

CHAPTER II

SOCIETY
=====INTRODUCTION:

The study of society is of great interest to the student of social, cultural and religious history. The student of ancient Indian culture has at his disposal written and unwritten sources i.e. the literary works of different authors, inscriptions, archaeological finds etc., for the construction of the social, cultural and religious history of ancient India. The MKP supplies him considerable

information for the construction of the social, cultural and religious history of ancient India. The term 'society' is used for the whole tissue of human relations whether organised or not. The concept of society implies contact direct or indirect, and the binding tie of relations enduring and comprehensive. The essence of society is not just relations but beings in their mutual relationships. Thus the study of society takes into account the institution of caste or class, those of the Āsramas and slavery, marital laws, customs etc., family life, position of women, food and drink, dress and decoration, customs and conventions etc.

The social data from the MKP are discussed under the following five sections viz. (I) Social Organisation (II) Marriage (III) ~~The~~ Family (IV) ~~The~~ Position of Women and (V) ~~The~~ Social and Religious Life.

SECTION I

SOCIAL ORGANISATION

INTRODUCTION:

The Indian Social Organisation is based on

varṇa and āśrama systems. These two systems are inter-related and inter-co-ordinated parts of a composite whole. The difference between the two lies in the manner of approach and emphasis in the organisation of man's life and activities with regard to his duties. In the varṇa-system, which addresses a man in the mass, ~~an~~ individual's position is defined with reference to his innate nature, tendencies and dispositions, whereas in the āśrama-system, which addresses itself to the individual, the problem is approached from the point of view of his training or nurture through specifically provided environments at different stages of his life.

Caste forms the very warp and woof of Indian Society down to the present times and more than anything else marks off Indian Social Organisation from that of other nations.

In the discussion of varṇa-system the consideration of the concepts of Varṇa and Jāti are very important and hence are referred ^{to} here before discussing the theory of the origin of the four Varṇas.

VARNA AND JĀTI

The word varṇa occurs as early as the RV, wherein in most of the passages,¹ it² means 'colour' or 'complexion' or 'light'. But in some Rgvedic verses³, it is associated with groups of people having fair or dark complexion, suggesting thereby the existence of two broad divisions of the society. The four varṇas are mentioned in the Puruṣasūkta (RV.10.90.13), but the word varṇa is absent there. With the passage of time, however, the word underwent a semantic change and came to signify "Social order" or "Social division"; but "the idea of varṇa was based originally on race, culture, character and profession. It takes account mainly of the moral and intellectual worth of man and is a system of classes which appears more or less natural."⁴

Historically "the word Jāti in the sense of caste can be traced back at least to the times of Nirukta."⁵

1 RV. 1.73.7; 2.3.5; 9.97.15; etc.

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

3 RV. 2.12.4; 1.179.6; 3.34.9; 9.71.2; etc.

4 Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vo.II, p.54. For discussion on the concept of Varna and Jāti, vide Srinivas M.N., Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India, pp.24 ff; Srinivas M.N., A.R.Wadia Essays in Philosophy presented in his honour, pp. 357 ff., Prabhu P.N., Hindu Social Organisation, pp.303 f.

5 Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, p.55; Nirukta 12.13.

It "hardly occurs in the sense of caste in the Vedic literature."⁶ The word 'jāti' implies the 'heredity connotation' while the word 'varṇa' implies the 'colour connotation' which was so strong that "when the classes came to be regularly described as Varṇas, four different colours were assigned to the four classes by which their members were supposed to be distinguished."⁷

In the MKP the concept of the ascription of four colours to the four varṇas is probably suggested when it is stated that the Meru mountain is white, yellow, black and red on the east and other sides consecutively; and the Brahmins, Vaiśyas, Śūdras and Kṣatriyas are stationed there according to the varṇa (51.16cd -17^{ab}). The concept of colour-connotation has also penetrated into the domain of mythology, e.g. the idea of colour-connotation is also extended to the manes when it is mentioned that the manes who as luminous as the Kumuda flower and the moon (i.e. white colour), are worthy of worship from Brahmins, the manes, who as having the hue of the rising Sun (i.e. red colour), are worthy of worship from Kṣatriyas, who, as

6 Kane P. V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, p.55.

7 Ghurye G. S., Caste and Class in India, p.47.

bestowers of gold (i.e. yellow colour), are worthy of worship from Vaiśyas, and who, as resembling the indigo-plant (i.e. dark colour), are worthy of worship from Śūdras.⁸

THEORY OF THE ORIGIN
OF THE FOUR VARNAS

Having noted the concepts of varṇa and jāti, let us now examine the theory of the origin of the four varṇas as put forward in the MKP. The origin of caste has given rise to great speculation and different theories have been propounded by the Sociologists with regard to the origin of the caste-system and its ramifications.⁹

The earliest evidence for the theory of the origin of the four varṇas is found in the renowned Puruṣa-sūkta (RV. 10.90.12) which is regarded on the grounds of language and matter to be one of the late hymns of the RV.¹⁰ It is

8 Pūjyā dvijānāṃ Kumudendubhāso ye
Kṣatriyānāṃ ca navārka-varṇāḥ /
tathā viśāṃ ye Kanakāvadātā
nīlinibhāḥ Śūdra-janasya ye ca // MKP 93.36.
The Mbh Cr.Ed. 12.181.5 states that the colour of the Brahmin is white, of the Kṣatriya red, of the Vaiśya Yellow and of the Śūdra black.

