadia, K.M.: Marriage and Family in India, pp.29 f.

2. The Stage of a Grhastha :

After completing the period of studentship and having equipped oneself with the rich heritage, the individual entered upon the second stage of life which is considered to be the mainstay for persons in the other stages of life. He is to earn righteously and by no deceitful means and with the wealth thus acquired he is to perform sacrifices duty-bound as he is. He is not to be stigm and miserly, but to make (bounteous) gifts with proper and just discrimination to the worthy ones. He is enjoined not to accept what is not given by others; this is the ancient esoteric teaching propounded for a house-holder (40.3). He has to offer the daily pañcamahāyajñas which are referred to as early as the ŚB (11.5.6.1) and the Tai A (2.10). These pañcamahāyajñas are the offerings to gods, manes, men, beings and sages. According to the MP, the sages are satisfied by the svādhayāya (vedic studies), the gods with the homas, the manes with the śrāddhas; the bhūtas with balis and men with annadāna²³⁸ i.e. the

238. MP. 52.13-14. cf. MS.3.70. adhyāpanam brāhma-yajñaḥ pitryajñas tu tarpaṇam /
homo daivo balir bhauto nryajño'tithipūjanam //
cf. Kulūkaka, adhyāpanaśabdenādhyāṇam api grhyate /
cf. Bühler's note on 3.70 for other references,
SBE. Vol.XXV, p.87.

guests are to be fed (40.3). These sacrifices are prescribed for expiation of the sins committed in the five slaughter-houses viz. mortar, grinding stone, hearth, water-jar and the broom.²³⁹ This shows that "the concept of the pañcamahāyajñas widened the field of social duties by reorienting the purpose of yajña and incorporating new yajñas to men and to the bhūtas in the older concept of three debts."²⁴⁰

As noted above, he is the cause and means of the rest of the three āśramas (145.23) i.e. to say he is the main-stay for the members of the other three āśramas; moreover he is expected not to act in a way that is not befitting his āśrama (180.11).

It may be noted passingly that house-holders and celibates residing in the sacred city of Vārāṇasī are promised deliverance by the grace of the Lord Śiva, to whom they are devoted (180.70-71).

The above account shows that the horizon of the duties and functions of a house-holder embraced his

239. MP.52.15-16; cf. MS.3.68-69,71.

240. Kapadia, K.M.: op.cit., p.32.

obligations not only to his kinsmen but to the wider group of persons and beings, and hence he was not to be self-centred in his personal gratifications, but to fulfil his obligations and dues to the society at large which afforded him an opportunity to sublimate his lower-self and to prepare himself for entering upon the further two Āśramas; incidentally this also suggests the paramount role of this stage in the scheme of the four Āśramas.

3-4. The Stages of a Vānaprastha and a Bhikṣu :

These two stages are already discussed in the section on 'Hermits and Ascetics.' The description of the mode in which Yayāti led his life as a vānaprastha-muni affords a glimpse into the life led by such persons.

After installing his son, Pūru on the throne, Yayāti led a life of a Vānaprastha-muni. He lived on fruits and roots²⁴¹ ~~and lived~~ in the forest in company with Brahmins (35.2). He conquered himself²⁴² and anger and offered tarpana to manes²⁴³ and oblations

241. MP.35.12; cf. MS.6.25.

242. MP.35.13; cf. MS.6.4.

243. MP.35.13; cf. MS.6.5; 3.70.

to fire with due rites prescribed for a forest hermit (35.13). He welcomed the guests daily with the forest-produce viz. fruits and roots²⁴⁴ and lived on food that was left afterwards and by the gleaning of ears of corn (35.14). He led an austere life for a period of one thousand years; then he lived on water for three years controlling his speech and mind; and lived for one more year on air (actively) and for one year he practised penance in the pañcāgni fire,²⁴⁵ and he also practised penance by standing on one foot for six months living on air and finally he departed to heaven.²⁴⁶

This review of the scheme of the Āśramas suggests as remarked by MM Dr. P.V. Kane that "the theory of Varna dealt with man as a member of the Aryan society and laid down what his rights, functions, privileges, responsibilities and duties were as a member of that society. It was addressed to man in the mass. The theory of Āśramas addressed itself to the individual. It tells him what his spiritual goal is, how he is to

