

CHAPTER II
SOCIAL STRUCTURE

INTRODUCTION :

In order to bring to light some cultural aspects and the way of life of a given people over a period of time, it is extremely necessary that one must study the social structure of the people because culture is the part and parcel of man. The culture is "The complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and other capabilities acquired by man as a member of society."¹

The "structure" of anything consists of the relatively stable interrelationships among its parts. A social system is composed of interrelated acts of people. Its structure, therefore, can be sought in some degree of regularity or recurrence in these acts. Roles and subgroups of various types are considered to be the "parts" of social structure.²

¹ Johnson Harry M., Sociology : Systematic Introduction, p.82

² Vide, Ibid. pp. 48 ff.

In India the knowledge of the social structure can be gathered through the investigation of her caste-system which constitutes her social system. The Indian social system is unique because it alone classifies some groups of people as un-touchable and unapproachable.³ Now, the Government of India, however, views this practice with unfavourable attitude and tries to abolish it by the enactment of laws. Among other sources, Vedic literature, the Epics, the Purānic literature, the Sūtra literature, the drama, the poetry and the vast store-house of folk-tales can be included as the sources through which the investigation can be made to reconstruct the social system of Indian people.⁴

By caste is implied the form of social inequality in contrast to class as being more rigid form of social gradation and hardly allowing individual mobility. In respect of social stratifications in India, André Beteille observes that "In any traditional society, status is to some extent ascribed by birth. But nowhere has it been so rigidly ascribed and nowhere its gradation as elaborate as in India. In addition to being rigid and elaborate, social inequalities were sanctioned by the ideology of caste."⁵

³•Vide Ghurye G.S., Caste and Class in India, (1952) p.141.

⁴•Vide Prabhu P.H., Hindu Social Organization, p. 9.

⁵•Beteille Andre, Caste : Old and New, (1969) p.16.

Considering that any attempt to define the caste-system fails to cover the whole sphere, G.S. Ghurye, the prominent sociologist of India, describes it as consisting of six features viz. (1) segmental division of society (2) Hierarchy, i.e. the social precedence amongst the castes (3) restrictions on feeding and social intercourse (4) civil and religious disabilities and privileges of the different sections (5) lack of unrestricted choice of occupation and (6) restrictions on marriage.⁶

Some of these features are met with in the DP. and they will be taken up for discussion at their proper places. Under "Social Structure" the following topics viz. varṇa and jāti, theory of the origin of the four varṇas, varṇa system, āśrama system, theory of puruṣārtha etc. will be discussed.

Varna and Jāti : The term "varṇa" is used in the R̥g. in the sense of "colour" caused by light, especially the blackness of the night and the redness of the dawn.⁷ It also means races of people in so far as they distinguish themselves by the colour of their skins, especially the Aryan and the Dāsa races.⁸ The term is used in the R̥g. to refer to classes of

⁶ For details vide Ghurye G.S., Caste and Race in India, (1969) pp.1 ff; Cf. also Davis Kingsley, Human Society, (1973), pp. 378-9.

⁷ Vide Grassmann Hermann, Wörterbuch Zum Rigveda, p.1222. See also R̥g. I.73.7; II. 3.5; IX. 97.15 etc.

⁸ Ibid., p.1223; and also R̥g. I.176.6; III.34. 9 etc.

people viz. Aryans and Dāsas not to the four-fold social order viz. Brāhmana, Rājanya, Vaiśya and Śūdra.⁹ According to Ghurye, the four social classes are referred to as varṇas only in later literature.¹⁰

The term "varṇa" is used in the DP. to refer to the social classes. It is said that of all the varṇas Brahmins are the best (II.42) and that by mutual cooperation and by carrying out their own responsibilities, all varṇas viz. Brahmins etc. live there (Mohera^{ka}pura) happily.(LI.70). Here the word "varṇa" is used in plural but the specific number of the social orders is not stated; so it is not known whether it refers to four social orders or more. In preparing for the defence of Moherakapura from Muslim attack it is said that the people of other varṇas (than those who were weak and ignorant of fighting skills) were put at the front lines of defence (LXVIII. 46.47). Here the specific number of the varṇas is not mentioned; so it is difficult to say definitely that the word "varṇa" is used here to refer to four social orders. Possibly, the word "varṇa" is used in the sense of "caste" or "jāti". The ascription of four colours to the four varṇas as suggested by the MP.¹¹ and the MKP.¹² is not

⁹Cf. Rg. 10.90; vide Kane P.V., HDS., Vol.II, Part I, p.27.

¹⁰Vide Ghurye G.S., Op. cit. p.47.

¹¹Vide Kantawala S.G., Cultural History from the Matsya-Purāna, (1964) pp. 14-15.

¹²Vide Desai N.Y., Ancient Indian Society, Religion and Mythology as depicted in the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāna, (1969) pp.9-10.

met with in the DP.

The term "jāti" is now-a-days used commonly to denote the castes and their subdivisions in different parts of India.¹³ The use of the word jāti in the sense of caste can be traced back to the times of the Nirukta.¹⁴

The term "jāti" in the DP. seems to be used in the sense of "caste". Ala-ud-din is referred to as being born in the caste of the "mleccha" (Muslim) (LXVIII.4). The word "Modhajāteḥ" (LXVIII.70) is clearly used in the sense of "Modha-caste". The DP. XLIX.88 refers to Cāṇḍāla by using the wording "jāti" which means "caste" or "birth". The word "jāti" is used in the sense of "caste" in referring to the boy who is destined to be the ancestor of the Modha Brahmins in future (LXIV.22).

Theory of the origin of the four varnas:

Various theories have been advanced about the origin of the caste-system.¹⁵

¹³.Béteille André, Op. cit. p.31.

¹⁴.Vide Kane P.V., HDS. Vol.II, Part I, p.55.

¹⁵.For various theories and their criticism regarding the origin of caste vide Senart Emile, Caste in India, translated by Sir E. Denison Ross, (1930) pp.148 ff.

The origin of the four varṇas is traditionally attributed by the Hindus to the limbs of the "Puruṣa", or the "Primeval man". The earliest reference to this occurs in the famous hymn called Puruṣasūkta (Ṛg. 10. 90.12) which is regarded on the grounds of language and subject-matter to be one of the late hymns of the Ṛg.¹⁶ It says that the Brahmin was his mouth; his two arms were made into the Rājanya; the Vaiśya was his thighs; and the Śūdra emerged from his feet. Ghurye notices the change of the original theory of the divine origin of the four varṇas in the Mahābhārata when he says, "The theory of the divine origin of four castes is of and on repeated with special stress on the origin of the Shudra from the feet of the Creator. In the Mahābhārata once at least a slightly material change is introduced in this theory, where we are told that the first three castes were created first, and the Shudra created afterwards for serving the others."¹⁷

The Purāṇakāra seems to ignore the traditional belief that the Brahmin was originated from the mouth and the Vaiśya from the thighs of the Puruṣa when he ascribes the origin of Mōḍha Brahmins to the joint creation of Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Maheśa and Mōḍha Baniyas to the creation of Kāmadhenu (V.8-9; VII. 26-27). Here the Brahmins were created first and the

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

¹⁷•Ghurye G.S., Op. cit. p. 64.

Banias created later to serve the former. In the DP. the Vaniks (Banias) are treated as traditional Śūdra and this will be discussed later.

However, the Purānakāra does not completely forget the significance of the traditional theory regarding the origin of Brahmins, when he says that Brahmins were assigned to the position of prominence because they were born from the mouth of the Creator (V.56). The epithets like "mukhaja" (VIII.39) and "mukhodbhava" (XLV.14) also speak of the origin of the Brahmins from the mouth of the Creator. The origination of castes other than Brahmins and Vaniks is not met with in the DP.

Varna-system: Traditionally, the Hindu social system is composed of four classes of people viz. Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras. All the literary accounts of the important aspects of castes centre round these four classes in society and not the multifarious groups which are the present day castes.¹⁸ The association of the limbs of the Creator with the origin of the four classes and the order in which they are mentioned probably indicate their status in society.¹⁹ The social precedence is probably suggested by the fact that in the pilgrimage to Dharmāranya conducted by Rāma, the

¹⁸•Vide Ghurye G.S., Op. cit. p.44.

¹⁹•Vide Ghurye G.S., Op. cit. p.44.

Brahmins walked at the head of the pilgrims' procession, then followed the Kṣatriyas, the Viśes and the Śūdras respectively. (XLIII.4).

Brahmins : They rank first in the social order.²⁰ The DP. declares that of all the varṇas Brahmins are the best (II.42) and that the Brahmins occupy the highest place in society because they are born from the mouth of the Creator (V.56). The Brahmins are placed on par with gods, which shows that they command respect from the members of other castes. This is suggested by the epithets like bhūśura (VIII.42; XLVIII.9; LIII.14 etc.), bhūmidevatā (XLV.10), bhūmideva (XLV.32), dharāśura (LV.72) etc. They are regarded as gods on earth because they are capable to curse and favour (V.56). This means that the Brahmins acquire the reverence from others by pursuing the stick-and-carrot policy. It is claimed that the righteousness which is the support of the world is preserved by Brahmins with pure conduct and that they are always victorious because they are the store-house of knowledge (Vedas) and the ocean of forbearance (V.56). They are also described as the vital breath and the very form (Svarūpa) of Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Maheśa on account of their being the preservers of the Vedas and their auxiliaries (VII.51).

²⁰.The Buddhist and Jain Literature put the Brahmins in the second order after Kṣatriyas. Vide Dhīgh. p.64 and Jain J.C., Life in Ancient India, (1947) p.140.

The eulogy of Brahmins is as-old as the Vedic period. Most exaggerated and hyperbolic descriptions of the greatness of Brahmins are shown broadcast over all the Smṛtis and the Purānas. The eulogy was docilely accepted by other classes.²¹

The superiority of Brahmins over even the Kṣatriyas is revealed by the fact that Rāma prostrated himself on the ground as the sign of respect when he met Brahmins, the former residents of Moherakapura, then he gave them water for washing their feet (XLV.8). The same superiority is also asserted in the story of the wicked king Vena who perished at the hands of Brahmins (LXV.19). It is also said that the acquisition of human body is difficult; yet to obtain the Brahminhood is even more difficult (VII.11). This again bespeaks the superiority of the Brahmins, over other creatures.

Duties and Occupations of Brahmins :

Brahmins and learning had become indissolubly connected even in early Vedic period.²² Manu IV.147 says "a Brahmin should always and assiduously study the Vedas alone; that (Veda study) is his highest dharma". The DP. partly reiterates this, saying that according to Dharma-śāstra the Brahmins' duty is to study (the Vedas) and officiate as priests in a

²¹•Vide Kane P.V., HDS., Vol.II, Part I, pp.134 ff.

²²•Vide Kane P.V., HDS., Vol.II, Part I, p.105

sacrifice, that they should pursue 'śil^ochavṛtti' - way²³ of life and that possession of villages will lead them to hell (LII.67). The Brahmins' study of the Vedas and their acquisition of proficiency in them are evinced by the epithets like vedavit (VI.56), vedavijñā (VI.45), vedapāraga (VI.27), vedavedāṅgapāraga (VI.31), vedārthatatvajñā (VI.59), vedavedāṅgatatvajñā (VI.60), vedaśāstrajñā (VI.75), vedādhyāyanaśīla (VI.23), ṛgyajuhsāmakuśala (VI.7), udgīthakuśala (VI.7), śrotiya (VI.54)^{etc.}. Apart from the Vedas, the Brahmins are said to be well-versed in other branches of knowledge too. They are proficient in Sāṅkhya-yoga (VI.8, 28),^{*} Dharmaśāstra (VI.11), recitation of the Vedas (VI.15), the procedures of a sacrifice (VI.16, 27), śāstra and darśana (VI.24), fortune telling (daiva) (VI.35), śrauta and smārta rites (VI.38), Dharmaśāstra (VI. 49, 75), Karmakāṇḍa (VI.49), ayurveda (medicine) (VI.56), astrology and astronomy (jyotiṣa) (VI.57), mantras (VI.60), kāla (VI.63), oration (VI.66), all āgamas (VI.69), Purānas and epics (VI.79), architecture (VI.28) etc.

From the times of the Brāhmaṇa literature and in the times of the Dharmaśāstras the teaching of Vedic literature was almost universally in the hands of Brahmins.²⁴ Some Brahmins created by Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Maheśa are said to have

²³ Cf. Yāj. I.128; M.S. X. 112.

²⁴ Vide Kane P.V., HDS. Vol.II, Part I, P.108.

been engaged in teaching (VII.8) but the subjects taught are not mentioned. Nevertheless, what can be said for certain is that they played the roles of teachers.

It was the privilege of a Brahmin alone to officiate as a priest. The terms like Karmakāṇḍarata (VI.11), Yajña-vidyāviśārada (VI.16), Karmakāṇḍavicakṣaṇa (VI.49), Yaṣṭr (VI.7), Yajane Yājane rata (VI.20), Yājñika (VI.24), Yajña-karmarata (VII.7), vedapāthapārāyaṇa (VI.19), vedapāthaka (VI.24), etc. are the indicators of the Brahmins playing a role of priests in sacrificial ritual and Vedic recitation. The Mōḍha Brahmins are said to have officiated as priests in the sacrifice performed by Rāma in Moherakapura (LI. 9-10). However, it is prohibited elsewhere that the Mōḍha Brahmins should not perform a sacrifice for the members of a low varṇa (LXII.5).

Accepting gifts from worthy persons is allowed as a means of livelihood for a Brahmin.²⁵ The DP. enjoys that the Mōḍha Brahmins should not accept gifts from the persons of a low varṇa viz. washermen, workers in hides, dancers, workers in bamboos, fishermen, medas and bhills. The Brahmin who accepts gifts from them is regarded as bringing his house down to a low position. He should be disassociated by other Brahmins. (LXII. 5-8). It is also suggested that the gifts received at the time of an ^leclipse is regarded as bad. (XI.29).