9 Vide Hutton J.H., Caste in India, pp. 148 ff. for different theories about the origin of the caste.

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

here said that the Brāhmaṇa was his mouth, the Rājanya his arms, the Vaisya his thighs, and the Śūdra his feet.¹¹

Later works repeat this account of the origin of the varṇas with slight variations, modifications and exegetical explanations.¹²

The MS (1.31) also ascribes the origin of the four varṇas to the different limbs of Prabhu (Prajāpati).¹³

The MKP also holds the theory that the four varṇas proceeded from the limbs of Brahmā (46.3-7). This theory occurs in the purāṇa in the cosmological account which is greatly influenced by the Sāṃkhya ideas. Here the varṇa-theory is based on the psychological principle of guṇas,¹⁴ e.g. it is said that when Brahmā was first busy with creation and engrossed in meditating on truth, he created from his mouth a thousand pairs¹⁵ (of human beings) characterised by sattva, and self-glorious; he further created from his chest

11 Brāhmaṇosya mukham āsid bāhū rājanyaḥ kṛtaḥ
uru tad asya yad vaiśyaḥ padbhyāṃ śūdro ajāyata
RV 10.90.12.

12 For example, the TS (7.1.1.4 ff) attributes the origin of the four varṇas to the limbs of the Creator and also adds an explanation.

13 cf. Rām. 3.14.30; Mbh. Cr.Ed., 12.73.4-5.

14 cf. BG 4.13; Vide Prabhu P.N., Op.Cit.,

15 ~~Here~~ The term used to designate the four varṇas is 'mithuna' (MKP 46.3 ff).

another thousand pairs characterised by rajas, and fiery and impatient; he then created from his thighs another thousand pairs characterised by both rajas and tamas, and envious; finally he created from his feet another thousand pairs characterised by tamas, unfortunate and having little of understanding.¹⁶ The whole social organisation is here conceived symbolically as one human being - the Body social - we may say so, with its limbs representing the social classes based on the psychological principle of guṇas.

Brahmā is also said to have regulated the various limits to the functions of the four varṇas according to fitness and other qualities (46.75), and also the duties of the varṇas and āsramas and to have allotted them the Worlds (loka) to be obtained after death, e.g. prājāpatya-sthāna was assigned to the Brahmins who perform the ceremonies, Aindra-sthāna to the Kṣatriyas, who flee not in the battle, Maruta-sthāna to the Vaiśyas who observe their own proper duties, and Gāndharva-sthāna to the Śūdras who perform menial service.¹⁷

16 MKP 46.3-7^{ab}; cf. Viṣp 1.6-3-5; VP 8.36-39; Vide Prabhu P.H., Op.Cit., pp. 319f.

17 MKP 46.76-78; Viṣp. 1.6.33-35; VP 8.165-167; Vide Prabhu P.H., Op.Cit., p.320; Muir J., Original Sanskrit Texts, Vol.I, p.97, note.

VARNA SYSTEM

Brahmins: They formed the first and the foremost order of the society. Their claim for superiority is implicit in the account of the divine origin of the four varnas. Their highest position among the varnas is suggested when it is declared that sinner after passing through all the hells enters the animal creation etc. then the human creationand then accompanied by the remainder of his sin and merit, he enters the castes in ascending order, such as the Śūdras, Vaiśyas, Kings (nrpa) and so on; also the position of Brahmins, the gods and Indra; and sometimes in descending order etc. (10.88-92). "It is 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 the 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."¹⁸
 Elsewhere the ^{Brahmins} are expressly stated to be the chief among
 men (1.4).

The vedic studies, offering sacrifices and making gifts were the common duties of the twice-born i.e. the Brahmins, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas. The special duties laid down for the Brahmins¹⁹ were the teaching of the Vedas, officiating at sacrifices, and receiving of gifts (25.3,4,5^{ab}, 6^{ab}; 47.74, 75^{ab}, 76^{ab}) and this is in accordance with the injunctions of the Dharmasāstras.²⁰

The Brahmins and learning had become indissolubly connected in the early Vedic period.²¹ That Brahmins studied the Vedas and secured proficiency in them is evident from some of the epithets of Brahmin-invitees at the śrāddha-dinner e.g. Vedavit, Śrotriya etc. (28.23f). Various other epithets of the Brahmin-invitees at the śrāddha-dinner, e.g. jyeṣṭhasāmaga, triṇāciketa, trimadhu,

18 Banerjea K.M., Op.Cit., Introduction, p.10.

19 The words used for a Brahmin in the MKP are for example, brāhmaṇa, brahman, dviija, vipra, etc.

20 cf. GDS, 10.1-3, 7,50; ADS, 2.5.10.5-8; BDS, 1.10.2-5; VDS, 2.13-19; MS, 1.88-90; 10.75-79; YS, 1.118-119; ViDS, 2.10-15.

21 Vide Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, pt.1, pp.38, 105f.

trīsuparna,²² and ṣaḍaṅgavit, suggest that some Brahmins specialised themselves in the study of particular Vedas etc. The Brahmins of certain families viz. Kausikas, Bhārgavas, Bharadvājas and Gautamas are called Veda-vedāṅgapāragāh (6.24-25) showing thereby that they also specialised themselves in the study of the Vedas with auxiliary sciences. Some Brahmins also specialised themselves in the Purāṇas as may be inferred from the epithet 'purāṇajña', (8.281). A Brahmin sage named Brahmamitra is said to have mastered the thirteen sections of the AV and to have studied the aṣṭāṅga - Āyurveda (60.39).

The other means of livelihood permitted to Brahmins were receiving of gifts, from a worthy or unblemished person (25.4) but the Brahmins receiving the gifts from an outcaste (patita) and officiating as a priest for him (i.e. an outcaste) were considered to be sinners and the worst of this is that they are further said to be reborn as an ass and an insect respectively after their release from the hell (15.1). The MS (10.109-111) also says that pratigraha from an unworthy person (or a śūdra) is worse than the act of teaching him or officiating as a priest for him.