244. MP.35.14; cf. MS.6.7.

245. MP.35.15-16; cf. MS.6.23.

246. MP.35.17; cf. MS.6.22-23 for such practices.

order his life and what preparations are required to attain that goal. The theory of Āśramas was truly a sublime conception",²⁴⁷ and it has been applauded by Deussen as one "which the entire history of mankind has not produced much that approaches the grandeur to this thought".²⁴⁸ Moreover, these "two organisations of the Āśrama and the Varna (varṇāśrama-vyavasthā), which, to put it briefly, refer to the problems of the nurture and the nature of man, serve as the corner-stones of the Hindu theory of Social Organisation".²⁴⁹

The Theory of Puruṣārthas :

"In order to understand the psycho-moral basis of the Āśramas proper, it is advisable that we should look into the theory of the puruṣārthas which concern themselves with the understanding, justification, management and conduct of the affairs of the individual's life in relation to the group in and through the Āśramas".²⁵⁰ The puruṣārthas or aims of life are

247. Kane, P.V.: HDS, Vol.II, p.423.

248. Deussen, P.: The Philosophy of the Upaniṣads (Tr. by Geden, 1906). p.367, quoted by MM. Dr. Kane, *ibid*, p.424.

249. Prabhu, P.N.: Hindu Social Organisation, p.75. Dr.P.N.Prabhu is of the opinion that this scheme of the Āśramas finds a parallel in Plato's "The Republic", perhaps to some extent. (*ibid*, p.75).

250. ^{Prabhu P.N.,} *ibid*., p.78.

four in number viz. dharma, artha, kāma and mokṣa.

Mokṣa :

Mokṣa represents the ~~sum~~mmum bonum of life, the spiritual freedom and the realisation of the Absolute. The proud privilege of spiritual progress and the attainment of the Absolute were not confined only to sages and recluses but were also within the reach of the commoners as can be surmised from references to various ways and means for the attainment of the spiritual freedom culminating into the union with the god-head or the rich and varied celestial pleasures in the various celestial regions (181.19 ff; 180.69 ff; 91.10; 89.9-10 ~~etc.~~). This does not mean that by laying stress on this aspect, Hindu thinkers did not take cognizance of the fact that human nature consists of varied facets - emotional, instinctive, intellectual and spiritual. They, wisely, assigned the due share to each of them for their expression after their proper evaluation and produced" a melodious symphony of these diverse tunes."²⁵¹

251. Kapadia, K.M.: op.cit., p.25.

Kāma :

Kāma, "as the satisfaction of instinctive life, is recognised as one of the aims of marriage along with dharma and procreation".²⁵² It does not merely imply instinctive life but also emotional and aesthetic as well. When Kāma implies the dominant reign of lust, it resulted into a catastrophic fall or an irreparable loss of the invaluable achievement²⁵³ and therefore this tumultuous sex-drive in the human being requires a proper channelling as well as expression and this is done by laying down modes and manners for its proper and regulated expression by subordinating it to other more worthy aims of life.

Artha :

Artha is the gratification of the acquisitive instinct in man and the Hindu philosophers recognised its value and force by assigning a due legitimate place of honour in this theory. It is laid down in the MP that the wealth is to be earned righteously, is to be multiplied and safe-guarded and is to be bestowed on a

252. Kapadia, K.M.: op.cit., p.25.

253. cf. the Acchoda-episode. MP.Ch.10; and especially 14.67; 61.25 ff.; 201.25 ff.

worthy person, thus the acquisition and disbursement of wealth were to be righteously carried out. The making of the mahādānas appears to be one of the ways or the means for the righteous disbursement of wealth (274.1-2). "Further by recognising artha and kāma as desirable for man, the Hindu sages indicated that man unfolded his spirituality only when his life was not economically starved or emotionally strained.... But while accepting sex instinct, emotional urges and economic drives as necessary and even desirable, it is stressed, as it should be that they are not the ultimate ends of life".²⁵⁴

Dharma :

Dharma²⁵⁵ is superior to artha and kāma. Artha occupies the mediocre position while kāma occupies the lowest one.²⁵⁶ The word dharma is

254. Kapadia, K.M.: op.cit., p.26.

255. Vide Jolly's article on Dharma in ERE, Vol.IV, p.702.

256. Mbh. Cr.Ed.12.161.8.

derived in the MP from $\check{d}hr$ in the sense of $\check{d}hāraṇa$ (holding) and mahattva (dignity, status).²⁵⁷

In the learned deliberations with Yama, the God of Death, the service of whose feet is the highest cause of Dharma,²⁵⁸ Sāvitṛī, the ideal of chastity to Indian womanhood, points out plognantly that $kāma$ and $artha$ of a person bereft of $dharma$ are like the sons of a barren woman. $Dharma$ is the fountain source of $artha$ and $kāma$ and it is through $dharma$ that both the worlds are attained. It is only $dharma$ which follows a man and comes to his succour wherever he goes and never his beloved wife and his dearest kith and kin. In short, it is pointed out that the mundane pleasures and the divine ones are obtainable through $dharma$ only and thus the imperative need of the observance of $dharma$ from one's childhood is emphatically pointed out. It is further pointed out that there should be neither lassitude nor flagging nor langour about it. (Ch.212)