²⁵. For the subject of accepting gifts vide Kane P.V., HDS. Vol. II, Part I, pp. 110 ff.

Gaut.(VII.6) allows a Brahmin to follow Kṣatriya's profession in case of distress and adds (in VII.25) that even a Brahmin while still following the peculiar avocation of a Brahmin may wield weapons when his life is in danger. The Baud. Dh. S. (II.2.80) quotes a verse : "for saving cows and Brahmins, for preventing the mixture of varṇas, the Brahmins and Vaiśyas may take to arms from their concern for dharma". The Vas. Dh. S. (III.24) allows a Brahmin to wield a weapon for protecting himself and for preventing confusion or mingling of varṇas. Manu (VIII. 348-349) allows all dvijātis to resort to weapons where the observance of dharma (or of the duties of varṇas and āśramas) is obstructed (by violent men), when there is a disturbance (due to invasion etc.) involving the twice-born classes, in evil times for protecting one's self, when there is an attack for carrying away cows or other wealth (given as fees) and 'in order to protect women and Brahmins and he incurs no sin if he kills (for these purposes). The DP. furnishes instances of Brahmins and Vaiśyas (Vanīks) wielding weapons to protect themselves and their interests. Once cows were taken away by demons (dānavas) and in order to protect the cows, Brahmins, Vanīks and cowherds fought with the demons till their eventual victory (XXVI. 1-16). In defending the city of Moheraka from Muslim attack, Viṭthala, a Brahmin, is said to have organized a force consisting of Brahmins and Vanīks for the purpose (LXVIII. 45-51).

The following description of the Brahmins residing in Moherakapura gives us some glimpses of their activities, perhaps connected with their occupations : -

"Some Brahmins are engaged in practising penance; some are devoted to sacrifices and to the study of the Vedas and Yoga; some who are learned are busy with discussion on Sāṅkhya; some are devoted to teaching; some are busy with the rites prescribed in the Śrutis and the Smṛtis, some are the devotees of Viṣṇu, some are engaged in worshipping Rudra; some are the knowers^{of} karmavāda philosophy; some are busy with cāturahotra sacrifice; and others carry out the study of logical philosophy." (VII.7-10).

Ksatriyas : They form the next order of society. The terms used in the DP. to denote this order are kṣatra (XXXII.54), kṣatriya (XLIII.4), rājaṇya (LXIX.31) and rājan (LII.68). Etymologically, the term "kṣatra" means, according to the DP., "protecting good people from danger." (XXXI.18). "The term 'kṣatriya' of which 'rājaṇya' is an earlier variant occurs seldom in Rigveda."²⁶ In some places in the Rg.²⁷ The term kṣatriya is used as an epithet of gods, while in some other places²⁸ it stands for a king or a noble man.

²⁶. Majumdar R.C. and Pusalkar A.D. (eds.), The Vedic Age, p.386.

²⁷. Rg.VII. 64.2; Rg.VIII. 25.8.

²⁸. Rg. IV. 42.1; vide also Kane P.V., HDS., Vol.II, Part I, p.30.

The word "kṣatra" occurs in the Rg. I. 157.2; it possibly means "valour".²⁹

"The occupation of the class..... must have consisted in administrative and military duties, though the rank and file of the army might have been formed even by the commoners"³⁰
The DP. says that the duty of the king is to protect the people (LII.68).

Vaiśyas : The DP. does not give much information about the Vaiśyas who constitute the third order of society. The terms used in the DP. to denote this class of people is viś (XLIII.4) and vaiśya (LII.68). They are of vedic antiquity.³¹ *

The occupation prescribed for the Vaiśyas by the Dharmaśāstra is agriculture (LII.68).³²

The emergence of a caste called "Vaṇiks" appears in the DP. and judging from the pursuits followed by them viz. sowing seeds in the field, protecting cattle from thieves, tending bulls, collecting grains and doing domestic work (VIII.37-38), they fall under the category of the Vaiśyas, setting aside the accounts of their origin from Kāmadhenu in

²⁹•Kane P.V., Ibid., p.30.

³⁰•Ghurye G.S., Op. cit. p.49.

³¹•Vide Kantawala S.G., CHMP., p.33.

³²•Cf. Gaut. 10.1-3,7,50.

instead of from the thighs of the Puruṣa as traditionally believed. The problem of the Vaniks will be dealt with later. It is interesting to note that in the DP. the Vaniks are sometimes referred to as Śūdras. This may suggest that the caste-system had reached, on the path of its development, the stage in which there is no distinction between the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras. The similar phenomenon appears also in the MKP. In this respect K.M. Banerjee may be quoted, ^{is} "It/remarkable that the Śūdra is here classed with the Vaiśya and Kṣatriya, and the Brahmin distinguished by a broad line from all three. In the primitive age of Brahmanism, the priests, warriors and merchants were classed together as the three regenerate classes, and the Śūdras were far distanced from them all as serfs. It is comparatively in recent times that the Śūdras rose to consequence and importance and began to be classed with Vaiśyas and Kṣatriyas, while the Brahmins were further distanced from the two intermediate orders by reason of the latter not caring for privileges which once had excited the ambition of Viśvāmitra and Janaka."³³

The approximation of the Vaiśyas to the Śūdras, as noticed by G.S. Ghurye, began in the post-vedic period

³³•Banerjee K.M., (ed.), The Markandeya Purana, Intr.p.10.

³⁴•See Ghurye G.S., Op. cit. pp.56, 93, 101-2.

(600 B.C. - C. 3rd cent. A.D.) and it was carried further in the period of the Dharmaśāstras (C.3rd cent.A.D. - 10th or 11th cent. A.D.). Finally, in the modern period (10th or 11th cent. A.D. - 19th cent. A.D.), the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras were treated as almost indistinguishable.³⁴

Śūdras : They form the fourth order of society. The DP. contains meagre information about the Śūdras. It has already been mentioned above that the Vanīks are sometimes referred to in the DP. as Śūdras, which shows that the status of the Śūdras had been raised to that of the Vanīks.

The word "śūdra" occurs only once in the Ṛgveda, i.e. Ṛg. X.90.12. "It seems that the class represented domestic servants, approximating very nearly to the position of slaves."³⁵

In the DP. the duty assigned to the Śūdras is to serve presumably the Brahmins (LII.68). In the procession of the pilgrims on their way to Dharmāraṇya, the Śūdras walked at the rear behind other three castes viz. Brahmins, Kṣatriyas and Viśes. They joined the company in order to serve the Brahmins (XLIII.42). This probably indicates the lowest position assigned to the Śūdras in the four varṇas and their duty as the servants of the Brahmins.

³⁴. See Ghurye G.S., *Op. cit.*, pp. 56, 93, 101-2.

³⁵. Ghurye G.S., *Op. cit.* p.50.

The Vaniks are said to have been created for serving Brahmins (VII.40). This fact brings the Vaniks to the proximity of the Śūdras and this may account for the former being referred to as Śūdras. The treatment of the Śūdras as equal to the Vaniks can^{also} be interpreted as the outcome of the Hinduization of some tribesmen whom the Brahmins regarded as Śūdras and in order to win whose favour they were raised to the position of the Vaniks. "Most of the Vania of Gujarat do not perform the thread ceremony which compulsory for in respect of the first three divisions. Possibly the caste in its present form (like the Patidar with the agricultural communities) evolved from members of many castes engaged in trade, who later when they rose in social position on account of their wealth claimed the Vaiśya name, as a national designation for the commercial community as a whole."³⁶

It is said in one place in the DP. that a Modha Brahmin, marrying a girl of a low caste or a girl of his relative is treated as a Śūdra (LXII.26-28). This means that one is a Śūdra not only from his birth but from other causes also.

Social Mobility : The phenomenon of social mobility is an interesting subject to a student of sociology. "Although there is a cultural presumption of fixity of social position

³⁶ Census of India, 1931, Vol. XIX, Baroda, Part I, p.469.

within the caste system, some movement is not only possible but also inevitable. Movement may be by the individual or by the caste as a whole, and vertically or laterally within the system."³⁷ The instances of individuals rising into higher castes are by no means unknown. "In the Vedic age Kshatriyas sometimes discharged the priestly functions and preached the higher philosophy. Vishvāmitra is one of those Kshatriyas who, according to later tradition, officiated as a priest."³⁸ Vanarāja, the first ruler of Anhilwada Patan, whose father, according to the DP., was an outcasted (kṣatr) and who himself, in the first stage of his life, was a robber, worked his way up into an higher caste, i.e. ruling class, the equivalence of the Kṣatriya caste. (Vide LXVI. 37 ff.) The Indian scale of values emphasizes the observance of certain taboos and moral rules. A person who relaxes the observance of these rules loses his status. A Brahmin, who takes to the occupation inconsistent with his own caste and lives the irreligious life is degraded to the status of a cāṇḍāla (XLIX. 92-98). The factors that cause a person, especially a Modha Brahmin to fall from his own caste are numerated below under "rules governing caste Modha Brahmins". More factors and instances are discussed here.

³⁷•Cox Oliver Cromwell, Caste, Class & Race = A Study in Social Dynamics, (1948) p.7.

³⁸•Ghurye G.S., Op. cit. p.67.

The caste as a whole may degenerate because it adopts an occupation of lesser purity or some practice generally believed to be degrading.³⁹

Once there was a breach between Brahmins and Vaniks, because of which some Vaniks left Moheraka and settled down somewhere else. Some took to the profession of an oil-presser, and therefore lost their original status. They were shunned by other Vaniks (LXI.48).

Some Modha Brahmins took the profession of a wrestler, some committed adultery with other's wife, and others officiated as sacrificial priests for the dealers in liquor; they all became "Patitas (outcasted)".(LIX.23-24)

The prejudicial belief that certain practices are purer than the other also causes social mobility. Some Brahmins regarded accepting gifts as an impure practice. This caused a break-up among the Modha Brahmins resulting into two groups, i.e. one group calling itself as Tāividyas who had accepted gifts from Rāma and another group calling itself as Cāturvidyas who had not accepted the gifts from Rāma. This is an example of a lateral movement. For further remarks see under "Modha Brahmins."

³⁹•Cox O.C., Op. cit. p.9.

Untouchable : The idea of untouchability finds its expression definitely in the post-Vedic period. To quote G.S. Ghurye, "The idea that an impure person imparts pollution by his touch and even by his near approach to a member of the first three castes finds definite expression in the law-texts of this period, generally with reference to the persons are outcasted and even specially in relation to a class of the people called Chandālas."⁴⁰

In contrast to this idea of untouchability with reference to the cāṇḍālas, the DP. views these people from a different angle. It expounds that a cāṇḍāla by birth is not regarded as wicked if he performs the duty meant for him. He, who is indulgent in bad deeds, is alone regarded as a cāṇḍāla. It is the action that determines the cāṇḍālahood of a person (XLIX.88-90).⁴¹ Further, it hints that a Brahmin who takes to cultivation thus involving the tormenting of bulls, the performance of the sandhyā-rite and taking bath, and wearing unclean clothes, degenerates himself to the status of a cāṇḍāla (XLIX.92-98). From this it can be concluded that untouchability does not arise from birth alone but the occupations and actions, inconsistent with one's own caste are the determinants of one becoming a cāṇḍāla. "The only caste that

⁴⁰ Ghurye G.S., Op. cit. p.79.

⁴¹ Cf. BG. IV.13.

is said by the most ancient Dharmasūtras to be untouchable by birth is that of cāṇḍālas."⁴²

The DP. mentions seven different classes of people known collectively by the name of "antyaaja" which "is applied to all lowest castes like the cāṇḍāla in Manu IV.67; Viṣṇu Dh. S.36.7, Yāj.I.273, Brhadyama (quoted in Mit. on Yāj. III.260)."⁴³ They are rajaka (washerman, carmakāra (worker in hides), naṭa (dancer), buruḍa (worker in bamboos), kaivarta (fisherman), meda and bhilla (LXII.6).⁴⁴ The Brahmin who accepts gifts from the antyajajas shall be outcasted (LXII.7-8).

Āśrama-system : "The word Āśrama is originally derived from the Sanskrit root 'śram' 'to exert oneself'; therefore, it may mean, by derivation (i) a place where exertions were performed, and (ii) the action of performing such actions. Literally, an Āśrama is a 'halting or resting place.' The word therefore signifies a halt, a stoppage, or a stage in the journey of life just for the sake of rest, in a sense, in order to prepare oneself for further journey on the way to final liberation which is the final aim of life."⁴⁵

⁴².Kane P.V., HDS., Vol.II, Part I, p.171.

⁴³.Ibid., Vol.II., Part I, p.70.

⁴⁴.This verse in the DP. is identical with Atri 199; vide also Kane P.V., Ibid., Vol.II, Part I, p.70. fn.170.

⁴⁵.Prabhu P.H., Op. cit., p.83.

The āśramas are four in number (1) The Brahmācārya - that of a student (2) the Grhastha - that of a married man, the householder (3) the Vānaprastha - that of retired life in the forest, after abandoning the home, preparatory to complete renouncement of worldly relations and (4) the Samnyāsa - the life of complete renunciation of worldly relations and attachments.⁴⁶

P.M. Modi is of the opinion that in the beginning there were only three āśramas, in which Vānaprastha and Samnyāsa āśramas merged into one āśrama, and that the four āśramas were the result of the later development.⁴⁷

The DP does not deal directly with the āśramas. It merely makes stray references to the subject, which implicitly shows that the system had not gone out of vogue in the times of the DP. Of all the āśramas, the DP. claims, the āśrama of a Yati, i.e. Samnyāsa is the most exalted (II.42). Contrary to this, the Rāmāyaṇa regards Grhasthāśrama as the best of all.⁴⁸ Viśvāvasu is said to have created damsels then betrothed

⁴⁶.Prabhu P.H., Op.cit., p.84; Kapadia K.M., Marriage and Family in India, (1966) p.27.