22 For the meanings of these words vide Chap.III, Sec.II.

From the BrU 4.1.3 it also appears that even in those early times there were prohibitions against receiving gifts from unworthy persons and officiating as priests for the unworthy.

Though pratigraha was a special privilege of the Brahmins, it was open to others also. In the Vaisva-deva ceremony the house-holder is enjoined to give food to even dogs, svapacas and birds (26.25). Even Āpastamba permits it.²³

Since the Vedic period Brahmins had come to be eulogised as gods and were held superior merely on account of birth.²⁴ In the MKP (8.236) King Hariścandra is seen advising his wife who was then a slave of a certain Brahmin not to despise him, ^(i.e. that Brahmin) through pride of being a queen but to please him with her utmost efforts as if he were her lord and god.

The rule of the road was in favour of Brahmins. The MKP enjoins to yield the path to a Brahmin as well as a

23 cf. Sarvān vai Vaiśvadeva bhāginah kurvīta śvacandāle-bhyaḥ / ADS, 2.4.9.5.

24 For references vide Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, pt.1, pp. 134f.

King, the ill, a superior in learning, a pregnant woman, a man labouring under a burden, a younger man, the dumb, the blind, the deaf, the drunken man, a mad man, a prostitute, an enemy, a child and an outcaste (31.40^{cd} - 42^{ab}).²⁵ This injunction follows the dictum of the [/]Dharmasastras.

The person of the Brahmin was regarded as very sacred from ancient times and so brahmahatyā (killing a Brahmin) was looked upon as the greatest sin.²⁶ The MKP narrates how Indra incurred the sin of brahmahatyā by killing Tvaṣṭr's son and thereby lost his lustre (5.1),²⁷ and also how Baladeva during his intoxication killed a Sūta and incurred ^{which} ~~also~~ the sin of brahmahatyā. / he expiated by resorting to a

25 cf. GDS 6.21-22; ADS 2.5.11.5-9; BDS 2.3.57; VDS 13.58-60; MS 2.138-139; YS 1.117; Mbh Vana-Parva 133.1; Anuśāsana-Parva 104.25-26; BP 113.39; Vide Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, pp.146f.

26 For references vide Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, pt.1, pp.149f.

27 cf. TS 2.5.1.1 which narrates how Indra incurred the sin of brahmahatyā by killing Viśvarūpa, Tvaṣṭr's son, and hence all beings ran him down as 'Brahmahan'.

of pilgrimage. The undertaking_{of} a pilgrimage to the Sarasvatī river against its flow was a means of expiating the sin of brahmahatyā.²⁸ The brahmahatyā is counted among the great sins (8.260).²⁹ A Brahmin-murderer is said to go to Raurava hell (10.81). Elsewhere it is said that in hell he is burnt in blazing fire all around for thousands of years and is thereafter reborn as a man afflicted with leprosy, consumption, sickness and other diseases, and when again dead, enters hell and when reborn again, undergoes a similar malady until the end of Kalpa (14.91-94).

The periods of āsauca (impurities due to birth)

-
- 28 Atha yeyam samārabdhā tīrthayātrā mayādhunā / etāmeva prayāsyāmi pratilomam sarasvatīm // MKP 6.36. Cf. MS 11.77: Haviṣyabhug vanusaret pratisrotah sarasvatīm; cf. also YS 3.249. This, according to the BhP and Kullūka, applies where more brahmin by caste (without Vedic learning) is killed intentionally by a man who is himself rich but has no Vedic learning.
- ✓ The words (pratisrotah Sarasvatīm' have been variously explained: Medhātithi explains as "the course of Sarasvatī in all its branches". Aparārka, Sarvajñanā-rāyana and Rāghavananda explain that the murderer should follow the course of the Sarasvatī in the opposite direction from the sea to its origin. This appears to be a better explanation, since it brings out the force of 'pratisrotah' more clearly. Vide Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.IV, pp.92-93.
- 29 Brahmahatyā guror ghāto govadhah strīvadhas tathā / tulyam ebhir mahāpāpam bhaktatyāge pyudāhṛtam // MKP 8.261.

and death) are less in case of Brahmins viz. ten days of impurity due to death for Brahmins, twelve for Kṣatriyas, half a month for Vaisyas and a month for Sūdras (32.74), and one day of impurity due to birth for Brahmins, three days for Kṣatriyas, six days for Vaisyas and twelve days for Sūdras (32.83). This is in conformity with the canons of the Dharmaśāstras.³⁰

Only certain qualified Brahmins were to be invited at the śrāddha-dinner.³¹ The pitṛs are said to feed the oblations offered in fire by dwelling in the bodies of Brahmins.³²

It is stated that one should not revile nor ridicule the gods, the vedas, the dvijas, good, truthful or magnanimous men, guru, devoted and virtuous wives and

30 cf. MS 5.83; Dakṣa 6.7; YS 3.22; Atri, Verse 85; Sāṅkha 15.2-3; MP 18.2-3; BP 220.63; ViDS 22.1-4; GDS 15.1-4 which contain similar provisions for impurity on death. YS 3.22 makes the virtuous sūdra observe impurity only for fifteen days as a concession. Later on ten days' mourning came to be prescribed for all castes, cf. Sarveśāmeva varṇānam sūtake mṛtake tathā / daśāhacchudhī reteśām iti śātatapo'bravit// Āṅgiras in Mitākṣarā on YS 3.22.