257. $\check{d}harṃeti \check{d}hāraṇe \check{d}hātur mahattve caiva ucyate / \check{ā}dhāraṇe mahattve vā dharmah sa tu nirucyate //$
MP.145.27.

cf. $\check{d}hāraṇād dharmam ityāhur dharmena vidhṛtāḥ prajāḥ / Mbh. \{Cr.Ed.\} 12.110.11;$
 $\check{d}hrṇ \check{d}hāraṇe / Dhātupāṭha.1.925.$

For the several stages of semantic changes from the Rgvedic period onwards vide Kane P.V., HDS., Vol. I, pp.1-4.

258. $tvat \check{p}ādamūlasevā ca paramam dharmam \check{k}āraṇam /$
MP.212.1

In the MP is noted an interesting episode of the visit of Dharma, Artha and Kāma in person out of curiosity to Purūravas of wide fame. At their arrival, he accorded them the warm welcome in the traditional manner; but he evinced more respect and soft corner for Dharma by offering a little bit more adoration to him at which Kāma and Artha were irate and consequently the former cursed him to the effect that he would suffer from mental derangement on the Gandhamādana mountain as a result of his separation from his beloved Urvaśī while the latter pronounced a curse to the effect that he would meet his destruction due to his maddening cupidity (24.15 ff). This episode may, possibly, be interpreted to symbolize the fact that the gravitation of attention to dharma and the belittling of the other two are detrimental to one, because these repressed drives in man finding an outlet for their vehement expression may bring about a crushing downfall, as it happened in the case of a personage like Purūravas as noted above, and hence what is of prime importance is the proper co-ordination of the three and not the production of the discordant tunes in their expression. "Dharma is, therefore, the holder of the balance in terms of which artha and kāma

have to be dealt with, weighed, practised and apportioned".²⁵⁹

It may also be noted that Rākṣasas in the city of Tripura are found to pay attention to these three and are not callous to any one of these three in normal times (131.10). "While the pursuit of wealth and happiness is a legitimate human aspiration, they should be gained in ways of righteousness (dharma), if they are to lead ultimately to the spiritual freedom of man (Mokṣa)".²⁶⁰

Thus "the four ends of life point to the different sides of human nature, the instinctive, and the emotional, the economic, the intellectual and spiritual"²⁶¹ and this theory of puruṣārthas is given "concrete expression in the scheme of āśramas"²⁶² which are already discussed above.

THEORY OF TRIPLE PHASES :

An individual passes through the different stages of life and attempts to achieve the four human

259. Prabhu, P.N.: op.cit., p.82.

260. Radhakrishnan, S.: The Hindu View of Life, p.80.

261. Rādhakrishnan, S.: Eastern Religions and Western Thought, p.354.

262. Kapadia, K.M.: op.cit., p.27.

goals, but the liquidation of the three ṛṇas - ṛṣirṇa, pitṛṛṇa and devaṛṇa - with which he is born is incumbent on him. These three social obligations or 'debts' and their mode of liquidation i.e. to say the debt to the sages by the study of the Vedas (brahmacarya), debt to the gods by sacrifices and debt to the manes by progeny are referred to in the Taittirīya Saṃhitā.²⁶³ The MP refers to this theory of triple ṛṇas. It is said that an offering of tarpaṇa to the manes at Gaṅgeśvara on the banks of the river Narmadā leads one to free oneself from the bondage of the triple debts (193.14-16). This injunction gives, perhaps possibly, a glimpse into a state of society when one might be finding difficult to liquidate the other two social obligations by proper modes, perhaps, due to various hampering factors and hence this Brahmanical direction that the liquidation of the 'debt' to manes was tantamount to the liquidation of the other two also.

Elsewhere in a different context in the MP, it is said that the gods are pleased with the agnihoma,

263. jāyamāno ha vai brāhmaṇaḥ striḥ / bhiṣṇavāḥ jāyate, brahmacaryeṇa ṛṣibhyo yajñeṇa devebhyah prajāyā pitrbhya esavā anṛṇo yah putrī yajvā brahmacāri-vāsi / TS.6.3.10.5; cf. SB.1.7.2.11, AB.33.

the great sages with the svādhyāya (vedic studies), and the manes with the śrāddha (178.71).