⁴⁷.See Modi P.M., "Development of the System of Āśramas", Proceeding and Transactions of the Seventh All India Oriental Conference, Baroda, December 1933 (1935) pp. 315-16.

⁴⁸.Vide Vyas S.N., India in the Rāmāyaṇa Age, (1967) p.71.

them to the Vaniks so that they could lead a perfect life of a householder, thereby fulfilling the need of Grhasthāśrama (VII.43.44). Brahmā is also said to have given Ahalyā to Gautama for the same purpose (XXV.26). This shows that wife is the indispensable partner to go through the stage of life as a householder (Cf. XXXIII.23). "In certain places", and says the Purāna, "boys wearing girdles, carrying sticks, learn the procedures regarding śauca (purity) and ablution (snāna), and the duty pertaining to the āśramas; in some places there is a discussion on the āśramas." (VIII.10-11). This indicates that the āśramas are the subject of deep interest for the people and that the stage of a Brahmācārin was still having a firm grip on society.

The upanayana (initiation) ceremony introduces the young boy into the Brahmācāryāśrama.⁴⁹ The initiation generally takes place at the age of eight in the case of a Brahmin; a Kṣatriya is initiated at the age of ten, and a Vaiśya at twelve. Rāma is said to have taken the initiation at the age of eleven. (XXX.47). The initiation of the Vaniks is not mentioned in the DP. Thus, it is doubtful as to what varṇa they belonged. Apart from the studying the Vedas, the art of warfare such as archery had to be studied too in the case of a Kṣatriya. This is revealed in the DP.XXX.51.

⁴⁹Prabhu P.H., Op. cit., p.89; Kapadia K.M., Op.cit., p.27.

The DP. does not have the instances of Vānaprasthāśrama; yet it seems that it was the cherished desire of aged persons to transfer the domestic responsibilities to their children and then go to forest. The king Daśaratha repented over the restlessness of his mind owing to his attachment to the sensual objects and the influence of God's illusion, unlike his forefathers who had obtained peace of mind in the old age. He therefore decided to abdicate the throne in favour of Rāma, and thenceforth he would go to forest (XXXII.32-35). Mūlarāja of Anhilwada Patan is said to have abdicated the throne in favour of his son, Cāmuṇḍa, and then renounced the world. This confirms the prevalence of the institution of āśramas even in the 10th century A.D. The DP. does not give any direct illustration of the stage of a Śamnyāsa. Yet the statement that the sages (muni) who were the Vaiḥkhānasa devoted themselves to practising austerities (VIII.31) implies the existence of the practice of this āśrama at that time, as the term "vaiḥkhānasa" denotes "Vānaprastha".⁵⁰

The āśrama theory differs from the varṇa theory in that the former, addressing itself to the individual, tells him what his spiritual goal is, how he is to order his life and

⁵⁰. See Kantawala S.G., Op. cit., p.43.

what preparations are required to attain that goal, whereas the latter, addressing itself to man in the mass, deals with man as a member of the Hindu society and lays down what his rights, functions, privileges, responsibilities, were as a member of that society.⁵¹

Theory of Puruṣārthas : "In order to understand the psychomoral 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."⁵²

The puruṣārthas or aims of life are four in number viz. dharma, artha, kāma and mokṣa.

The DPXIX.60 says collectively about the subject that the fulfilment of dharma, artha, kāma and mokṣa can be had at the temple of the goddess Kṣemalābhā on the bank of the Gambhīra-sarovara.⁵³ Though the stanza purports to sing the praise of the goddess, it underlines the significance of the puruṣārthas. Elsewhere the subject figures in the dialogue

⁵¹•Vide Kane P.V., HDS., Vol.II, Part I, p.423.

⁵²•Prabhu P.H., Op. cit., p.79.

⁵³•Similar ideas are expressed in II.49;XIII.7 ff.etc.

between Rāma and Sītā. (XXXIII.10-25). Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata and Śatrughna are spoken of analogically as dharma, artha, kāma and mokṣa, as they were the source of happiness to the king Daśaratha (XXX.37).

The subject, now, will be dealt with under the following headings:-

Kāma: Kāma, "as the satisfaction of instinctive life, is recognized as one of the aims of marriage along with dharma and procreation."⁵⁴ "Kāma refers to all the desires in man for enjoyment and satisfaction of the life of the senses, including the sex drive to which the word kāma more prominently refers..... The term is also often used in a broader sense to include socially acquired motivation too."⁵⁵ The knowledge of kāmāśāstra (science of love) seems to be necessary for a Hindu who wants to live a happy marriage life. Rāma is said to be the knower of the secret of the kāmāśāstra and to have lived the happy mundane life, following the principles of dharma, artha and kāma (XXXIII.3-4). Of all the three ^{kāma ranks third i} order of precedence (XXXIII.19). It should be enjoyed at the proper time so as not to interrupt the progress of dharma and

⁵⁴.Kapadia K.M., Op. cit. p.25.

⁵⁵.Prabhu P.H., Op. cit. p.80.

artha; the DP. warns that over-indulgence in sexual pleasure brings about unhappiness (XXXIII.21).

Artha : "Artha refers to the problem and activities connected with the finding, making, gathering, conserving and organizing of the material necessities of life and all that accompanies the same."⁵⁶ "It is the satisfaction of the acquisitive instinct in men."⁵⁷ The DP. lays down that wealth should be safeguarded (XXXIII.19) and it should be accumulated as it is the basis of kāma and dharma (XXXIII.20). Moreover, "the Hindu sages indicated that man unfolded his spirituality only when his life was not economically starved or emotionally strained."⁵⁸ Artha ranks second in the order of precedence (XXXIII.19). One should maintain righteousness first and then he should seek wealth and enjoy sexual pleasure.(XXXIII.24-25).

Dharma : Dharma⁵⁹ is superior to artha and kāma. Artha occupies the intermediate position whereas kāma occupies the lowest one.⁶⁰ Of all the three, the DP. seems to award the highest position to dharma when it says that when dharma perishes

⁵⁶.Prabhu P.H., Op.cit. p.82.

⁵⁷.Kapadia K.M., Op. cit. p.26.

⁵⁸.Kapadia K.M., Op.cit. p.26.

⁵⁹.Vide Jolly's article on dharma in E RE, Vol.IV, p.702.

⁶⁰.Mbh. Cr. ed. 12.161.8.

the other two (i.e. artha and k̄ama) also perish (XXXIII.20). It lays down that a man should constantly observe dharma (XXXIII.19). The observance of dharma is the obligation of the Aryans (XXXIII.22). It is very interesting to note that the observance of dharma cannot be perfected without a wife (XXXIII.23). The observance of dharma, therefore, presupposes marriage and the activities as a householder. A married person who ignores dharma causes devastation to artha and k̄ama (XXXIII.23). Brahm̄a is said to have allotted the following duties (dharma) to the Vaniks to carry out. They must serve Brahmins in their (Brahmins') activities such as their daily bath, their performance of sacrifice and sacraments. They should do the household work for them. They should carry out their own business with clean mind, being free from greed, jealousy, desire to injure and anger. They should speak the truth and avoid crookedness, and cheating the Brahmins who were their gurus (preceptors). The Brahmins, it is said, were the vital breath and the very form of Viṣṇu, Brahm̄a and Rudra because they were the perpetuators of literary tradition of the Vedas and their auxiliaries. Injuring the Brahmins, therefore, amounts to injuring the three gods. (VII.45-51). It is apparent from this that the obligations enjoined for the Vaniks are the design to make the Vaniks remain subservient to the Brahmins and thus the interests of Brahmins are easily safeguarded.

The following are the duties (dharma) performed by Rāma in keeping with the principles of the puruṣārthas. After getting up, he took bath; then he sang the praise of the sun before its rise; then he gave offering to the five fires; then he performed the Brahma-sacrifice; and finally he entered the assembly to pay obeisance to the feet of his father, his mother, elderly people and his guru. Thenceforth, he worshipped gods and other people who deserved his reverence and then he would sit in the assembly for a while (XXXIII. 5-9). It is seen from this that to carry out the duties which are different from caste to caste is regarded as performing dharma. And "the practice of dharma cannot be possibly conceived as existing apart from the relation between the individual and the group, - except when the dharma directed is entirely in the interest of the mokṣa of the individual, as in the case of the saṁnyāsin (the recluse), in whose case artha and kāma become transformed and get merged into mokṣa. Thus, on the whole, the puruṣārthas are concerned both with the individual as well as the group."⁶¹

Mokṣa : "Mokṣa literally means release, release from the bondage to the sensuous and the individual, the narrow and the finite. It is the result of self-enlargement and freedom.

⁶¹•Prabhu P.H., Op.cit., p.82.

To live in perfect goodness is to realize one's life in all. This ideal for which the moral nature of man cries can be attained only if the finite self transcends its narrow individuality and identifies itself with the whole."⁶²

The subject of mokṣa does not come up in the dialogue between Sītā and Rāma (XXXIII.10-25); so it is not possible to say precisely of the view of the Purāṇakāra on this theme in relation with dharma, artha and kāma. It says elsewhere that Udāsīnā Tīrthayātrā gives salvation (mukti) to the performer (II.15); and Dharmāranya is claimed to have the efficacy of bestowing mokṣa to the pilgrim (XLI.63). The three immediate objectives of life viz. dharma, artha and kāma are the means for the attainment ^{of} mokṣa.⁶³ "Mokṣa represents the summum bonum of life, the spiritual freedom and the realization 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."⁶⁴ The salvation can also be obtained without effort through the grace of the Lord. This is illustrated by the story of a parrot and its folks, by whose devotion to Lord Śiva, obtained his company to Kailāsa and remained there with him.(XLII. 4-65).

⁶².Radhakrishnan S., Indian Philosophy, Vol.I,(1966) p.209.

⁶³.Prabhu P.H., Op. cit.,pp. 81-82.

⁶⁴.Kantawala S.G., Op. cit., p.50.

Modha Brahmins

Problem of the word "modha" :

The DP. derives the word "modha" from "mūḍha" meaning "mute" used in reference to the boy who would be ancestor of the Modha Brahmins in ^{future} ~~past~~ and who could not speak a word when he first met Brahmā. (LXIV.21). The DM. derives it from "modha" meaning "fearful perplexity" used in reference to the - Brahmins of Dharmāranya when they were scared of the demon named Lohāsura.⁶⁵

Late MM. Ramakrishna Harji Shastri derives it from "Mā + Ūdha" meaning "The people who are the devotees of the goddess Laksmī."⁶⁶

These three derivations appear to have been based on etymology rather than on the consideration of historical facts. Most of the modern writers agree that the Modha Brahmins and Modha Baniyas derived their name from the place of their origin. There are many castes in Gujarat which

⁶⁵.SKP. Brh. II.XXIII.48.

⁶⁶.Vide Dave K.B., "Modhajñāti", Swādhyāya, Vol.5, No.1, November, 1966, p.84.

receive their names from the places of their origin, as for example, Nāgara Brahmins from Vadnagar,⁶⁷ Śrīmālī Brahmins from Śrīmāla (Modern Bhinmal) Anāvala Brahmin from Anaval village, etc. which lends support to this view. According to Jain legends the Modha Brahmins derived their name from the town named Modherpoor, or Modhbunk Puttun which is identified with Modhera.⁶⁸ Generally most of the modern writers follow the same opinion. John Wilson, however, says that the Modha Brahmins receive their name from the village of Modhānā, near Siddhapur.⁶⁹ "There is a small village ⁿMudhānā, 3 miles E.N.E. of Siddhapur, but Modhera was probably meant by Dr. Wilson."⁷⁰

Legendary Origin of Modha Brahmins :

It is narrated in the DP. chs. IV & V that Brahmā, after having created the world, looked for a dry place and then sat meditating on Viṣṇu for one hundred divine years. Viṣṇu was pleased and appeared before Brahmā, then he conferred a boon on him, for which Brahmā appealed to Viṣṇu that a city

⁶⁷•Vadnagar is referred to in the Purāṇas as "Nagara"; see also DP.LXIII.31.

⁶⁸•Vide Forbes A.K., Rās Mālā, Vol.I. p.104.

⁶⁹•Wilson John, Indian Caste, Vol.II, p.111.

⁷⁰•Burgess J.S. and Cousen Henry, Archeaological Survey of Western India, Vol. IX, p. 71., Fn.1.

should be built there and Brahmins should be established in it. Viṣṇu granted the boon and then he called Śiva to come to his aid. Subsequently, the three gods began their work. They caused 18,000 Brahmins to manifest by contemplating on the three Vedas and exercising guṇas and kālas to their advantage. The Brahmins were then known as Traividya Brahmins. Following Viṣṇu's order, Viśvakarman built a city called Moheraka for them.

The origin as mentioned above is mythological in nature and may have social element buried under it. The social history may be something like this. This mythological legend may imply that the Brahmin community which used to wield the undisputed authority over other sections of the society in the past was progressively losing its influence at that time. The interwal pieces of evidence also show the deteriorating position of the Brahmins. The DP. tells that the King Āma and the king Kumārapāla were not in good terms with the Brahmins; and being converted to Jainism, they showed no respect for the Brahmins. The history supports that both were converted to Jainism. What is more is that some sections of the docile Vanik community broke away from the Brahmins to embrace Jainism. This situation certainly caused much concern to the Brahmins because their economic support which was mainly received from the Vanik community was phasing out.

In order to retain or regain their original supremacy and to demand the respect from other sections of society the Brahmins might have had the story of their divine origin fabricated. The traditional belief that the Brahmin was created from the mouth of the Creator has been possibly set aside with intention because it was found obsolete and to no purpose. The eulogy of Brahmins emphasized in many places (See under "Brahmins"), goes without saying what the real motives of the Brahmins were.

Classification of Modha Brahmins :

The Brahmins created by Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Maheśa fall under three categories (V.32.33) viz..

(1) Sāttvika Brahmins : They were the Brahmins who were created by Viṣṇu. Their number was 6,000.