31 Vide Chap. III, Sec. II, under śrāddha for the qualifications of Brahmins to be invited at the śrāddha-dinner.

32 Eśāṃ hūte' gnam haviṣā ca trptir ye bhujjate vipraśarīra-samsthāh / MKP. 93.32ab.

persons performing sacrifices or practising austerities (31.85^{cd} - 86).

The following pattern of behaviour against the Brahmins ~~was~~ believed to be sinful, e.g. a promise unfulfilled especially to Brahmins ~~was~~ considered to prove injurious (7.38^{cd}); and producing obstacles to Brahmins engaged in their duties ~~was~~ considered to be a sin leading to 'Apratiṣtha' hell (12.25^{cd}); while describing the specific punishments in hell for specific sins, it is said that the tongues of those who have blasphemed the dvijas, the Veda, the gods, and guru are torn out by the terrible birds with adamant beaks as they (i.e. tongues) are continually reproduced (14.44-45^{ab}); those who, without washing their hands and mouth after meals, have touched the Brahmins, the cow, and fire, - their hands placed in fire-pots are licked repeatedly (14.57^{cd} - 58^{ab}); who hearken to blasphemy against the dvijas, gurus, the gods, and the Vedas - the Yama's messengers continually drive fiery-red iron wedges into their ears (14.63-65); who, through anger and covetousness, have broken up and destroyed beautiful rest-houses, the abodes of the gods and of the Brahmins and the assemblages in the temples of the gods - Yama's exceedingly cruel servants flay their skins

from their body by means of sharp instruments (14.65^{cd} - 67^{ab}); whoever men have touched vipra, the cow, fire, mother, eldest brother, father, sister, daughter-in-law, gurus and aged men with the feet, they stand amidst the piles of charcoal with their feet bound with red-hot iron fetters, enduring burning upto the knees (14.59

A catholic spirit is also seen in the MKP when it is said that in the event of discriminating in the matter of a dish with reference to a Brahmin and the member of another caste at the same dinner-table, the persons concerned ~~have believed~~ to feed on ordure in hell (14.55-56).

Truthfulness was the surest criterion of a real Brahmin (3.47), and it was held that not by sacrifices accompanied with gifts nor by any other act, do Brahmins acquire such great virtue as by the observance of truth (3.48). The brahminhood was considered to be the dwelling -place of forbearance, while the penance that of controlling of anger.^{32^a} Calmness was believed to be beneficial to the twice-born in things of this and yonder world.³³

32^a Kṣāntyaśpadam vai brāhmaṇyam Krodha-samyamanam tapah / MKP 60.20^{ab}.

33 Ahiḱāmuṣmikaḥitaḥ sama eva dvijanmanam / MKP 109.13.

Striving after delights was not commended in the case of the Brahmins, as it may tend to weariness in this world, and yield no fruit after death.³⁴

Ksatriyas: They form the next order of the society. The terms used in the MKP to denote this order are rājanya (93.21), Kṣatra (107.2) and Kṣatriya (10.22 etc.). The term rājanya is found in the RV (10.20.12) only but in the later Vedic literature it becomes a regular term for a man of the royal family.³⁵ The term Kṣatra also occurs in the RV³⁶. The term Kṣatriya is used in the RV frequently as an epithet of gods³⁷ and in some verses it means a King or a noble man.³⁸ But its use in the sense of a varṇa (i.e. one of the four castes), is observable particularly in the later Vedic literature.³⁹

34 Nabhogāṛthaya vipranām sasyate hi Varūthinī / iha klesāya vipranām ceṣṭā pretya phalapradā // MKP 58.70

35 Kane P.V., HDS, Vol.II, p.30; VI, Vol.II, p.216.

36 In the RV. it generally connotes 'valour', 'dominion', 'strength'; in some Vedic texts e.g. TB 2.7.18; BrU 1.4.11 etc. it connotes the Kṣatriya order. Vide Kane P.V., Ibid, p.30.

37 e.g. RV. 7.64.2 and 8.25.8 (in both to Mitra and Varuṇa), RV. 8.67.1 (to Adityas), RV.10.66.8 (to gods in general); Vide Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, p.30.

38 e.g. RV. 4.42.1; 10.109.3; Op.Cit., Vol.II, pp.30-33 .

39 VI, Vol.II, p.252.

The MKP explains the term Kṣatriya by the Nirukta method of explanation, cf. Kṣatriyah Kṣatarakṣaṇāt (111.36) i.e. a Kṣatriya is so called because he guards one from injury.⁴⁰ They hold the weapons so that there may be no cry of distress.⁴¹

The special function of the Kṣatriyas was the protection of the earth, and they live on weapons and good taxes (25.5; 47.75).

Vaiśyas: The MKP does not give much information about the Vaiśyas who constitute the third order of the society. The terms used in the MKP to denote this order are vis' (10.22) and Vaiśya (10.91 etc.), which are of Vedic antiquity.⁴² The term 'vis' does not signify 'Vaiśya' in almost all hymns of the RV, but means the 'people' or 'aryan people' when no epithet like 'dāsih' or daivih' is prefixed.⁴³ It stands for the four varṇas in later Vedic literature.⁴⁴

40 Pāṇini derives the word Kṣatriya in the sense of Varna from Kṣatra cf. क्षत्रं वा: / 4.1.138 Bhattoji explains it as क्षात्राक्षरं / Siddhanta Kaumudī, p.115.

41 Kṣatrasya vātaparitrāṇanimittam śastradhāraṇam // (127. 21^{cd}). Cf. Kṣatāt kila trāyata ityudagrah kṣatryasy śabdo bhuvanādhirūḍah/ Raghuvamśa 3. 53 and Ārtatrānāya vah satram ... // Śakuntala 1.11.