It is interesting to note the magnanimous declaration of Brahmā and the son of the famous sage Ūṛā^v regarding their willingness to pay off the debt for the sonless ones at the end of the cosmic age (175.60).

SYSTEM OF EDUCATION :

The problem, that claims attention after an examination of the varṇa-system and the āśrama-system, is that of the system of education as it vitally influences the society and is influenced by it. The treatment of the āśrama-system would be incomplete if this problem is not referred to here because education is imparted in the brahmacaryāśrama period which is a formative period of life when the minds of brahmacārins are plastic and hence the education imparted during this period has its rich valuable harvest useful & even in the later life.

"The primary function of the educational system is to transmit a knowledge of the forms and skills society regards as indispensable to its survival and improvement. That system regularises the knowledge transmitting activity, inculcates the folkways and

the mores, trains the young to fit into the established cultural scheme, aims to aid the individual in the development of personality and aptitudes, sets forth the broad lines which the society believes must be followed in order to survive and improve"²⁶⁴ as pointed out by Penunzio. Along with the imparting of knowledge skill, crafts etc. moral and cultural values of the society are indoctrinated in the individual consciously or unconsciously. In a way education transmits the varied legacy and as Sumner points out, the individual "learns what conduct is approved or disapproved; what kind of man is admired most; how he ought to behave in all kinds of cases and what he ought to believe and reject".²⁶⁵

The value of real education lies in the fact that it helps to develop not only one's own personality but teaches him how to co-ordinate his diverse activities with the framework of the group he belongs. The ancient Indian educational system tried to fulfil this ^{noble} purport in its own way.

264. Penunzio, C.: Major Social Institutions, p.242.

265. Sumner, W.G.: Folkways, p.638.

Much has been written by eminent scholars, oriental as well as occidental, on the system of education in ancient India.

The special features of the Brahmanical education as they are gleaned from the stray references in the MP are as under :-

Admission : In ancient India, a candidate had no difficulties which a student in modern times in India experiences for seeking admission to a particular institution. The ancient Indian educational system had its own way of seeking admission. It was by declaring one's desire to accept the studentship under a particular teacher in question and one's own parentage with a promise that one would observe a vow of celibacy during the period one stayed with his preceptor. The candidate had to approach with fuel sticks in hand symbolic of his desire for admission to Vedic studies.²⁶⁶

266. Keay, F.E.: Indian Education in Ancient and Later Times, p.20, cf. the story of Satyakāma Jābāla. Ch.U, 4.4.4.

In the MP, when Kaca approached Sukra to learn the Sañjīvanīvidyā, the most secret lore, he announced that he was the grandson of the sage Angirāś and the son of Brhaspati and that his name was Kaca and also his ardent desire to learn under him for a period of one thousand years and he promised to lead a celibate's life during that period (25.22-24).

It appears that students were probably admitted without any prejudicial considerations irrespective of the fact whether the candidate was a son or a relative of a sworn antagonist or of a bosom friend. Kaca, though a son of a court-priest of an antagonist party, was admitted without any bias as a student even without a moment's thought.(25.24).

Life at the Teacher's Place : The period of studentship was marked by rigorous discipline and training. The student had to work for his teacher in the home as well as outside. He had even to tend the cattle.²⁶⁷

267. Keay, F.E.: op.cit., pp.20,22.; Altekar, A.S.: Education in Ancient India, p.78.

Kaca had to tend the cows of Śukra and also collect flowers during his period of his residence there (25.31).

Teacher and Pupil : The relations between the teacher and the pupil were cordial and the happy and free relations existed even between the member of the teacher's family and him. This is suggested by the free relations between Devayānī and Kaca. Devayānī had such an engrossing love for Kaca that she thought her life was impossible without Kaca even for a moment when the latter was assassinated by the jealous Rākṣasas (25.35,41,46). This shows the extent of the intimacy and also the sincere love on the part of the members of the teacher's family for some of the students.

"Many students used to live under their teacher's roof and the affection which existed between the teacher and the taught must have often led to matrimonial connections. Later writers have prohibited marriage with one's teacher's family and Kaca refuses the request of Devayānī to accept her hand on the ostensible plea that one cannot marry one's teacher's

daughter".²⁶⁸ In the MP also Kaca advances a vehement plea that as there was propinquity relationship of their being 'uterine' children, her passionate request for marital alliance was tabooed.²⁶⁹ Had this alliance taken place, it would, probably, have been an epoch-making event in the history of the blood-fends between the Rāksasas and the Devas.