(2) Rājasa Brahmins : They were the Brahmins who were created by Brahmā. Their number was 6,000.

(3) Tāmāsa Brahmins : They were the Brahmins who were created by Śiva. Their number was also 6,000.

Here we find that the names given to different classes of the Brahmins are based on the dominant quality inherent in the god who created them. Elsewhere, it is said that the sattva guṇa is predominant in Viṣṇu; the rajoguṇa in Brahmā;

and the tamoguna in Śiva (III.57). The guna theory as expressed in this connection indicates the influence of the Sāṅkhya philosophy.

The Brahmins are also classified, taking into account the gods they worshipped, as uttamā (highest), madhyamā (middle) and adhamā (lowest). The Brahmins belonging to the first category were the worshippers of Śiva; those of the second category were the worshippers of Viṣṇu; and those of the third, the worshippers of Brahmā. This classification reveals to us the elements of sectarianism and the internal prejudice of the Brahmins. It gives out clearly the positions of the gods Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā in descending order. Śiva occupied the topmost position; Viṣṇu, the middle; and Brahmā, the lowest. It is also permissible to infer from this at that time the Brahmins of Mōḍha-caste were the worshippers of the three gods, viz. Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā. Incidentally, it may be added that there are old temples of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva in and around Modhera.

Taking into account the ideal livelihood adopted by the Brahmins, they can be further classified thus : -

(1) Those who sustained their life with the food obtained by collecting the ears of corn fallen in the field after the harvest. They were specifically called "Śiloṅchā-vṛttijīvana." They did not accept gifts but enjoyed complacency (XLV.17.18).

(2) Those who lived on the food-grains kept in store enough for six-day consumption. They also enjoyed complacency and therefore did not accept anything more. They were styled "Kumbhīdhānya". (XLV.19)

(3) Those who lived from hand to mouth, i.e. they preserved food which was enough for one day. They did not find it necessary to collect more, as life, to them, was uncertain. They were called "Ekāhika". (XLV.20)

(4) Those who lived on dry leaves that fell from the tree of their own accord. They did not find it necessary to receive gifts.(XLV.21)

Modh Brahmins and Rāma ?⁷¹

The Fall of Moherakapura :

Once the Brahmins staying at Moherakapura were harrassed by demons to the extent that they began to dispute amongst themselves and as a result they left the village and lived elsewhere (XLIV.57). Since then Moheraka x had been deserted and fell into ruins. The description of Moheraka in ruin, as given by Śrīmātā, the used-to-be chief goddess of the village, is as follows : -

⁷¹.The same story with insignificant differences occurs in the SKP. Brh. II. chs. XXXII-XXXV.

"The place, where young lads with sticks in hands used to stalk, is now infested with herds of swines." (XLIV.50).

"In the water, where Brahmins used to perform the obsequial rite in the afternoon, are now sporting the fearful looking buffalos." (XLIV.51).

"The sacrificial grounds, where Brahmins used to perform sacrifice with resounding Veda-recitation, are now stalked by wild oxen and are contaminated by their dung." (XLIV.52).

"The sky once filled with clouds of sacrificial smoke, is now covered with dust." (XLIV.53).

This mythological description of the falling into ruins of the village of Moheraka or Modhera may disguise some historical events.

Gujarat is believed to be originally inhabited by the rude castes which still exist and are known under the names of Kohli and Bhill.⁷² "Of all the plunderers who infest Gujarat, the most bloody and untam^aple are the Coolies (=Kohlis), who, however, present different characters in different districts, the most barbarous being in the vicinity of the Runn, or in the neighbourhood of the Mahy (Mahi) river." The Kohlis, the Bhills and the Mehs are the people of non-

⁷². Hamilton Walter, Description of Hindostan, Vol. I, p. 618.

⁷³. Ibid., p. 609.

Aryan tribes who are settled in great number in Northern Gujarat. They are occasionally called Rākṣases on account of their cruelty and want of civilization.⁷⁴ It might be possible that the ruin of Moheraka was caused by the people belonging to one of these tribes, whose inhabitats, according to the above-mentioned accunts,⁷⁵ were not far-distanced from Modhera.

Mahmud of Ghazni is said to have attacked and captured Modhera on his march towards Somanātha Patan.⁷⁵ This might be another possible cause of Modhera falling into ruins.

The Advent of Rāma (XLIV-LI):

After having conquered Lānkā, and having slain Rāvāna, Rāma returned to Ayodhyā and assended the throne which had been kept vacant for him by his brother, Bharata. Then Rāma paid his visit to Dharmāranya. He met Śrīmātā there who told him about the past glory of Moherakapura. He was appealed by her to reinhabit the Brahmins there. Then Rāma brought back the Brahmins who were originally created by Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa and settled them at Moheraka which he had restored.

⁷⁴. Bühler G., "Grants of the Anhilwad Chaulukyas", Indian Antiquary, July 1877, p.186.; Vide also Parikh R.C., Kāvyaṅuśāsana, Vol.II, Intr., pp.CLXIX-XLXX.

⁷⁵. Vide Nazim Mahmud, The Life and Times of Mahmud of Guazna, p.217.

Rāma asked the Brahmins to perform sacrifice for him and accept his gifts. They were reluctant at first but when, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva who came there to Rāma's aid gave their consent, they accepted Rāma's proposal and began the sacrifice. At the conclusion of the sacrifice Rāma conferred on them rich gifts including land grants. Then Rāma went further on his pilgrimage to pay homage to Govatseśvara and perform his religious duties at Gaṅgākūpa, then to take a bath in the river Gomatī, then to Lohayaṣṭi and then to pay homage to Viṣṇu in the form of a Boar on the bank of the river Sarasvatī. After completing his pilgrimage, Rāma returned once again to Moheraka and had a sacrifice performed by the Moḍha Brahmins whom he had previously reinhabited in the city. At the conclusion of the sacrifice he built a town named Sītāpura on Sītā request and gave it to Cāturavidya Moḍha Brahmins who branched out from the original group, i.e. Trāividya Brahmins on account of the differences of the practice of receiving and not receiving the gifts from Rāma. The Cāturavidya Brahmins were the non-receipts of gifts. Rāma, however, gave in all 56 villages including Moheraka to all the Brahmins participants in the sacrifice and to acknowledge their right of the properties, he gave them the copper-plates inscribed with his edict. Before he returned to Ayodhyā he ordered Hanumat, to protect the city of Moheraka.

It is an anachronism to bring Rāma the hero of the great epic into association with the restoration of Moherakapura, the city of considerably late period. The city is known in history as far back as the time of the king Āma of Kanauj as as discussed ^{below.} ~~above.~~ However, the story might have been formed from the actual occurrences in the history of some king in the period ~~is~~ not long before the composition of the Purāna. Some of the exploits of the king Bhīmadeva I of Anhilwad seems to fit in with the description in the Purāna. The sun temple at Modhera was built in his reign.⁷⁶ Probably he himself built it. According to the DP.(XLVI.38) Rāma is said to have re-established the sun god (at Moheraka). The king made a land-grant to a Moḍha Brahmin named Janaka.⁷⁷ It may be conjectured that ~~he~~ made other land-grants for the maintenance of the Sun temple after its completion, as this was usual practice of a king. The maintenance of the temple involves the participation of Brahmins and these Brahmins might be Moḍha Brahmins. Rāma also is said to have made grants of land consisting 56 villages to the Moḍha Brahmins (LI.44).

Rāma's coming to Dharmāranya indicates the growing importance of the Rāma-cult and suggests that its influence

⁷⁶•Vide Sankalia H.D., The Archaeology of Gujarat, p.84.

⁷⁷•Vide Epigraphia Indica Vol.XXI. 1931-32, p.171-72;
Sankalia H.D., Op.cit., App. p.13.

had spread to the region at the time of the DP. The influence was so strong that the Sūryakuṇḍa in front of the Sun temple was once given the name of "Rāmakuṇḍa" and its Sabhāmandapa, the "Sītā's Chāvadi".⁷⁸ It is noteworthy to mention that there is the temple of Rāma at Modhera even now.

It was Rāmānanda (1400-1470), who established the tradition of Rāma worship. He was the holy man from South India who journeyed north and settled at Banaras.⁷⁹ His apostolate of about twelve included a Rajput.⁸⁰ Hence, it is not illogical to postulate that the Rāma-cult was spread by the Rajput to Gujarat where there is a large population of Rajput. Incidentally, it should be noted that the Modha Banias who have the surnames - Rathod, Solanki, Chavada and Dharaiya regard Rāma as their "istadevatā".⁸¹

55 Villages given by Rāma :

The villages identified below are said to have been given by Rāma as dakṣiṇā to Modha Brahmins at the completion of the sacrifice at Moherakapura. (LI.44.ff.)

⁷⁸. ASWI, IX, p.74. ↑Berry Thomas, Religions of India, p.55.

⁷⁹. The date of Rāmānanda is put at thirteenth century by S. Radhakrishnan (Vide Indian Philosophy Vol.II, p.709).

⁸⁰. Radhakrishnan S., Ibid. p.709.

⁸¹. I thank Mr. Kesavalal S. Dave, the priest of Modheśvarī temple at Modhera, for the information.

Umashankar Joshi could not identify all the 55 villages and he felt a need for a supplementary essay to identify them. He admits that the names of the villages have been sanskritized.⁸² Dr. Hariprasad G. Shastri has ~~has~~ suggested Jethalal N. Trivedi to identify the villages and he did it in his article "Dharmāranyanā Pañcāvan Gāmo".⁸³

In the following table, J. refers to Umashankar Joshi in "Purānomāṃ Gujarat", T. refers to Jethalal N. Trivedi in his article "Dharmāranyanā Pañcāvan Gāmo", and P. refers to P.J. Pathak in his Gujarati translation of "Śrī Dharmāranya".

⁸².Joshi Umashankar, Purānomāṃ Gujarat, Intr. p.10.

⁸³.Swādhyāya, Vol. II, No.1, 1964-65, pp. 12 ff.

Serial No.	Names of the Villages according to DP.	Names of the villages according to DM.	The identifications of the villages.	Remarks
1	Sitāpur	Sitāpur	Sitāpur near Virangam (T.p.13)	The Goddesses *Sāntā and Sumāngalā are worshipped at Sitāpur. (LI.18) The goddess *Sāntā is to the south-west of Moheraka (XIX.44).
2.	Śrīksetra	Śrīksetra	Sarkhej (T.p.13; P. p.529)	It is on Ahmedabad-Dholka railway line.
3.	Siholi Simholi	Musālī	Siholi village not far from Pethapur on the eastern bank of the Sabramati (T. p.13)	No village as Musālī is known (T.p.13)
4.	Magodī Mudgalī	Mudgalī, Magodī	Magodī village of Dahegam taluka (T. p.13)	Mudgarī is noted as that of J. (T. p.13)
5.	Jyesthalajja	Jyesthalā, Jyesthaloja	Jethalaj in Khakhariya section of Kalol taluka (T. p.14; P. p.529)	
6.	Śrīyahsthāna, Śrīyahsthala	Śreyasthāna, Serathā	Serthā village in Kalol taluka (T. p.14; P. p.529)	

Contd...

1	2	3	4	5
7.	Dantālī	Dantālī; Detālī	Dantālī village near Śerthā in the daskroi taluka. (T.p.14)	Dantālī < Dantasthālī (T. p.14).
8.	Vatapatraka	Vatapatrakā	Vadodarā (T. p.14; P. p.529)	J. Notes Vanodī as variant (J. p.112).
9.	Rāyapura	Rajñāhpura	Rajpur in Mehsana and Kadi talukas; Rajpur near Balasinor in Kheḍa dist.; Rayapur on the Khari river near Noroda. T. cannot identify exactly. (T. p. 23; P. p.529).	J. and SKP. Brh.II.ch. 39 do not include in the list; but J. notes the passage (SKP.Brh.II. ch.35) which mentions Rajñāhpura (J. p.111, fn. 52).
10.	Kṛṣṇavāda	Kṛṣṇavāta	Kathavāda in Dahegam taluka (T. p.14; (P. p.529)	
11.	Deśala	Deha(-Loha)	Dalod village near Mandal (T. p.15); Dehalodum (P. p.529)	
12.	Cayanasthala	Canasthana	Cekhalā near Sanand (T. p.15); Cāṇasad (P. p.529).	T. does not accept Cāṇasad.
13.	Kuhaka, Kuhuka	Koheca	Kuhā, also known as Kuḥā-Bhavadā near Bhuvaladī (T. p.15; P. p.529)	
14.	Candana- ksetra	Candanksetra	Candkhedā on the Sabramatī-Kalol railway line (T. p.15; P. p.529)	
15.	Sthala	Thala	Thol in Kadī taluka (T. p.15; P.p.529)	

Contd....

1	2	3	4	5
16s+1	Hastināpura	Hastināpura	Hāthījan in Dahegam taluka (T. p.16; P. p.529)	
17.	Karpata	Karpata	Kaparvanj in Kheda district (T. p.16; P. p.529)	
18.	Jāyana	Kannjahnavi	Jhānum near Bhuladī in Daskroi ? (T. p.16); Jhānum (P. p.529)	
19.	Vanoda	Vanoda, Vanodī	Vanod near Mandal (T. p.16; P. p.529)	
20.	Phenakāvali	Phanaphāvalī	Phīnāv (Phenāv) near Virasad, Kheda dist. (T. p.16; P. p. 529)	
21.	Govinda	Govindana	Galudan in Dahegam taluka (T. p.17); Govindaḍum (P. p.529)	
22.	Mohābha	Mohodha, Mahovī	Possibly Mobha in Padra taluka (T. p.17); Mobnum (P. p.529)	
23.	Golaka	-	Golā village 3 miles from Talod station (T. p.24; P. p.529)	
24.	Cāraṇasiddha	Cāraṇasiddha, Cāraṇam Sid- dham	Vāraṇā in Kalol taluka (T. p.17); Cekhala (P. p.529)	T. does not accept P.'s identification. (T. p.17)
25.	Sthalate- jaka	Thalatyaja	Thalataj village in Daskroi area (T. p.17; P. p.529)	
26.	Bhālaja	Bhajyaja, Bhālaja	Bhalej in Kheda district (T. p.17); Bhālaj (P.p.529)	

Contd.....