42 For Viś, vide VI, Vol.II, pp.305ff., and for Vaiśya, Ibid., pp.333ff.

43 Kane P.V., HDS., Vol.II, p.33.

44 Vide VI, Vol.II, p.307, fn.12.

The term Vaiśya occurs frequently in the MKP and its earliest occurrence is in the RV 10.90.12f, It is very often found from the AV onwards and sometimes in the form of Viśya⁴⁵.

The functions of the Vaiśyas were merchandise (Vāṇijya), Cattle-rearing (pāśu-pālya) and husbandry (Kṛṣi) (25.6^{cd}; 47.76; 111.4).

Sudras: They constitute the fourth order of the society. The information regarding them also is very meagre in the MKP. The Śūdra (10.22 etc.) and Vṛṣala (28.30; 134.27) are the two terms used to denote this order. The term Śūdra occurs in the Puruṣa-sūkta (RV. 10.90.12). The RV knows the Dasyus or Dāsas both as aborigines and as subjected slaves and the Śūdras of the later Vedic texts were certainly aborigines who were reduced to subjection by the Aryans. The term mostly indicated those who were "beyond the pale of the Aryan state."⁴⁶

The special duties of the Śūdras were alms-giving, sacrifice and the service of the twice-born, and their means

45 AV. 5.17.9; VS. 33.5 etc.; AV 6.13.1; VS. 18.48 etc.

46 VI, Vol. II, p.388.

of subsistence were handicraft (Kārukarma), service of the twice-born, and buying and selling (Kraya-vikraya) (25.7-8^{ab}; 47.77).

Their status was deplorable. They were prohibited from hearing the recitation of the Vedas.⁴⁷

UNTOUCHABILITY

The Indian society is composed not merely of four varnas but also of certain untouchable castes which constitute the component parts of Indian social organisation. It should not be supposed that this is something confined only to India. Even the nations that have no caste system at

47 Sa tu nārhati carvaṅgīm Sūdro vedasrutim yathā // MKP 19.32. cf. Padyu vā etac chmaśānam yac, chūdraḥ / tasmāc chūdrasamipe nādhyeyam / This is quoted by Sabara on Jaimini 6.1.38 as a Sruti; cf. also VDS 18.11-12 Eke vā etac chmaśānam ye sūdrāḥ / tasmāc chūdrasamipe nādhyetavyam / 'Padyu...chūdraḥ' is cited as Satapatha Sruti by the Sūdrakamaśākar (p.3) as mentioned by Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, p.34, fn. 75; cf. also Athapi Yamagitaṅślokānuśāharanti / Smaśānametat pratyakṣam ye sūdrāḥ padācārīṇaḥ / tasmāt sūdrasamipe tu nādhyetavyam kādācana // VDS 18.13; cf. GDS 16.18-19; ADS 1.3.9.9; YS 1.48. NEE 3.1.13.

all have often carried out complete segregation of certain people dwelling in their midst which is essentially the same as the system of untouchability in India. This phenomenon is denoted by the term 'aspr̥syatā' and the term 'aspr̥sya' means an untouchable in general. There is hardly any Vedic passage which supports the theory of untouchability, even though in the Vedic literature several of the names of castes that are spoken of in the smṛtis as antyajās occur e.g. vaptā, harbar (RV. 10.142-4), taṣṭā, tvaṣṭā, carpenter or maker of chariots (RV. 1.61.4; 7.32.20; 8.102.8), carmama, a tanner of hides? (RV. 8.5.38), Cāṇḍāla and Paukasa (VS. 30.17, etc.) etc. Even in the most ancient Dharmasūtras, the only caste that is said to be untouchable by birth is that of Cāṇḍālas and the word Cāṇḍāla has a technical meaning in these works. But gradually the spirit of exclusiveness and the ideas of ritual purity were carried to extremes and more and more castes became untouchable. Among the earliest occurrences of the word 'aspr̥sya' (as meaning untouchables in general) is that in ViDS 5-104.⁴⁸ In the MKP also the word 'aspr̥sya-jātis'

48 Kātyāyana also uses the word in that sense; Vide Kātyāyanaśmṛtisāroddhāra (edited by MM.Dr.Kane P.V.) verses 433,783 that are quoted by Mitākṣarā on YS 2.99 and by Aparārka, p.813. For an article on Untouchability, vide Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, pp.165ff. For the technical meaning of Cāṇḍāla, vide Kane P.V., Op.Cit., p.81.

(untouchable castes) occurs and it is here said that the food, which is touched by the untouchable castes like the cāṇḍālas, antyajās and mlechhas, is unfit for all religious acts without washing (32.21^{cd} - 22^{ab}) and this is in accordance with the injunctions of the Dharmasāstras.⁴⁹ But so far as mlechhas are concerned these restrictions of untouchability have been given up long ago at least in public.⁵⁰

Untouchability ~~does~~ not arise by birth alone. It arises in various ways. Emphasis is also laid upon not only in not coming in contact with certain persons, but also with animals and even on inanimate objects, e.g. on touching a menstruous woman, a horse, a jackal, low-caste peoples (antyāvaśāyins), a man carrying a corpse (32.33), an oily human bone (32.34), an unrighteous man (vidharmi), a sūtikā (i.e. a Brahmin who keeps a Brahmin lady as his wife without

49 cf. Cāṇḍāla-puṅkasaṃmlechhabhillapārasikādikam / mahāpātākinas' cāiva spr̥ṣṭvā snāyat sacailakam // Vṛddha-yājñavalkya quoted by Aparārka, p.923; Cāṇḍālam patitam mlechham madyabhāṇḍam rajasvalām / dvijāḥ spr̥ṣṭvā na bhuñjita bhuñjāno yadi saṃspr̥ṣet / atah param na bhuñjita tyaktvānnam snānamācabet // Atri, verses 267-269, which also consider cāṇḍālas etc. as untouchables.