Students in ancient times travelled far and wide to attach themselves to celebrated teachers or teachers who had specialised themselves in particular branches of knowledge. In the MP, Kaca is known to have gone to Śukra to learn the most secret and coveted lore of resuscitation (25.21).

Various rules for the respect due from a pupil to a teacher are laid down in the Dharmaśāstra works. The pupil was expected to get up before his teacher and retire to rest at night after him. He was to be gentle

268. Altekar, A.S.: *ibid.*, p.76.

269. Cf. *tvam bhadre dharmataḥ pūjyā guruputrī sadā mama / MP.26.7; yatrositam viśālākṣi tvayā candra-nibhānane / tavyāhamusito bhadre kuksau kāvyasya bhāmini // bhagini dharmato me tvam mevaṁ yorah subhānane / MP.26.13-14.*

Dr. A.S. Altekar remarks that "this rule must have been intended to prevent complications likely to arise when young students used to live and board with their teachers" and notes some instances of this style from the Buddhist Literature. *op.cit.*, p.76.

and courteous in his nature and manners and had to curb his sexual drives. He had ever to remain alert and never to be heedless and reckless in his work. He was expected ever to be devoted to his studies and had to wait with his studies, till he was summoned by his teacher. He was ever to be intent in the discharge of his duties towards him.²⁷⁰ Kaca led a very obedient life and waited upon Śukra and Devayānī especially to the best of his ability and also observed the rules and vows prescribed by Uśanas (25.25-26). He led a life of perfect continence and devoted himself to the practising of austerities. He was ever alert and dexterous at his work (25.46).

Likewise the student, the teacher was also under a sacred obligation to fulfil his duties towards him. He was duty-bound to take filial care of his students.²⁷¹ In teaching he had to withhold or conceal nothing from him.²⁷² It may be remarked that the afore-mentioned injunctions might have been

270. MP.40.2; cf. Keay, F.E., op.cit., pp.22-23.

271. putram ivainam anukāṅkṣan / ADS 1.2.8.

272. Keay, F.E., op.cit., p.23f.; Altekar A.S.: op.cit., pp.71-72.

observed normally without the interplay of craftiness, but in certain abnormal cases, these injunctions might have been shelved and only in trying situations such as immanency of one's death or some body's, the so called secret and highly guarded lores were divulged to the person concerned conditional upon certain facts and situations. The case in point is the circumstance under which ^{with} certain crucial conditions, the Sañjivanī vidyā was divulged to Kaca (25.53 ff).

It appears that ~~for~~ the attainment of such secret lores, some device such as pleasing of a teacher or his nearest relative e.g. a daughter or a son, was required to be employed. Kaca was instructed to please Devayānī for getting the well-guarded Sañjīvanīvidyā (25.19) and he did his job remarkably well by playing with her, by bringing flowers for her, by singing, by dancing etc. (25.27 ff) to the extent of maddening her with burning passion for him culminating into her inability to bear her life without him (25.35, 41) and her proposal for marriage (26.5) which, of course, was repudiated by Kaca as noted above.

The foregoing account gives us a glimpse into the happy picture of the relationship existing between the teacher and the taught.

Punishments : The educational thinkers in ancient times were against harsh and brutal punishments; only in exceptional cases, they permitted a very mild corporal punishment circumscribed by various limitations.²⁷³ The MP furnishes no information on this point.

Rules of Student-life : Educational philosophers in Ancient India~~n~~ expounded rules governing student's life pertaining to hygienic, moral and religious p~~re~~cepts and also decent and pleasing manners. These included some prescriptive rules such as daily bath etc. as well as some proscriptive rules such as avoidance of application of collyrium etc.²⁷⁴ Chastity, reverential attitude towards the teacher, observance of vratas, practising of austenties are the points of discipline referred to in the MP. Yayāti declares that during the period of his study of the entire Veda,

273. Altekar, A.S.: *ibid.*, pp.75-76; Keay, F.E., *ibid.*, p.25.

274. Altekar, A.S.: *ibid.*, pp.90 ff; Keay, F.E.: *ibid.*, pp.25 f.

he practised chastity.²⁷⁵ Kaca's student-life, amply, exemplifies many of the points referred to above. The studies were to be accompanied with an observance of ^avr̥tas, in the default of which the fruit is said to accrue to Bali which was an undesirable situation (246.85).

Fees : It was the sacred duty of Brahmins to impart instructions to a student whether he was the son of a millionaire or a pauper. The receiving of fees or honorarium was condemned, but the literal practice of this was an impracticability, because it involved an impossibility of maintaining himself, his family and the running of the institution. The fees and honorariums were accepted generally after the finishing of the courses.²⁷⁶ The MP is silent on this point.