Contd..

1	2	3	4	5
27.	Sotyatra	Sodgītrā	Sojītrā in Baroda district (T. p.24; P. p.529)	
28.	Vatsumālikā	Vatamālikā, Vatshasuhali	Vatva near Ahmedabad ? (T. p.18); Vāṭṣuvālī (P. p.529)	
29.	Gaudhara, Godhara	Godhara, Godharī	Godhara (T. p.18; P. p.529)	
30.	Mānaja	Māraṇaja, Mānaja	Manaj in Kheda district. (T.p.18; P. p.529).	
31.	Ānanda	Ānandiya	Ānand in Kheda district. (T. p.18; P. p.529)	
32.	Pāṭadāvāḥī, Pātālī	Pāṭadīa	Pāṭadī founded by Harapāla Makwana during the reign of Vaghelas (T. p.18; P. p.529).	
33.	Sāṇoda	Sānadiya	Sāṇand near Ahmedabad (T. p.18; P. p.529)	
34.	Dhīkalapura	Tīkolīya	Dhīkolā near Bhilwada in Rajasthan ? (T. p.19) or Nīkolā near Ahmedabad (T. p.19); Dhīkol (P. p.529)	
35.	Mātramedhya	Mātramadhya	Mātroṭā in Sami taluka possibly (T. p. 19); Mātameduṃ (P. p.529)	
36.	Mātara	Mātara	Mātar in Kheda district (T. p.19).	

Contd....

Contd....

	1	2	3	4	5
37.	Baḍuvatī	Balavatī	Balol (T. p.19); Baḍola (P.p.529)		
38.	Gandhavatī	Gandhavatī, Gambhīdhanī	Ghamīj in Dahegam taluka (P. p.529).		T. has no specific point for identification.
39.	Khamododya	-	Khamadāḍha (P. p.529)		T. has no information about its whereabouts. According to Vahivan-chā notes it is Khāmādhala (T. p.24)
40.	Darātriya	-	Darantaja (P. p. 529)		
41.	Rūpavālī	Rūpavālī, Rupolā	It is identified with Rūpāl village but there are four villages of the same name; One in the Kalol taluka; second in Sabarkantha area; third in Banaskantha; and fourth near Dholka. Out of the four T. accepts Rūpāl in the Kalol taluka for Rūpavālī (T. p.20; P. p.529)		
42.	Bodhanī	Bodhanī, Bahudhana	Bāndhanī village near Karamsad-Kheḍa district. (T. p.20; P. p.529)		
43.	Chatrāja	Chatroṭa, Chatrīṭa	Chatral in the Kalol taluka (T. p.20; P. p.529) Still more investigation is necessary (T. p.20).		

Contd....

Contd....

1	2	3	4	5
44.	Vaṃśaja	Vaṃśaja, Vāsataḍiḃya	Possibly Vaṃśajadā in the Kalol taluka (a little doubtful) (T. p.21); Vāṃśajadum (P. p.529)	
45.	Karpura	-	There is a village called Kapurā near Vyāra in Surat district; but this does not seem the village of the Purāṇa (T. p.24).	
46.	Gotikā	Gotikī, Gotīyā	P. identifies it with Gota village of Daskroi taluka. T. refers to the village Govatsa of the Sarasvatī Purāṇa and also refers to Adiyā; then he puts the question whether Govatsa and Adiyā are related to Gota. (T. p.21; P. p.529).	J. accepts the reading Potikī. (J. p. 111 Fn.); T. accepts the same reading (T. p.21).
47.	Dugdhālī	Dugdhāvalī, Dudhiya	Dudhai in Kaḍi taluka (This requires more investigation). (T. p.21); Dudhaiyā (P. p.529).	
48.	Citralekhaka	Citralekha	Citral in Padra taluka (T. p.21; P. p.529)	T. does not accept the suggestion of Carel near Bhāyavadar in Rajkot district. (T. p.21)
49.	Hamsālī	Hamsāvalī, Halola	Himsol village near Sabramatī station area; (T. p.22; P. p.529)	
50.	Balavatī	Vaihola	BahiyaI in Dahegam taluka (T. p.22; P. p.529)	

Contd... 61

Contd....

1	2	3	4	5
51.	Dehālī	Deholo	Dalod near Mandal possibly (T. p.24); Deholol (P. p.529).	
52.	Nalīkāvalī	Nālāvalī, Nalada	Nārola near Ahmedabad (T. p.22); Nālōl (P. p.529)	
53.	Āsāvātī	Āsāvālī	Asaravā near Ahmedabad (T. p.22; P p.529)	T. does not accept Asalālī in Daskrośī area.(T. p.22)
54.	Rudravātī	-	Rīdarol in Bijapur, Mesana district. This requires more investigation. (T. p.24).	
55.	Suhāsa, Sauhāsa	Sauhāsīya, Suhālī	According to P., it is the village Sumja but T. says that there is no information about Sumja. In Mahemada- vad taluka there is a village Simhuja which could have corrupted to Sumja. There is a village called Sa-īja in Kalol taluka and it is the centre of Modha Brahmins. T. further adds that this requires further investigation. (T. p.23)	

Additional villages noted by T. :

- (1) Govyandalī : T. is inclinēd to relate it with Govandaka. (T. p. 14).
- (2) Mo - utrī : Meta near Palanpur. (T. p.16).
- (3) Ā - iyā - maliyā : Possibly Āmlā near Padra (T. p.17).
- (4) Rajyaja : Two possibilities - (1) Rāntej in Kalol taluka and another in Chanasma taluka; (2) Sāmtaj in Kalol taluka.
- In addition T. refers Detroj as another possibility too. (T. p.20).
- (5) Alu : Possibly Aluvā but this requires further investigation (T. p.20).
- (6) Jāyasamiraṇa : May be Jākhāsana near Balol in Mehsana taluka. Another village suggested is Jāsapura near Kalol of the Daskrośī area. (T. p.21).
- (7) Suhālī : It is difficult to identify but investigation should be made with reference to Suhāla or Suhālī (T.p.23).

Modha Brahmins and Āmarāja :

The DP. records the opposition between Modha Brahmins and two rulers viz. the king Āma and the king Kumārapāla. Their belligerent relation with the king Kumārapāla is discussed in chapter VIII. Here their hostile relation with the king Āma will be taken up for discussion.

It is narrated in the DP. (chs. LII-LVIII) that Āmarāja, the king of Kānyakubja, and his daughter named Ratnagaṅgā, embraced Buddhism⁸⁴. The king gave his daughter in marriage to the king of Brahmāvarta⁸⁵ and to whom Moheraka was given as a wedding gift. Being a heretic

⁸⁴. Jain sources claim that Āma professed Jainism and he regarded Bappabhaṭṭa (a Jain monk) as his spiritual guru. (Vide Tripathi R.S., History of Kanauj, p.211). It seems that the Purāṇakāra sees no distinction between Buddhism and Jainism. The indistinguishability of Buddhism from Jainism appears also in the history of the king Kumārapāla. James Tod remarks, "There is no necessity to say more on Komārapāl being the great supporter of the religion of Buddha, a fact attested by the Charita, and corroborated by El - Edrisi, whose valuable information proves that of which there never should have been a doubt, that Jainism and Buddhism are the same, the one being but a modification of the other." (Tod James, Travels in Western India, p.190).

⁸⁵. The M.S.II. 17 defines Brahmāvartā as the country between the holy rivers Sarasvatī and Dr̥sadvatī.

Ratnagāṅgā had no regards for the Modha Brahmins. She did not recognize the authority over Moheraka of the Brahmins, as provided in the edict issued by Rāma to them. She forced them to pay tax and embrace her religion. The grievous Brahmins went to the king Āma's court to plead for justice. They showed him the copper-plate on which was inscribed the edict of Rāma asserting their authority over Moheraka and demanded that the king should return Moheraka to them so as not to violate the Rāma's edict. After a long argument and counter-argument between the king and the Brahmins, the former conceded to meet the demands of the latter on condition that they had to prove the existence of Rāma. Afterwards, the Brahmins went to Rameśvaram and obtained from Hanumat two packets of his hairs. Then they went again to the king and when he treated them with disrespect they gave him, out of the two packets of hairs all-destroying packet. When the king opened it, everything in his palace including his army was burnt to ashes. Being terrified, he prostrated at the feet of the Brahmins and asked for pardon. This time they gave him another packet of hairs which had the power of restoring everything. When the king opened it, everything returned to normalcy. Because of this incident the king left Buddhism and turned to embrace Vedadharmā. He also returned Moheraka

to the Brahmins and ~~x~~ expelled heretic mendicants^{can't} from his country. In addition to the above acts he promulgated laws prohibiting the embracing of the heretic religions.

Who is Āma ? R.S. Tripathi writes, on the basis of Jain sources of whose authenticity he is doubtful, that Āma was the son of Yaśovarman the king of Kanauj, (C. 725-752 A.D.). He was born of Yośodevī during her temporary exile due to the machinations of a co-wife. He succeeded his father and held his court at Gopagiri (Gwalior) as well as at Kanauj. It seems that Jainism occupied the supreme position in his heart and he regarded Bappabhaṭṭa as his spiritual guru.⁸⁶

B.N. Puri bases his arguments on Jain sources and inscriptional evidences and identifies Āma with Nāgabhaṭṭa who, according to him, ascended the throne of Kanauj near about 808 A.D., whose father was Vatsarāja and mother Sundarīdevī. He was the worshipper of Bhagavatī.⁸⁷

K.M. Munshi identifies Nāgabhaṭṭa, the son of Vatsarāja, who became the ruler of Gurjaradeśa in about 792 A.D., with Āma, whose mother, Sundarīdevī, was the princess

⁸⁶. Tripathi R.S., History of Kanauj, pp.211-212.

⁸⁷. Puri Baij Nath, The History of the Gurjara-Pratiharas, pp. 43 ff.

of the family of Yośovarman. Modhera was included in Gurjaradeśa, lying to the south-west of it. Having consolidated his position, Nāgabhatta fell upon Dharmapāla and his protégé, Cakrayudha, the shadown emperor of Kanauj and obtained swift victory over them.⁸⁸

H.G. Shastri is of the opinion that the king of Kanauj who held sway over Gujarat should be Gurjara Pratihāra king named Nāgabhatta II., who was also known as Āma. He ruled from about 792-834 A.D.⁸⁹ A.D. Pusalkar identifies Vatsarāja, the king of Kanauj with Āma. He is said to have built Jain temples at Kanauj, Mathura, Anahilwada, Modhera⁹⁰ etc. His son Nāgabhatta II. is said to have been converted to Jainism.⁹¹

From the foregoing discussions, it appears with high degrees of propability that the king Āma is a real historical figure ruling at Kanauj. It does not stand out clearly

⁸⁸.Vide Munshi K.M., The Glory that was Gurjaradeśa, Part III., pp. 59 ff.

⁸⁹.Vide Shastri H.G., Gujarātno Prācīn Itihāsa (Guj.), pp.133-134.

⁹⁰.Now there is an old Jain temple of Śvetāmbara sect at Modhera. It was renovated in Samvat 1902(A.D.1846). (Vide Patel Shivabhai, Modhera Darśan (Guj.), p.68).

⁹¹.Vide Pusalkar A.D., "Jainism", The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. IV., p.289.

from these sources whether the king really embraced Buddhism (or Jainism) and neglected Hinduism, as evidenced by the DP. and the Jain sources. It might be possible that while favouring Buddhism or Jainism he never lost sight of his duty as a king to support other religions as was the case with the king Harṣa Vardhana.⁹² That may be the reason why he was sometimes referred to as the worshipper of Hindu gods.

Looking into the date of the king Āma and the date of the DP. it is difficult to say with some certainty that the story of the king Āma having conflict with the Modha Brahmins carries some historical truth, though it contains an historical figure. What stands out clearly from the story is that the Brahmin community had a very strained relation with the Jain community in the times of the DP. It might be possible that the Purānakāra, in order to assert the supremacy of the Brahmins over the Jains utilizes to their (Brahmins') advantage the king Āma who was powerful as he could extend his dominion as far as Gujarat. First he presents the king as embracing Jainism and then shows him as being subdued by the Brahmins to show that a person, however powerful he was, who challenged the

⁹²•Vide Majumdar Asoke Kumar, Chaulukyas of Gujarat, p.124.

authority of the Brahmins would meet with severe consequences. It is evinced clearly what the motives of the Brahmins were, when one uses his critical mind to consider the following instructions given to the king Āma by the Brahmins after he had turned back to Vedadharmā :-

The king was advised not to associate with the Pākhandas (LVIII.70). He was informed of various imposters of Kali Yuga who were of sāt̄tvic, rājasic and tāmasic nature (LVIII.71); among the same cheated people by composing religious books; and others who know the āgamas and the pramāṇas of aforesaid group became the cheaters of the cheaters. (LVIII.72) He was warned of the Carvākists, the Buddhists and the Jains, as they were the apparent enemies of the Vedas. (LVIII.73-74). He was told to avoid the Pāśupatas, the Śāktas and the worshippers of Viṣṇu by merely uttering his name but discarding the vedic rituals (LVIII.75-78).

Gotras, Pravaras and Family-Goddesses
of the Modha Brahmins :

"The Brahmanical gotra, which persists with little modification to the present day, may be defined as an exogamous patrilineal sibship, whose members trace their decent back to a common ancestor."⁹³ However, this

⁹³ Brough John, The Early Brahmanical System of Gotra and Pravara, (1953) p.2.

family goddesses.