50 Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, p.173.

marrying her, and that Brahmin lady also), a ṣaṇḍa or an
^uenupch (i.e. one who does not offer sacrifices at proper
 times and who neither eats, himself nor offers food to others,
 and who does not worship the manes and gods), naked men
 (vivastrāḥ or nagnāḥ i.e. those in whose families there is
 no veda, no ^śāstra and no vrata), the paramours of other
 men's wives, a māṛjāra or a cat (i.e. ^{one} who sacrifices and
 practises penance out of pride and who does ~~no~~ good to
 others), an ākhu or a rat (i.e. one ^{does} who eventhough being
 rich, not enjoy himself, nor offers to others, nor sacrifices),
 a dog, a Kukkuṭa or a cock, (i.e. one who takes
 a partial side in an assembly),
 an out-caste (patita, i.e. one who abandons one's own dharma
 and resorts to that of others, at the time of adversity), an
aviddha or apaviddha (i.e. one who abandons the gods, teacher,
 and the teacher's wife, and who kills a cow, a brahmin and
 a woman), a Cāṇḍāla (i.e. one who does not offer anything
 to those who desire and who forbids those who make gifts,
 and abandons the suppliants), a domestic hog (grāma-sūkara)
 and a man contaminated by the impurity of a newly-delivered
 woman, a man has to take ~~a~~ bath with his clothes on.⁵¹

51 MKP 32.39-42, 61-69.

These restrictions were not inspired by any hardness of heart or any racial or caste pride as is often said, but they were only due to psychological or religious views and the requirements of hygiene.⁵² The MKP requires every house-holder to give food after Vaisvadeva to ~~all~~ including Cāṇḍālas, dogs and crows,⁵³ and this practise is followed even now by those who perform Vaisvadeva.

As regards public roads the MKP 32-30 states that the mud and water on public roads and on houses built of baked bricks touched by untouchables are rendered pure by the mere blowing of the wind. The YS 1.197, and ViDS 23.41 state the same thing. This and other rules show that the smṛtis followed a reasonable rule about the public roads and do not countenance the restrictions maintained in some parts of South India, particularly in Malbar, about the use of public roads by the untouchables.⁵⁴

52 Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, pp.

53 cf. ADS 2.4.9:5.

54 For details vide Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, p.175.

Mixed Castes: The phenomenon of the mixed caste constitutes one of the important topics in connection with the discussion of varṇa. It is denoted by the word 'Varnasankarata' and the word 'Varnasankara' means 'mixture of castes by intermatriages'.⁵⁵ In the MS 5.89 and 10.40 "the word saṅkara seems to be used in the sense of 'mixture or intermingling of varṇas'".⁵⁶ Various factors such as hypergamy or hypogamy brought about this phenomenon.⁵⁷ In the MKP (66.37) it is stated that when the wife is not properly guarded, there arises intermingling of varṇas which hurl one's pitṛs down from heaven. In the BG (1.41-43), also it is said that when women become corrupt (or demoralised), intermingling of varṇas arises; saṅkara necessarily leads the whole family and the destroyer of the family to hell. By reason of these transgressions of the destroyers of the families which bring about varṇasankara, the ancient caste-observances and family-observances are subverted.

This phenomenon was considered as one of the most grotesque evils of the society. The MKP (25.34-37) says

55 Macdonell A.A., A Practical Sanskrit English Dictionary, p.271.

56 Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, p.59.

57 Vide for details Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, pp. 59ff.

that the King should punish a man who oversteps his varṇa and āsrama-dharmas, and if he overlooked such a man he loses the rewards of sacrificial and pious works. Therefore, the King must vigorously punish all the varṇas that behave contrary to their special duties and he must keep them within their own occupations. It also states that he, in whose kingdom the varṇāśrama-dharmas do not fall into desuetude, attains eternal happiness here and hereafter (25.31).⁵⁸

Social Mobility: The phenomenon of social mobility is an important and interesting topic in the study of social organisation. The MKP contains some instances of social mobility which are of great interest as they remind one of a stage of society when the rules of caste-movement were loose and naturally these instances date back to an early period.

It refers to the doctrine of Jātyupakarṣa⁵⁹ i.e. fall in status as a caste. It is stated in this purāṇa that the Brahmins, Kṣatriyas and Vaisyas who do not first marry woman of the same caste fall by marrying woman of other caste and further it is laid down that whatever low-caste

58 cf. GDS, 11.9-10; VDS, 19.7-8; ViDS, 3.3; YS, 1.361; MP, 215.63.

59 For information on the doctrine of Jātyupakarṣa and Jātyapakarṣa, vide Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, pp.61ff.

woman a man marries without marrying in his own caste, he is degraded to the caste of the woman whom he marries.⁶⁰

(110.34-35).⁶⁰ It also provides an instance of King Diṣṭa's son Nabhāga who was degraded to Vaiśyatva on account of his marriage with a Vaiśya woman by neglecting savarna marriage (Chap.10).

Prṣadhra was cursed to be a Śūdra for killing a Brahmin's cow (109.9). King Sudeva and princess Kṛpāvatī - both Kṣatriya by caste - were cursed to be Vaiśya, of course, with a promise of regaining their own original caste conditional upon certain situations.

The above instances tend to suggest that marriage-union_{with low-caste girls} or the process of curse brought about the degradation of a person concerned to an abominable status of a Vaiśya or a Śūdra as a result of their improper behaviour.