Duration of Study : "There is a general unanimity among the smṛiti-writers", remarks Dr. A.S. Altekar, "that the Vedic education should extend over a period of 12 years",²⁷⁷ but from the early Indian literature

275. brahmacaryeṇa vedo me kṛtsnah śrutipatham gatah / MP 30.14.

276. Altekar, A.S.: *ibid.*, pp.66 ff.

277. Altekar, A.S.: *ibid.*, p.107; for a period of length of study vide *ibid.*, pp.107 ff.

we get instances of exceptions to this general rule. Bharadvāja is known to have spent three lives in the state of a religious student;²⁷⁸ Indra stayed with Prajāpati for a period of 105 years.²⁷⁹ Kaca in the Mbh²⁸⁰ is noted to have spent a period of one thousand years with his preceptor. Apropos of these instances, it would be apt to quote the comments of Dr. A. S. Altekar, "These are mythological cases and refer to the acquisition of carefully guarded doctrines. It must be further noted that the life of Indra, Virocana and Kaca was supposed to be so immense in duration that the time they spent in Brahmacharya was only a very small fraction of their entire lives".²⁸¹ According to the MP version, Kaca is said to have spent with Śukra one thousand years in consonance with his solemn declaration (25.23,66). The above quoted remarks of Dr. A. S. Altekar are well applicable here.

Terms and Holidays : The MP is silent on this point.²⁸²

278. TB 3.10.11.3.

279. ChU 8.2.3.

280. Mbh. Cr.Ed. 1.71.18, 58.

281. Altekar, A.S.: op.cit., p.107, fn.2.

282. For information in general, vide Altekar, A.S., ibid., pp.107 ff. Keay F.E.: ibid., pp.31.f.

Courses of Study :

There is no passage in

Priestly and Vocational : the MP bearing on the curriculum, but a faint picture of the same may be reconstructed by piecing together indirect stray references which e.g. - vedapārāga (58.20), vedavedāṅgapārāga (58.20), purāṇavids (60.1), bahvr̥ks (69.43), yajurvedaparāyaṇa (69.44), sāmavedin (69.44), vedavid (70.33), sāmaga (73.3), śrutikovidas (93.105), atharva-vedin (93.130), dharmasāstraviśārada (225.4), somava-mśavids (273.53), vedāntavid (274.37) (knowers of the Upaniṣads or the Vedāntasāstra) etc. tend to suggest that instructions in Vedas and also with auxiliary sciences, Dharmasāstra, Purāṇas, etc. used to be imparted. Some of the students might have specialised themselves in a particular Veda or a particular branch of a Veda,²⁸³ or other branches of knowledge, as may be surmised from the references such as 'bahvr̥ks' (69.43), yajurvedaparāyaṇa (69.44) etc. Some also specialised themselves in a particular dynastic histories (cf. 273.53). Itihāsa is also referred to in 72.6. The study of Dharmasāstras seems to have been essential for those going in for public

283. Those who followed a particular branch (śākhā) of a Veda were said to form a carāṇa. cf. the use of the word 'carāṇa' in 'agotracarāṇo munih' MP.40.12. cf. carāṇasābdaḥ śākhāviśeṣādhyayana-paraikatāpannajanasaṅghavācī / Jagaddhara on the Mālatīmādhavam of Bhavabhūti, p.7.

services and especially for those going in for judicial professions (cf. 225.7). Moreover, the chapters on śrāddha (Chs. 15 ff.), vratas (Chs. 54 ff.), mahādānas (Chs. 274 ff.) etc. suggest that the persons officiating as priests were to be well equipped with the knowledge of the procedure and the allied matters of the ritual concerned and this tends to suggest that imparting of instructions and training were essential to the would-be priest,²⁸⁴ they would also have studied geometry and algebra as these were necessary and useful for their priestly profession. The chapters on dreams (Ch. 242), portents (Chs. 229 ff.) etc. auspicious as well as ominous tend to suggest that interpreters of these phenomena were a necessity from the personal as well as social welfare point of view and hence some might have taken instruction and training in the proper interpretation of them. The necessity of finding out auspicious times for making a particular dāna, vrata, etc. for an aspirant on the part of a priest would have impelled him to acquaint himself