<u>Gotras</u>	<u>Pravaras</u>	<u>Family-goddesses</u>
1. Gāngyāyana	1. Bhārgava 2. Cyavana 3. Apnavāna 4. Ūrva 5. Jamadagni	Śāntā

Looking into the pravaras, it is clear that this gotra belongs to the exogamous until called Brgus and to gotra-gaṅga called Vatsa.⁹⁷ However, the name of the gotra, as given here is not found in the list given in Gotra - Pravara - Manjarī of Puruṣottama - Paṇḍita.⁹⁸ Gāngāyana⁹⁹ which bears phonetic resemblance and which is found in the list may be one and the same gotra as this..

This gotra is not found in the list of the Bhryagus given in the Matsya Purāna either. There is found the name Gārgyāyana.¹⁰⁰ It may be the variant of Gāngyāyana on the ground of phonetic similarity of the two words.

⁹⁷•Vide Brough John, Op. cit. p.31.

⁹⁸•Vide Brough John, Op. cit. pp.79 ff.

⁹⁹•Brough John, Op. cit. pp.84,87.

¹⁰⁰•Vide Agarwala V.S., Matsya Purāna - A Study, pp.391 ff.

As for the pravaras, the MP.¹⁰¹ gives Bhrgu, Aurva and Jamadagnya as the variants of Bhārgava, Ūrva and Jamadagni respectively in the DP.; but in the case of¹⁰² Gotra - Pravara - Manjari, Cyāvana, Aurva and Jāmadagnya are given as the variants of Cyāvana, Ūrva and Jamadagni in the DP. In the DP. VI.4 the euphonic combination mistake of the words Aṇavana and Ūrva is clearly seen.

2. Sāṅkhyāyana	1. Viśvāmitra	Sukhadā
	2. Jamadagni	
	3. Katyāyana	

One expects to find this gotra among the Viśvāmitras but it is, however, found among the Vaśiṣṭha in the MP.¹⁰³ and the GPM;¹⁰⁴ and Vaśiṣṭha, Ābharadvasavya and Aindra-pramada are given in the GPM,¹⁰⁵ Bhigīvasu, Vaśiṣṭha and Indrapramada in the MP.,¹⁰⁶ as their pravaras.

3. Kṛṣṇātraya	1. Ātreya	Bhattārī Yoginī
	2. Arcanānasa	
	3. Śyābāṣva	

101. Agrawala V.S., Ibid. p.392.

102. Brough John, Op. cit. p.31.

103. Agrawala V.S., Op.cit. p.414.

104. Brough John, Op. cit. pp.178-9, 183.

105. Brough John, Op. cit. 179.

106. Agrawala, V.S., Op. cit. p.414.

From the pravaras, it is clear that this gotra belongs to the exogamous unit called Atris and to gotra-gaṇa called Atris.¹⁰⁷ The names of the gotra and of the pravaras here tally with those in the GPM.¹⁰⁸ and MP.¹⁰⁹

4. Māṇḍavya	1. Bhārgava	Dhārā Bhattārikā
	2. Cyavana	
	3. Apnavāna	
	4. Aurva	
	5. Jamadagni	

From the pravaras it is clear that this gotra belongs to the Bhṛguṣ and to the gotra-gaṇa called Vatsa.¹¹⁰ The names of the gotra and the pravaras here tally with those in the GPM¹¹¹ and the MP.¹¹²

5. Vaiśampāyana	1. Āṅgīrasa	Chatrā
	2. Ambarīṣa	
	3. Yauvanāśva	

According to MP¹¹³ these are the pravaras of the gotra-gaṇa called Haritas in which Vaiśampāyana is not included. The Haritas belongs to the exogamous unit called Āṅgīrasas. Vaiśampāyana, according to MP.,¹¹⁴

107. Cf. Brough John, Op.cit. p.34.

108. Cf. Brough John, Op. cit. p.139.

109. Cf. Agrawala V.S., Op. cit. p.405.

110. Vide Brough John, Op. cit. p.31.

111. Vide Brough John, Op. cit. pp.79, 86.

112. Vide Agrawala V.S., Op. cit. p.392.

113. Vide Agrawala V.S. Op. cit. pp.400,401.

114. Vide Agrawala, V.S., Op. cit., p.392.

belongs to the exogamous called Bhṛguṣ.

6. Vatsas	1. Bhārgava	Jñānājā
	2. Cyavana	
	3. Apnavāna	
	4. Aurva	
	5. Jamadagnika	

This gotra is under exogamous unit called Bhṛguṣ and under gotra-gaṇa called Vatsa.¹¹⁵ This gotra is not found under the Bhṛguṣ in the Matsyapurāna. In the GMP. Cyāvana and Jāmadagnya are given as the variants of Cyavana and Jamadagnika as given in the DP.

7. Kaśyapa	1. Kaśyapa	Gatrādā
	2. Yajva	
	3. Naidhruva	

This gotra probably belongs to gotra-gaṇa called Naidhruva-kaśyapa which is included in the exogamous unit called Kaśyapa. Except for Yajva being the substitute for Avatsāra, the ṛsis' names given as the pravaras here tally with those given in GPM.¹¹⁶ and MP.¹¹⁷

8. Dhāraṇas	1. Agasti	Chatrajā
	2. Drdhacyuta	
	3. Aidhmavāhaka	

115. Vide Brough John, Op.cit., pp.31,56,81,85.

116. Vide Brough John, Op.cit., pp.36,160.

117. Vide Agrawala, V.S., Op. cit., p.411.

One can base his conjecture on the pravaras that this gotra belong to the exogamous unit called Agastis and to gotra-gana called Idhmavaha¹¹⁸ but Dhāraṇas is not found in it. It may be identified with Dhāvārnir¹¹⁹ or Dhāraṇī¹²⁰ found in the GPM. and the MP. on the ground of phonetic and derivative affinity. In the GPM. and MP. Āgastya, Dārdhacyuta and Aidhmavāha are given as the variants of Agasti, Drdhacyuta and Aidhmavāhaka as given in the DP.

- | | | |
|-------------|---------------|---------------|
| 9. Langāksī | 1. Kaśyapa | Bhadra Yoginī |
| | 2. Śaradvāta | |
| | 3. Śārastamba | |

This gotra belongs to the exogamous unit called Kaśyapa and to the gotra-gana called Langāksī.¹²¹ In the GPM and the MP.¹²² Āvatsāra and Vaśiṣṭha^{are} the substitutes of Śaradvāta and Śārastamba. Elsewhere in the GPM. Asita¹²³ is given as the substitute of Vaśiṣṭha. Śārastamba given

118. Cf. Brough John, Op. cit. p.37.

119. Brough John, Op. cit. p.188.

120. Brough John, Op.cit. p.189, and Agrawala, Op.cit. p.48.

121. Cf. Brough John, Op. cit. pp.36,162 and Agrawala V.S., Op. cit. p. 412.

122. Brough John. Op. cit. p.162 and Agrawala V.S., Op.cit. p.412.

123. Brough John, Op.cit. p.162.

in the DP. is tally^{ed} with the name given in Badleian
'White Yajur-veda pariśiṣṭa'.¹²⁴

10. Kauśika	1. Viśvāmitra	Yakṣiṇī
	2. Aghamarṣaṇa	
	3. Madhucchandas	

Looking into the pravaras this seems to belong to the exogamous unit called Viśvāmitra and to the gotra-gaṇa called Aghamarṣaṇa - Kauśika.¹²⁵ In the GPM. Kauśika and Vaiśvāmitra are the substitutes for Madhucchandas and Viśvāmitra in the DP. In the MP.¹²⁶ Kauśika gotra is put under Kauśikavaṁśa; and as for the pravaras, the ṛsis' names are Vaiśvāmitra, Aghmarṣaṇa and Kauśika.

11. Upamanya	1. Vaśiṣṭha	Gatrādā
	2. Indrapramada	
	3. Bharadvāja	

¹²⁴. Brough John, Op. cit. pp. 30,36.

¹²⁵. Cf. Brough John, Op. cit. p.152.

¹²⁶. Cf. Agrawala V.S., Op. cit. Op. cit. p.409.

Upamanyu gotra belongs to exogamous unit called Vaśiṣṭha and to gotra-gaṇa called Upamanyu.¹²⁷ The pravaras given in the GPM. and the MP. vary a little from the DP. They are Vaśiṣṭha, Aindrapramada and Ābharadvasavya in the GPM.¹²⁸ and Vāśiṣṭha Indrapramada and Ābharadvasavya in the MP.¹²⁹

12. Vātsyāyana	1. Bhārgava	Bhattārikā
	2. Cyavana	
	3. Āpnavāna	
	4. Aurva	
	5. Jāmadagni	

This gotra is under the exogamous unit called Bhrgu and is grouped within the gotra-gana called Vatsa.¹³⁰ Of the pravaras Jāmadagnya in the GPM. is the variant of Jāmadagni in the DP.

13. Kutsa	1. Āngīrasa	Chandikā
	2. Āmbarīsa	
	3. Yauvanāśva	

127. Vide Brough John, Op. cit. pp.37,174, and also vide Agrawala V.S., Op. cit. p.416.

128. Brough John, Op.cit. pp.37,174.

129. Agrawala V.S., Op. cit. p.416.

130. Vide Brough John, Op.cit. p.81 and also vide Agrawala V.S., Op. cit. p.392.

Kutsa seems to be identified with Kautsa gotra which belongs to the exogamous unit called Kevala Āngīras and to gotra-gana called Harita.¹³¹ The name of the gotra and pravaras as given here tally with those given in the MP.¹³²

14. Bhāradvāja	1. Āngīrasa	Gatrādā
	2. Bārhaspatya	
	3. Bhāradvāja	

Bhāradvāja seems to be identified with Bharadvāja gotra which is under exogamous unit and gotra-gana called Bharadvāja.¹³³ The pravaras given here tally with those given in the GPM.¹³⁴ and the MP.¹³⁵

15. Gāngeya	1. Gāngeya	Sukhapradā
	2. Gaṅgiya	
	3. Śāṅkhani	

According to the GPM. and the MP. Gāngeya gotra are under the exogamous unit Bhṛgu and under gotra-gana Vatsa,¹³⁶

131. Vide Brough John, Op.cit. pp.121 ff.

132. Vide Agrawala V.S., Op. cit. p.402.

133. Vide Brough John, Op. cit. ff. 111, 113.

134. Brough John, Op. cit. p.113.

135. Agrawala V.S. Op. cit. p.399.

136. Vide Brough John, Op. cit. p.81 and also vide Agrawala V.S., Op. cit. p.393.

but the pravaras given in the GPM and the MP. are entirely different. They are Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Aurva and Jāmadagnya (Jamadagni in the MP.¹³⁷)

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| 16. Śaunaka | 1. Bhārdvāja | Śāntā |
| | 2. Gārgya | |
| | 3. Śaunaka | |

In the GPM.¹³⁸ Śunaka gotra, which seems to be identified with Śaunaka here, is placed under the exogamous unit, Bhṛgu and gotra-gana Śunaka. In the GPM. Śaunaka is given as one-rsi pravara of the Śunaka. Looking into the pravaras as given in the DP. one expects to find the Śaunakas under the Bharadvājas but they are not found there. In the MP.¹³⁹ Śaunaka gotra is placed under the Bhṛgus and its pravaras are Bhārgava, Cyavana, Aurva and Jamadagni.

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|------------|---------------|--------|
| 17. Kuśika | 1. Viśvāmitra | Tāranā |
| | 2. Devarāja | |
| | 3. Uddālaka | |

In the GPM.¹⁴⁰ Kuśika gotra is placed under the exogamous unit Viśvāmitra and under gotra-gana Kuśika.

137. Aggawala V.S., Op. cit. p.392.

138. Vide Brough John, Op. cit. p.84.

139. Vide Agrawala V.S., Op. cit. ff. 391,392.

140. Vide Brough John, Op. cit. ff. 146-7.

Its pravaras given in the GPM. slightly differ from those in the DP. They are Vaiśvāmītra, Daivarāta and Audala. In the MP.¹⁴¹ the Kuśikas are placed under the Kuśikavamśa and their pravaras are Devaśravasa, Devarāta and Viśvāmītra.

18. Bhārgava	1. Bhārgava	Cāmuṇḍī
	2. Cyavana	
	3. Jaimini	
	4. Āpnavāna	
	5. Manthi	

In the GPM.¹⁴² the Bhrgus which seem to be identified with Bhārgava in the DP., are placed under the exogamous unit Bhrgu. In the GPM.¹⁴³ Cyāvana, Āpnavana, Āpnavāna and Jāmadagnya are given as the substitutes for Cyavana, Jaimini, Āpnavāna and Manthi, the pravaras of the Bhrgus, in the DP. In the MP.¹⁴⁴ the Bhrgus are placed under the Bhrguvamśa and their pravaras are Bhārgava, Cyavana, Aurva and Jamadagni.

19. Pailasmi	1. Atri	Dvāravāsini
	2. Arci	
	3. Kanva	

One expects to find this gotra amongst the Atri but it is not found there in the GPM & MP

¹⁴¹. Vide Aggrawal V.S., Op. cit. p. 406

¹⁴². Vide Brough John, Op. cit. p. 85.

¹⁴³. Vide Brough John, Op. cit. p. 89. 191

¹⁴⁴. Vide Agrawala V.S., Op. cit. ff. 397-2.

20. Āṅgīrasa 1. Āṅgīrasa
 2. Autathya
 3. Gautama

Mātaṅgī 81

The Āṅgīrasas are divided into three divisions viz. Gautamas, Bharadvājas and Kevala Āṅgīrasas.¹⁴⁵ These Āṅgīrasas seem to belong to the Aucathya Gautama division whose pravaras are Āṅgīrasa, Aucathya and Gautama.¹⁴⁶ Aucathya may be identified with Autathya here on the ground of phonetic affinity. In the MP. the divisions of the Āṅgīrasas are not distinctly divided Āṅgīrasa, Āyāsya and Gautama are only the rsi-names given as the pravaras which are nearest to those in the DP.¹⁴⁷

21. Atri 1. Ātreya Candikā
 2. Ārcanānasa
 3. Śyābaśva

Here the name of the gotra and the pravaras tally with those of the GPM.¹⁴⁸ As for the pravaras Atri in the MP.¹⁴⁹ is the substitute for the Ātreya in the DP.