ASRAMA SYSTEM

Next to Varna-system the Asrama-system constitutes one of the important features of Indian Social Organisation.

60 Brāhmaṇāḥ Kṣatriyā Vaiśyāḥ savarna-pāṇisamgraham /
akṛtvānyabhāva-pāṇeh patanti nrpa samgrahāt //
yasya yasya hi hinayāḥ kurute pāṇisamgraham /
akṛtvā varnasamyoga-sōpi tadvarṇabhāg bhavet //
MKP. 110.34-35.

The word *āśrama* is derived from the root *śram*, 'to exert oneself'; therefore it may mean by derivation (i) a place where austerities are performed, a hermitage, and (ii) the action of performing such austerities.⁶¹ Literally, an *āśrama* is a 'halting or resting place'; the word therefore denotes a halt, a stoppage, or a stage in the journey of life just for the sake of rest just for preparing oneself for further journey. The *āśramas*, then, are to be regarded as resting places during one's journey on the way to final beatitude, the final aim of life. The Mbh (Cr.Ed. 12.234.15) says that the four stages of life form a ladder or stair flight of four steps. That flight attaches to Brahman. By ascending that flight one reaches the region of Brahman, whichever of the above be the original meaning of the word, the historical development of the *āśrama*-system as an organisation and the social implications within it include all the above interpretations.

The *āśramas* are four in number: (i) Brahmacharya, that of a student, (ii) ~~the~~ *Grhastha*, that of a married man, the house-holder, (iii) *Vanaprastha*, that of retired life in the forest, after abandoning the home, preparatory to

⁶¹ Deussen P., a learned article on the *Āśramas* in ERE, Vol. II., pp. 128ff.

complete renouncement of worldly relations and (iv) Samnyāsa, the life of complete renunciation of worldly relations and attachments.

Eventhough in the early literature we find a mention of the three phases of life viz. the student, the house-holder, and the hermit, yet it is not enjoined therein that these must be followed compulsorily one after the other. A man could stay in the house of his teacher as naiṣṭhika to the end of his life, or he could become a house-holder after finishing his student's life, or he could live the life both of a student and a house-holder together, or he could turn to the hermit's life after finishing his student's career without marrying.⁶² This shows that Samnyāsī's stage need not necessarily be preceded by the Grhastha's stage. The MKP also permits an individual to enter upon the hermit's stage or the Samnyāsī's stage even immediately after completing the student's life or to await his decease even in the teacher's home, or in his absence in the home of the teacher's son, or still in his absence in the home

62 cf. ChU, 2.23.1; 5.10; 8.15; BrU, 3.8.10; 4.2.22; TU 1.2.1. Vide also Ranade A constructive Survey of Upanishadic philosophy, pp.60-61; Keith A.D., Religion and philosophy of the veda and the Upanishads, Vol.2, p.587; cf. also Deussen P., Op.Cit., pp.128-129.

of the teacher's disciple leading the student's life.

Thus even according to the MKP, the Gr̥hastha's stage need not necessarily follow the student's stage or the Saṃnyāsī's stage need not as a rule follow the hermit's stage (25.15-17).

The four stages come to us in sequential form from the latter Upaniṣads like the Jābāla-upaniṣad 4⁶³ which state that the order of the student must precede that of the house-holder, that of the house-holder must ^{be} followed by the order of the hermit, while the order of the ascetic must be preceded by those of the house-holder and the hermit.

In the MKP, the system of the Āsramas has been attributed a hoary antiquity and a divine origin. Brahmā is said to have instituted the Varna- and Āsrama - systems (101.1), established their laws (46.76), and their specific worlds (loka) after death (46.77ff), e.g. He assigned the sphere of eighty-eight thousand ṛṣis, living in perpetual chastity, to the Brahmacārins (Guruvāsins); the sphere of seven ṛṣis to the hermits (Vanaukasas), the prajāpatya

63 Keith A.B., Ibid., pp. 587-588.

sphere to the house-holders, and the abode of Brahmā to the ascetics (nyāsins).⁶⁴

In Plakṣadvīpa, Śālmalīdvīpa, Kuśadvīpa, Krauñcadvīpa, Śākadvīpa and Himāhva-varṣa the varṇāśrama-system is followed, whereas in Kimpuruṣa and other varṣas it is not followed (50.31^{cd} - 32, 37-39).

Smṛti-writers like Manu and others⁶⁵ expound the theory of the four āśramas. "From the times of the most ancient Dharmasūtras, the number of āśramas has been four, though there are slight differences in the nomenclature and in their sequence."⁶⁶ In the MKP also the theory of the four āśramas, with a difference in nomenclature at one place from the generally accepted one, is propounded in consonance with the Dharmaśāstra-writers. Among the various duties of a King, the maintenance of the Varṇāśrama-system claimed his special attention. It is stated that the King enjoys eternal happiness both here and hereafter if in his kingdom the varṇa- and āśrama-dharmas do not fall into disuse (24.31). He had also to punish one who

64 MKP 46.79-80; cf. Viṣp 1.6, 36-39; VP 8.185-189.

65 MS 4.1; 5.169; 6.1-2; 6.33; Vide Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, p.418.

66 Kane P.V., Op.Cit., p.416.

overstepped^p one's varṇāśrama-dharmas (24.34^{cd} - 35^{ab}).

The nomenclature as found in the MKP to denote the persons in the different stages of life is as follows:-

- (1) Brahmācārin (25.11; 26.36) or Guruvāsin (46.79) = A student.
- (2) Grhastha (25.21; 48.80), or Grhī (92.4) = A house-holder.
- (3) Vanaprastha (25.23) or Vanaukas (46.80) = A forest - hermit.
- (4) Bhikṣu (25.27), Parivrāt (26.36), Nyāsin (46.80) = An ascetic.