284. Note the word 'Kalpavidah', 'knowers of ritual' in 'rasakalyāninīm etām purākalpavido viduḥ //'
MP.63.1.

with astrology and astronomy (cf. also Chs.125 ff.). For all these the study of elementary grammar would have been indispensable. Performance of certain rites and rituals in accompaniment of music etc. tend to suggest that these fine arts were not neglected. These fine arts were associated primarily with religious matters and secondarily they served the secular purposes. The chapters on architecture and iconography tend to point out that instructions in civil engineering and iconographic art were also imparted. References to symptoms of varied effects of poison to different objects and the antidotes thereof and also the injunction to keep various medicinal plants etc. in a fort and also the mention of combinations of various things as remedies for different objects tend to suggest that medical science was also highly developed (Ch.217 ff). The divine origin of the Āyurvedaśāstra is also referred to and it is ascribed to Dhanvantari.²⁸⁵ Amongst the various persons to be appointed by a king on various governmental posts figure the persons proficient in the science of the horses and also elephants,²⁸⁶

285. Dhanvantariḥ sa bhagavān āyurvedaprajāpatiḥ // MP. 251.1.

286. hayāyurvedatattvajñāḥ // MP.215.20; hayaśikṣā-vidhānājñāś cikīṣitaviśaradāḥ // MP.215.28; aśvādhyakṣaḥ / MP.215.38. The Hayāyurveda is referred to in the MP.215.20 and "Sālihotra is the traditional founder of the Aśvāyurveda which deals with diseases and disorders of the horse". Altekar, A.S.: ibid., p.182. cf. gajaśikṣāvidhānājñāḥ, gajādhyakṣaḥ / MP.215.36. According to MP 24.2 Budha, the son of Tārā and Candrā, is the founder of the Hastāśāstra.

instructions and training in different branches with a view to making him capable for the efficient execution of the onerous duties that were to befall him in future. Instructions in Dharmaśāstras, Erotics, Political Science and Archery were imparted by the appointment of a loyal professor.²⁸⁹

Satyadhṛti, the son of Śatānanda, was proficient in the science of archery (50.9). Pracetasas, the sons of Prācīnabali and Savarnā, were highly proficient in the Dhanurveda (4.57).

A prince was also imparted instructions in śilpa. He was to learn chariot-driving and elephant riding and this served as the purpose of the physical exercise (220.2-3). This training in physical culture made him a good warrior. He was to be courteous to others, lead a moral and virtuous life and avoid all vicious things.²⁹⁰ This shows that the education imparted to a prince was not merely academic in nature but touched also all the points and facets of his life.²⁹¹

289. MP.220.1-2; vide also Keay, F.E., *ibid*, pp.50 ff.

290. MP.220.3 ff.; vide also Dikshitar, V.R.R.: *The Matsya Purāṇa - A Study*, pp. 93 ff.

291. The MP is nearly in agreement with the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, cf. Shamshastri's *English Tr.*, pp.9-10.

The problem of 'women and education' will be dealt with in Chapter 3.

²⁹²
Method : The MP sheds no light on this vital problem, but it may be surmised in consonance with the general method of teaching that it would have been oral and would have been supplemented by practical demonstrations and training whenever and wherever necessary and it appears that special attention might probably have been paid to the art of beautiful and decent hand-writing, as it may be inferred from a reference to a post of a 'lekhaka' as one of the governmental posts. (215.26).

The method of narration of different topics in the MP gives an indirect glimpse in the method of teaching also viz. that the topics dealt with before were summarised before a new topic was enunciated and launched upon (cf. 244.1-2). This shows that ancient Indian educational philosophers were not ignorant of the importance of the reiteration of the topic dealt with before and a clear and lucid enunciation of the topic to be dealt with - a point emphasised in modern methods of teaching.

292. For information in general, vide Keay, F.E., *ibid.*, pp. 40ff; Altekar, A.B., *ibid.*, pp. 145 ff.

It is unhappy to note that MP sheds no light on methods of examinations.²⁹³

The young Brahmin graduates returning from the gurukulas were honoured and revered by the reigning monarch, as this act was believed efficacious to safe-guard the king from his enemies (215.58 ff).