¹⁴⁵. Cf. Brough John, Op. cit. p.56.

¹⁴⁶. Vide Brough John, Op. cit. p.105.

¹⁴⁷. Vide Agrawala V.S., Op. cit. p.398.

¹⁴⁸. Cf. Brough John, Op. cit. ff. 139-40.

¹⁴⁹. Cf. Agrawala V.S., Op. cit. p.404.

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|-----------------|----------------|-------|
| 22. Aghamarṣaṇa | 1. Bhāradvāja | Durgā |
| | 2. Gautama | |
| | 3. Aghamarṣaṇa | |

According to the GPM. the Aghamarṣaṇa, which is a gotra-gaṇa, is placed under the exogamous unit. Viśvāmitra,¹⁵⁰ but its pravaras differ from what given here. They are Vaiśvāmitra, Aghamarṣaṇa and Kauśika.¹⁵¹ In the MP.¹⁵² the Aghamarṣaṇas are placed under the Kuśikavaṁśa and their pravaras are the same as in the GPM.

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| 23. Jaimini | 1. Viśvāmitra | Viśālāksī |
| | 2. Sevarāja | |
| | 3. Uddālaka | |

Jaiminis are placed under the Viśvāmitras and their pravaras as given in the GPM.¹⁵³ are Vaiśvāmitra, Daivaraṭa and Audala which can be taken as having phonetic affinity to those of the DP. Jaiminis are not found within the Kuśikavaṁśa as one should expect in the MP. but they are placed under the Bhrgus.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁰•Vide Brough John, Op. cit. p.57.

¹⁵¹•Vide Brough John, Op. cit. p.155.

¹⁵²•Vide Agrawala V.S., Op. cit. p.408.

¹⁵³•Vide Brough John, Op. cit. p.151.

¹⁵⁴•Vide Agrawala V.S., Op. cit. p.394.

The Jaiminis are also found amongst the Bhṛgu in the GPM.¹⁵⁵ and their pravaras are Bhārgava, Vaitahavya and Sāvetasa.

24. Gārgya	1. Bhārgava	Cāmundī
	2. Cyavana	
	3. Āpnavana	

The GPM¹⁵⁶ and the MP.¹⁵⁷ place the Gārgya under the Āngīrasas, and their pravaras are Āngīras, Tittiri and Apibhu¹⁵⁸ or Āngiras, Brhaspati and Bharadvāja¹⁵⁹ in the MP. and Āngīrasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja, Sainya and Garya.¹⁶⁰ If we base our conjecture on the pravaras given in the DP. this gotra should belong to the exogamous unit Bhṛgu but it is not found both in the GPM and the MP. It should be identified with Gargīya found in the MP. on the ground of phonetic and derivative affinity.

¹⁵⁵•Vide Brough John, Op. cit. p.94.

¹⁵⁶•Vide Brough John, Op. cit. pp.118,121.

¹⁵⁷•Vide Agrawala V.S., Op. cit. ff. 397-8.

¹⁵⁸•Agrawala V.S., Op. cit. p.398.

¹⁵⁹•Agrawala V.S., Op. cit. p. 397.

¹⁶⁰•Brough John, Op. cit. p.118.

Avatānkas of the Modha Brahmins :

The following Avatānka of the Modha Brahmins are said to have been told to Rāma by Śrīmātā (XLIV. 62-69):-

1. Gaulatra 2. Kṛpāla. 3. Dadātra 4. Aśamatra
5. Bhattakutra 6. Mohātra 7. Gāṅgālutra 8. Chāṅḍātra
9. Kākanutra 10. Nimbātra¹⁶¹ 11. Śivātra 12. Anuśo-
dhātra 13. Kālātra 14. Nāgātra 15. Viyātra
16. Haḍakātra 17. Śaḍakātra 18. Bidālatra 19. Hari-
lātra 20. Dabhādelatra 21. Bālātra 22. Laukikātra
23. Kamalātra 24. Modakātra 25. Ghanavedātra
26. Kokilātra 27. Bhāvoliyātra 28. Pākhaṇḍaviyātra
29. Mūdhātra 30. Pīlūyātra 31. Dvigotraka
32. Moghātra 33. Anubhūtātra 34. Padavāditra
35. Haupheyātra 36. Śeṣatriya 37. Vathāretra
38. Sādhakatra 39. Khadg^adhīyātra 40. Viśulātra
41. Vusānīyātra.

The word "avataṅka" appears to have Prakrit origin. The word "avataṅka" and its variant "aṅka" are used in Gujarati in the sense of "surname";¹⁶² the latter is more common

161. The DP. mentions 42 Avatānka but it enumerates only 41 Avatānka. To account for this discrepancy, P.J. Pathak has to include 2 Avatānka in Nimbātra (10) Translation p.449).

162. Oza S.S., The Student's Little Dictionary, p.18; Mukti vijayaji, Panyasaji, Saṃskṛta-Gujarati Śabdaratna Mahodadhi, p. 171.

amongst the Gujarati speaking people. The equivalents of the Prakrit word "avaḍaṅka" or "avaṭaṅka" in Sanskrit and Hindi are "prasiddhi" and "khyāti" respectively which mean "fame, renown".¹⁶³ Otto Böhtlingk and Monier Williams take it to be a proper name of a Prakrit poet.¹⁶⁴

Divisions of Modha Brahmins :

The DP. mentions 6 divisions of Modha Brahmins viz. Traividya, Cāturvidya, Ekāśana, Dhinoja, Malla, Tandulīya. The original group from which these groups branched off was the Traividyas who were jointly created by Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Śiva. (V.9). In the first stage of development, the Brahmins of the original group divided themselves into two groups viz. Traividya and Cāturvidya which might be equivalent to Trivedi and Chaturvedi of the present day. The following incidents are mentioned as the causes of the schism :

- (1) The difference of practice regarding gifts : One group received them but another did not. The former retained the original name of Traividya while the latter assumed the name of Cāturvidya (XLVI.42-44).

¹⁶³ Seth Hargovīd Das T., Pāia - Sadda - Mahanṇavo, A Comprehensive Prakrit - Hindi Dictionary, p.68.

¹⁶⁴ Böhtlingk Otto, Sanskrit - Wörterbuch, p. 71; Monier-Williams M., Sanskrit-English Dictionary, p.98.

(2) The difference of opinion in the meeting held to decide what to do to protect their interests at the time of conflict between the Modha Brahmins and the king Āma: Of the total 18,000 Modha Brahmins, 15,000 were of the opinion that they should not attempt to prove the existence of Rāma and Hanumat as demanded by the king, because their attempt would not produce any fruitful result in the vicious Kali age and they gave scholastic as well as schrewd arguments to support their view. On account of their shrewdness (cātura) they were called Cāturvidya by other 3,000 Brahmins who, on the contrary, held that they should make an attempt to prove the existence of Rāma and Hanumat by going to Rāmeśvaram which, they believed, was Hanumat's abode. This group called themselves Traividya. They also gave their own appealing arguments which could win to their side the majority of votes. It was therefore decided that a delegation would be sent to Rāmeśvaram and that each gotra and avataṅka or a group of them should depute a delegate. The groups which would not depute a delegate would be excommunicated. Subsequently, a delegation was formed of 20 half-hearted delegates of the Cāturvidya group and 11 delegates of the Traividya group. The delegates of the Cāturvidyas returned halfway from the expedition to Rāmeśvaram, while the other 11

delegates of the Traividya accomplished their mission, bringing back with them two packets of hairs given by Hanumat. With the help of the two packets of hairs, the Traividya Brahmins could subdue the king Āma. On account of that the Cāturvidyas were afraid that they might be troubled by the Traividyas; they therefore requested the king to provide a new place of residence for them. The king built for them the city of Sukhavāsaka.¹⁶⁵ (LIII.1 ff.).

Tandulīya : During the conflict with the king Āma 350 Cāturvidya Brahmins decided not to send delegates to join the expedition to Rāmesvaram. They were, therefore, excommunicated and given the name of Tandulīya. They were so-called because, the DP. says, they had sown the "tandula" or "the thrashed rice-grain". Their family goddess was Paramarandā. (LIII. 79-80; LIX.67-69).

Ekāśana : They are sometimes known as "Ekāśaśata" who refused to have a share in the villages given by Rāma at the completion of his sacrifice at Moherakapura. This group of Brahmins consequently had to separate themselves from other groups, becoming an exogamous group. Their family goddess was Chatrā who had four arms and was seated

¹⁶⁵. The DP. LIX.71-72 seems to suggest that the Sukhavāsaka was situated on the bank of the Sāmrāmātī not far from Śrīkṣetra.

on a tiger. She was to the south-west of Moherakapura. (LIX. 22, 63-66). This division of Modha Brahmins seems to be identical with the Agiarasana division of the modern time.

Modha Mallas : The quarel among Modha Brahmins, which resulted in a combat amongst them, had given rise to a class of Modha Brahmins who took to wrestling (LIX.22-23). Their number is 550 (LIX.62). Their family-goddess is called Limbajā. She has four hands in which is held a conch-shell, a discuss, a club and a lotus. She wears black dress and rides on a lion (LIX.25-27).¹⁶⁶ They have their own caste-purāṇa entitled "Mallapurāṇa" which contains the story of their origin, their training, their life-style, etc. The work is edited by B.J. Sandesara and R.N. Menta (GOS. 144).

Worship of the goddess Limbajā :

The festive worship of the goddess should be done on the eighth day of the bright half of the month of Caitra. In the worship, Brahmins should be fed; the offerings to the goddess should consist of animal, flowers, perfume, scent, lamp, sugar, maṣāṇna, pūpaka, pāyasa, and intoxicating drinks (LIX.29-32).

¹⁶⁶.The description points out that she is a form of the goddess Vaisṇvī (Vide, Rao T.A.G., Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol. I, Part II, pp.384-385.

The present image of the goddess Limbajā, enshrined in the temple at Delmal, is made of Black stone and in three of its four hands are trident in the upper right hand, a bell in the upper left hand and a wine pitcher in the lower left hand; the lower right hand is in the "abhaya mudra". The statue is in the standing posture.¹⁶⁷ From the description, it is not the one described in the DP. This might have been the image made a-new to replace the original one which might have been mutilated and hence unfit for worshipping. (Photo. No. 1)

The goddess Limbajā Śakti is said to have been situated seven Krośas to the west of Moheraka (XXVIII.30). There is Limbajā Mātā at the village of Delmal¹⁶⁸ which lies about ten miles west of Modhera. The DP. probably refers to the same goddess. (Photos. Nos. 2, 3)

Story of the origin of the goddess Limbajā
(LIX. 35 ff.)

Lohāsura was so powerful that he could defeat gods including Viṣṇu. The gods therefore meditated on Prakṛti

167. Such description is not given in relation to the Devīs by Rao. (Vide Rao T.A.G., Ibid. pp. 397 ff.)

168. For identification of Delmal and its various names vide Sandesara B.J. and Mehta R.N. (eds.), Mallapurāna, intr., p.8).

and on account of it a goddess appeared under a nearby neem tree. The gods requested her to delude the demon so that Viṣṇu could slay him. She did accordingly and the demon was slain easily by Viṣṇu. As she appeared under the Nimba (neem) tree, the gods gave her the name Nimbajā or Limbajā.¹⁶⁹ Accidentally, it is interesting to note that the Modha Mallas or Jethi Mallas as they are now called, have special regards for neem tree. They will never cut them down nor burn them. This indicates the influence of animism in their faith.

At present the Jethi Mallas do not carry on the wrestling profession but agriculture is their main occupation. In Delmal, there are about 60 houses of the Jethi Mallas. The wrestling was practiced by them down to the times of Maharaja Sayajirao III Gaekwar of Baroda, who was their great patron. In and around Delmal there are many old temples which speak of its antiquity.¹⁷⁰ (Photos. Nos. 1-6, 10)

169. The phonemical change from /n/ to /l/ is an interesting phenomenon from the philological point of view.

170. I acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. Visnu B. Jethi of Delmal for taking me and my companion, Mr. Harish D. Vyas, to see various old temples in and around Delmal and for the information about the Mallas; for the detailed study of the ancient monuments in Delmal, see Gazetteer of Baroda, Vol. II, pp. 612 ff.

~~(Photos. nos.)~~

Dhenuja Modha Brahmins :

The circumstance under which the Dhenuja Modha Brahmins were originated from the original group (i.e. Traividya Brahmins) is narrated in the DP. (Ch.LX) as follows:

The Brahmin lads who were not intelligent were assigned to tend the Brahmins' cattle which were in abundance. They grazed the cattle near Gambhīra-Sarovara and there they had an affair with maidens and widows who brought them daily food. Their affair went on without interruption till the women got pregnant and this became known to their parents who then called a meeting of Brahmins to decide what to do about the matter. In an effort to preserve the purity of the caste, the meeting decided to excommunicate them after getting them married. They were given the name of Dhenuja and sent to the city called Dhenuja to live there. They left Modhera, taking away the offerings which were given to gods and on account of that they became professional robbers. They numbered one hundred and their family goddess was "Bhadrikā" who held in her hands an arrow and a bow and had a buffalo as her mount.

They are probably identified with the Modern Dhinoja Modha Brahmins of Dhinoj, Mesana district. According to The census of India and the gazetteer of the Baroda state "The Dhinojas were, till the end of the last century, professional thieves and murderers." 171

Mr. Deviprasad B. Patel, the Sarpanch of Dhinoj, who is a Modha Brahmin told me that there are about 200 Modha Brahmins at Dhinoj now, and generally they have matrimonial relations with the Dhinoj Brahmins of Vadnagar. He also confirmed that the Dhinoj Brahmins were originally robbers.