The above review of the various salient features of the ancient educational system brings out clearly that the main aims and functions of it were, as Dr. A.S. Altekar writes, "formation of character, building of personality, preservation of ancient culture and the training of the rising generation in the performance of the social and religious duties."²⁹⁴

Slavery : The institution of slavery has existed as a constant element in the social and economic life of the ancient nations of the East and the West, such as Egypt, Greece, Rome, etc.²⁹⁵

293. Vide for information in general, Altekar, A.S., *ibid.*, pp.155 ff.

294. Altekar, A.S.: *ibid.*, p.326.

295. For an article on 'Slavery', vide *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, Vol.XIV, pp.73 ff.

In the MP are met with both the words 'dasyu' and 'dāsa' both of which are of the Rgvedic antiquity. The Rgvedic passages²⁹⁶ make it clear that they formed the opposite camp against the Aryans and also that "dasyu and dāsa are identical in meaning".²⁹⁷ The vanquished dāsas who were taken as prisoners might possibly have been treated as slaves.²⁹⁸ The ChU (5.13.2) and the BrU (6.27) and other vedic passages²⁹⁹ refer to dāsas and on these passages MM. Dr. P.V. Kane comments that "these passages show that in the Vedic period men and women had become the subjects of gifts and so were in the condition of slaves".³⁰⁰ In the Mbh, the gifts of dāsas and dāsīs are not very infrequently referred to.³⁰¹

296. For the mention of various passages and discussion, vide Kane P.V., HDS, Vol.II, pp.25 ff; p.33.

297. Kane, P.V., HDS, Vol.II, p.25.

298. Kane, P.V., ibid, Vol.II, p.180, "The word 'dāsa' in later literature means 'serf or a slave", ibid., p.33.

299. For passages vide Kane, P.V., ibid, Vol.II, pp.180 ff.

300. Kane, P.V., ibid, Vol.II, p.182; for detailed information on slavery, vide ibid, Ch.V.

301. Mbh.Cr.Ed. 2.48.39 } Gift of 30 dāsīs to
 3.222.41 } each of the 8800°
 4.17 vide fn. 360 } snātaka
 3.183.30 } Brahmins

In the MP, the male and female slaves are referred to. Devayānī, the beloved daughter of Śukra, wished the princess Śarmiṣṭhā, the daughter Vṛṣaparvan, to be her dāsī accompanied by one thousand damsels and to follow her wherever she was married by her father (29.17). In the interest of her kinsmen she accepted this derogatory condition in toto (29.23) and she followed her with her retinue of one thousand slave-girls (30.2) and used to shampoo her feet (30.7).

Yayāti who married Devayānī was forbidden to have sexual relations with Śarmiṣṭhā (30.36) and yet Yayāti succumbed, later on, to Śarmiṣṭhā's ardent request for sexual commerce (31.24 ff) for which he was penalised by Śukra to suffer from premature decrepitude (32.31).

This suggests that the slaves had no independent voice and status and had to accompany their masters wherever they went. It was generally expected that there was not to be any sexual relations with female slaves, but the violations of this rule did take place and the penalties are prescribed by the law-givers.³⁰²

The MP places on a par a son, a wife and a slave and states that they own no wealth and it belongs to

302. Vide Arthasāstra of Kautilya, p.206.
(Shamshastri's Tr.)

one to whomsoever they belong,³⁰³ and this view of the
 MP is countenanced by the opinions expressed by Manu³⁰⁴
 and Śabar^asvāmin³⁰⁵ and thus the attitude of the MP
 towards slaves is in general consonance with that as
 shown by the Epic-writer Manu and Śabar^asvāmin.

303. MP.31.22 which is nearly the same as MS.8.416.

304. bhāryā putrasca dāsaś ca traya eva ādhanāḥ yat
 te samadhigacchanti yasya te tasya tad dhanam//
 MS.8.416.

305. bhāryā dāsaś ca putrah nirdhanāḥ sarvaeva te /
 yat te samadhigacchanti yasya te tasya tad dhanam/
 Śabarbhāṣya 6.1.12.

The Yayāti-Dasyu relation is already noted before.

Incidentally it may be noted that the two words dasyu and dāsa in the sense of robber are used in the episode of the rape of Kṛṣṇa's consorts. Once the consorts of Lord Kṛṣṇa were struck with the maddening passion at the sight of Sāmba, the incarnate Cupid, when they were sitting engaged in conversation on the margin of a lake decked with beautiful white excellent water lilies and when the aromatic zephyrs were wafting in the vernal season, the Lord Kṛṣṇa coming to know of this, cursed them to be kidnapped by dasyus and to be raped per force in the ocean in their enslaved state and they became then harlots. MP.70.2 ff.

A similar account also occurs in the Sāmbapurāṇa, vide Hazra, R.C., "The Sāmba-Purāṇa - a Saura Work of Different Hands", ABORI, Vol.XXXVI, Parts I-II, (1955) p.67.

For dasyu and dāsa - robber, vide MP.70.12,24. This reminds us of the hostile attitude of the dasyus against the Aryans in the RV. It is significant to note that the wives of Kṛṣṇa were ravished by robbers after conquering them from Arjuna and were reduced to dāsatva, MP.70.9-10.