The Purāṇakara gives confusing accounts regarding the emergence of some divisions of the Modha Brahmins. Here are the instances : He seems to forget that a number of Brahmins, presumably the Cāturvidyas were given outside Moheraka 55 villages to reside by Rāma (Cf. LI. 11 ff.); hence, he presents them as residing in Moherapura at the time of their conflict with the king Āma and after the conflict was over the Cāturvidyas are presented as requesting the king to provide them with a new place of residence, presumably outside Moherakapura. The king is said to have built the city of Sukhavāsaka for them

171. Census of India, 1931, Vol. XIX, Baroda, p.434;
Gazeteer of the Baroda state, Vol.I, p.179.

to live separately from the Traividya who remained in Moherakapura. (Cf. LIX.6-10, 15). At the time of the conflict 350 out of 15,000 Cāturvidya Brahmins are presented as being excommunicated by the other Cāturvidya as they failed to depute delegates to Rāmesvaram; still they seem to be included amongst the Cāturvidyas who were given the city of Sukhavāsaka by the king Āma as a new place of residence (Cf. LIII. 79-80; LIX.13-14). The divisions of Brahmins seem to have taken place at the completion of Rāma's sacrifice at Moheraka; still a new version of division of Modha Brahmins into Traividya and Cāturvidya group is presented again at the time of conflict with the king Āma (Cf. LI.11-14; LIII. 6-46). These confusing accounts tend to suggest that the Purānakāra is trying to give a far-fetching explanation of the divisions of Brahmins which might have taken place long before the composition of the DP.

The modern day - Modh Brahmins are divided into five classes according to the census of India and the gazeteer of Baroda state. Their names seem to be the variants of the old versions. They are :

- (1) The Chaturvedi who are proficient in the four Vedas;

- (2) The Trivedi who know three Vedas;
- (3) The Jethi who are wrestlers;
- (4) The Dhinoja who live at Dhinoj in Chanasma taluka; and
- (5) Agiarasana who are found in Baroda and Amreli district.¹⁷²

John Wilson mentions the following subcastes of the Modha Brahmins, which neither eat nor inter-marry with one another.

- (1) The Trivedi Modhas receive their designation from their professing the third, or Sama-veda, or from their professing three of the Vedas;
- (2) The Chaturvedi Modhas who are proficient in the fourth or Atharvaveda, or any of the four Vedas;
- (3) The Agihana, or Agiasana, or Aggaraksana Modhas;
- (4) The Tripala Modhas;
- (5) The Khījadīya Saṁvānā Modhas;
- (6) Ekādaśādhra Modhas;
- (7) The Tāndulotha Modha;
- (8) The Utanjaliya Modhas;

¹⁷². Census of India, 1931, Vol. XIX, Baroda, p.434; Gazetteer of Baroda state, Vol.I, (1923), p.179.

- (9) The Jethīmalla Modhas;
- (10) The Chāturvedī Dhinoja Modhas; and
- (11) The Dhinoja Modhas.¹⁷³

Rules governing Caste Modha Brahmins :

After some Modha Vaniks had been converted to Jainism, the Modha Brahmins who acted as their gurus as well as masters felt that they were losing hold on the Vanik community. Consequently, in the interest of Vedadharmā, they laid down the following rules :-

(1) One should not perform a ritual for a member of a low caste. (LXII.5)

(2) One should not accept gifts from a member of a low caste. These people are known as antyajās viz., a washerman, a worker in hides, a dancer, a worker in bamboo, a fisherman, a Meda and a Bhilla. Whosoever receives gifts from them bring down his house to a low position. He should be excommunicated. (LXII. 6-8)

(3) He who abandons Vedadharmā and embraces heretic religion should be excommunicated. (LXII.10)

(4) He who neglects the performance of śrāddha rite on every new moon day should be excommunicated. (LXII.11)

173. Wilson John, Indian Caste, ^{Vol. II,} pp.111-112.

(5) He who eats his food without doing Vaiśvadeva should be excommunicated (LXII.12).

(6) He who dines in the house of an outcaste Brahmin should be punished (LXII.13).

(7) Caste-dinner at the weddings should be stopped (LXII. 14-15).

(8) Even in great distress one should not eat with the person who had committed five great sins. (LXII.16)

(9) One should eat only with his own relatives (LXII.17).

(10) One should not follow the law promulgated by Manu etc. that provides for the acceptance of a bride from any of the four varṇas in the case of a Brahmin. (LXII.18)

(11) One should not give his daughter in marriage in exchange of money. If he does, he shall be excommunicated. (LXII.20)

(12) He who does not worship the goddess Mātangi in the rituals like marriage etc. should be excommunicated. (LXII.21)

(13) Expiatory vow lasting 12 years should be taken if one kills a Brahmin, a woman, a boy and a cow. (LXII.22-23)

(14) One should not associate with the person who drinks liquor or violates his guru's bed. (LXII.24-25)

(15) One should not take to wife a girl belonging to a low varṇa. If he does he shall be excommunicated and treated as a Śūdra. (LXII.26)

(16) He, who marries outside his own caste, shall not be accepted within the caste, i.e. he shall be excommunicated. (LXII.27)

(17) He, who marries his own relative, shall be excommunicated and treated as a Śūdra. (LXII.28)

(18) He, who becomes an adherent of Buddhism or Jainism, shall be punished according to the rules provided in the dharmasāstras. [LXII. 29-30]

. Modha Baniās

Carrying on trade and commerce is the occupational nature of the Vaniks or Baniās. They derived their name from a Sanskrit word meaning a trader.¹⁷⁴

Origin of the Modha Baniās. (VII. 19.ff)

After Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Śiva had created 18,000 Brahmins and settled them in Moherakapura the Brahmins

¹⁷⁴Churye G.S., Op. cit. p.32.

found it difficult to carry out both domestic affairs and religious ones simultaneously. They, therefore, asked the three gods to solve the problem for them. Brahmā asked Kāmadhenu, who came at the thought of three gods, to create servants for the Brahmins. Kāmadhenu then scratched the earth with the tip of her front hoof and as a result of it 36,000 Vanīks (Banias) emerged out of the ground. Being thus created they were called Ayonija Gobhuja. Then Brahmā asked Visvāvasu, the lord of the Gandharvas to create damsels from his mind so that they might be given to the Vanīks in marriage. Visvāvasu did accordingly and the damsels were given to the Vanīks in marriage. Then they were assigned by ^{the} gods to serve the Brahmins.

The story is mythological in nature, yet it might bury under it some social significance. It might be a device invented by Brahmins to convert a certain group of people to Hindu fold, or it might be the effort of the Brahmins to supply the mythological origin to a certain group of people from which they derived their economic support. As regards the transformation from one caste to another, Herbert Resley says,

"All over India at the present moment tribes are gradually being transformed into castes. The stages of this operation are in themselves difficult to trace. The main agency at work is fiction,

which in this instance takes the form of the pretence that whatever usage prevails to-day did not come into existence yesterday, but has been so from the beginning of time."¹⁷⁵

The process of conversion, put forward by Herbert Risley is summed up as follows :

(1) The leading men of an aboriginal tribe, having somehow on account of their fortune or other manage to enrol themselves in one of the more distinguished castes. The Brahmin then invents for them a mythical ancestor, supplies them with a family miracle connected with the locality where the tribe is settled, etc.

(2) A number of aborigines embraces the tenets of a Hindu religious sect, losing thereby their tribal names and becoming Vaisnavas, Lingayatas, Rāmaites, or the like.

(3) A whole tribe of aborigines, or a large section of a tribe enrol themselves in the ranks of Hinduism under the style of a new caste, which, though claiming an origin of a remote antiquity, is readily distinguishable by its name from any of the standard or recognized castes.

¹⁷⁵•Risely Herbert, The People of India, (1969), p.72.

(4) A whole tribe of aborigines, or a section of a tribe, became gradually converted to Hinduism without abandoning their tribal designation.¹⁷⁶

There are some indications that the Modha Vaniks do not belong to the traditional twice-born group. As for example, they do not perform sacred thread ceremony which is compulsory for the twice-born.¹⁷⁷ The DP. refers to the Vaniks in many places as Śūdras (VIII.53; XLV.59; LX.34 etc.); their origin is said to have been associated with the foot of Kāmadhenu;¹⁷⁸ their residences are said to have been built for them outside the city wall of Moherakapura¹⁷⁹ (V.29). This suggests the low origin of the Vaniks. It has already been suggested above that the Vaniks might be originally the tribemen who infested northern Gujarat.

Some groups of the Modha Vaniks might have originated from the Rajputs, as a sword and chowries are used in their wedding.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁶•For details vide Risley Herbert, Ibid., pp.72 ff.

¹⁷⁷•Census of India, 1931, Vol. XIX, Baroda, Part I, p.469.

¹⁷⁸•Cf. Rg X.90.12.

¹⁷⁹•^{Cf.} The Cāndālas have to live outside the towns or villages in the hamlets of their own (vide Ghurye G.S., Caste and Class; p. 20).

¹⁸⁰•See under "marriage rite of the Vaniks" Chapter III; see also Census of India, 1931, Baroda, Part I, p.469; Gazeteer of Baroda, Vol.I, p. 192.

Divisions of Modha Banias :

"Modha Vanias are divided into six different subcastes each of which keep itself aloof from the rest and illustrates how castes are subdivided in Gujarat. The main divisions are Adalaj from Adalaj near Ahmedabad; Goghva from Gogha and Mandaliya from Mandal, formerly a place of consequence about 48 miles north-west of Ahmedabad. All the divisions are subdivided into Visa and Disa."¹⁸¹

The DP. mentions the following classes of the Modha Banias : -

(1) Gobhuja Vaniks : They were originally created by Kāmadhenu to serve the Modha Brahmins (VII. 26-27).

(2) Mandalika Vaniks : They originally lived in Mandalīpura (XLIII.76) and followed Rāma to Moherakapura. They were given to the Brahmins who were reinhabited by Rāma at Moheraka. Their number was 125,000 (Sapādalakṣa). The word "sapādalakṣa" is also the name of the region

¹⁸¹. Census of India, 1931, Vol. XIX, Baroda, Part I, p.471; see also the Gazetteer of Baroda, Vol.I, p.192.

known in the modern days as **Sambhar** in Jaipur. It was ruled in the early years of the seven century by the Chahamanas (Chauhans).¹⁸² If the latter meaning is intended by the Purānakāra punningly, it suggests that the Mandalika Vaniks formerly belonged to Sapādalaksa country and they might be originally Rajputs, as suggested by other indications (see above).

(3) **Addālaja Vaniks** : They were the Gobhuja Vaniks who embraced Jainism and then migrated to Addalaja as they could not live in Moheraka in the spirit of peaceful co-existence with the Brahmins their former masters. (LXI.41-43). The census of India reports that the Modha Banias migrated to Adalaj when Ala-ud-din's army invaded Gujarat in 1298 A.D.¹⁸³

Tailin Vaniks :

(4) They were expert in producing oil from sesamum seed and because of this occupation they were treated as excommunicated by other Vaniks (LXI.48). "The large class of oil-men, known in Gujarat as Modha Ghanchi, were originally Modh Vanias who by taking to making and selling oil were considered as degraded and now formed a separate caste."¹⁸⁴

¹⁸².Ganguly D.C., "Central and Western India", The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol.IV, p.105.

¹⁸³:Census of India, Vol. XIX, Baroda, 1931, p.471.

¹⁸⁴.Ibid. p.471.

Modha Baniyas and Jainism :

"Modha Vaniyas have small Jain sections but they are predominantly Hindu".¹⁸⁵ The Modha Baniyas are the best known for spreading Jainism.¹⁸⁶ Hemachandra, the well-known teacher of the Jain faith also belonged to Modha Bania community.¹⁸⁷ The DP. (LX.32 ff.) narrates the following story to account for the conversion of some Vaniks to Jainism :

Once a Gobhuja Vanik went to the Sūryakuṇḍa (at Modhera) and he met a Jain monk there who gave him a discourse. On account of that he was attracted towards the faith and eventually he became the follower of Jainism. He provided the monk with a quater where he could pass four months in self-confinement during the rainy season in accordance with the Jain disciplines for monks. During this period the monk converted many Vaniks and attacked Brahmins and the Vedas. His activities became known to the Brahmins who came, beat him,

¹⁸⁵. Census of India, 1931, Vol. XIX, Baroda, p.469.

¹⁸⁶. Sankalia H.D., Op. cit., p.210.

¹⁸⁷. Vide Munshi K.M., Gujarata and Its Literature, P.38; Parikh R.C. (ed.), Kāvyaṁuśāsana, Vol.II, Intro. p. CCLXV. fn.

dragged him away from Moherakapura and threatened him that if he came back again they would kill him. This act of the Brahmins caused a strong resentment among the Jain Vaniks. Consequently, they decided to leave Moheraka and settled down elsewhere - some in Addālaja, some in Śriksetra; some in the coastal region and other in Dvīpapura.

The credibility of the story is doubtful but it reveals the attitude of the Brahmins towards Jainism. The Brahmins looked upon the Jain monk with hatred and contempt. He was beaten badly and the contemptible terms like pāpa (LX.34), pāpiṣṭha (LX.49), khalottama (LX.57), pāpātman (LX.74), manda and khala (LXI.11) were used in referring to him. It also tells us that the master-servant relations between the Brahmins and the Vaniks were severed beyond mending because of the latter's acceptance of Jainism of which the former were not tolerant. The acceptance of Jainism by the Vaniks seems possibly to be a revolt against the claim of superiority by the Brahmins. Jainism had taken its deep root in the length and breadth of Gujarat before the time when the DP. was composed, i.e. in the times of the King Kumārapāla.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁸.Sankalia H.D., Op. cit. pp.235-236.

The Jain population might have grown to a considerable extent among the Modha Banias, attested by Hemacandra who was a great Jain teacher and who belonged to Modha Bania community. It therefore appears that the story is a fabricated one to explain how the social conditions current at the time of the DP. came into being.

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