The salient features of the four stages of life as gathered from the MKP are as follows:-

(1) The Stage of a Student:

The performance of the upanayana ceremony provides an entrance to the first stage of life. Life before that ceremony is undisciplined and unregulated, a life without a purpose. It is unregulated in the sense that man follows his inclinations in behaviour, speech and eating. The upanayana ceremony marked the beginning of his Vedic studies

at the teacher's home where he had to lead quite a disciplined and regulated life engaging himself in attendance on fire, bathing, and wandering about for alms, and always eating that food after informing his teacher and obtaining his permission (25.11-12). He had to be diligent in his teacher's work to win his affection. He had to study intently with sole attention to the subject, when summoned by his teacher (25.13). After studying one or two or all the four Vedas from the teacher, he had to pay up the fees to the teacher (25.14).

A very high degree of reverence to the teacher was expected of the student. He was to offer a seat to his teacher, accompanying the offer with rising up and other respectful acts. He had to salute him respectfully and converse with him agreeably and follow him when he went away, and not to speak about him adversely (31.33-34^{ab}). He should not speak of his evil-doings nor listen to his abuses uttered by others, and should appease him when angry (31.39^{cd} - 40^{ab}). He was to circumambulate his superior in learning, the teacher etc. (31.43^{ab}). He ~~was~~ should not revile his teacher nor listen to those unmannerly persons who do such things (31.86^{cd} - 87^{ab}). Criticising the

teacher (14.44), and touching him with the feet (14.60ff) were counted among sins. Those hearing the blasphemy against the teacher, gods, dvijatis and the vedas were also considered to be the sinners (14.63ff).

These and other rules must not have been intended to create a servile attitude in the pupil towards the teacher; but they would have been rather meant to cultivate an attitude of deep reverence for the teacher in the students.

The educational thinkers in ancient times were against harsh and brutal punishments; only in exceptional cases, they permitted a very mild limitations.⁶⁷ The MKP allows the teacher to punish his son and pupil with the stick.⁶⁸

(2) The Stage of a House-holder:

After completing the period of student-ship, the man entered upon the stage of a house-holder. In the MKP, the glory of the Grhasthasrama is sung and it is personified as a cow consisting of three-fold Vedas in which the

67 Altekar A.S., Education in Ancient India, pp.75-76; Keay, F.E., Indian Education in Ancient and Later Times, p.25.

68 MKP 31.48^{cd}; cf. MS. 4.164

universe is established and which is the cause of the universe. Her back is the RV, her loins the YV, her face and neck the SV, her horns the pious acts, her hair the excellent words of the good men, her ordure and urine the tranquility and prosperity, her feet the four varnas, her four teats the words Svāhā, Svadhā, Vaṣaṭ and Hanta, which are drunk respectively by the gods, the manes, the munis and the gods, the bhūtas etc. and mankind. This cow consisting of three-fold Vedas thus fattens the gods etc. If the house-holder does not make them (i.e. the gods etc.) drink of those four teats, they consider themselves as disrespected, and he is believed to sink in the hells. But if he makes the gods etc. to drink of those four teats at the proper time he is said to attain heaven (26.6-15^{ab}).

The above metaphorical presentation of the Grhasthāśrama brings out its following features viz. that it is to be entered upon after finishing the studies, it is the support of the other āśramas, the house-holder has to perform pious works, and make offerings to gods, manes, sages and men and tranquility and prosperity pervades the four varnas.

The house-holder has to offer the daily

pāñcamahāyajñas (25.21), which are referred to as early as the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (11.5.6.1), and the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (2.10). These yajñas are offered to sages, manes, gods, bhūtas and men. The sages are satisfied by the recitation of the Vedas, the manes by tarpana (offerings of water and food) or śrāddha, the gods by the burnt oblations, bhūtas by bali offerings, and men by the reception of guests (MS. 3.70,81). He has to earn money with his own toil and please the manes, gods, guests and nourish his dependents, servants, children, female relatives, the poor, the needy, the outcaste, the birds and beasts (25.19-20), and also feed the hungry and the poor (26.40). Elsewhere it is also said that the manes, the gods, living-beings, mankind, worms, insects, flying creatures, birds, cattle and Asuras also subsist upon the Grhastha and derive satisfaction from him (26.4.5^{ab}). After the bath and ritual purification, he has to worship the gods, ṛṣis, manes and Prajāpati at the proper time with water, flowers, gandha, dhūpa etc. and then he has to worship Agni and also to perform the Vaisvadeva ceremony ~~daily~~ twice a day (26.16ff). Moreover he has also to make the alms to the students and ascetics before eating. It is also enjoined that he has to take his meals after honouring the guests, friends,

relatives, petitioners, the maimed and children, old men and sick persons (26.36 ff). The Vidhātṛ, gods, manes, maharṣis, guests, relatives and beasts, birds and insects, when satisfied, shower bliss on the house-holder but if he, being prosperous, behaves in a disspiriting manner towards a kinsman who approaches him, he gets the sin that has been done by that man (26.41, 43^{cd} -44). By nourishing all this world, the house-holder conquers the desired worlds (26.3), and gains the heavenly worlds by worshipping the gods, manes, ṛsis and guests (92.4).

Thus the obligations of the house-holder were not confined to the bounds of his own family and kin but also embraced a wider group of persons and beings.

(3) The Stage of a Forest - Hermit:

The man entered the stage of a forest hermit after having seen the offspring of his sons and the stoop of his body for the purpose of purifying his soul. In Vanaprasthāsrama as the name itself suggests he had to go to the forest^{68a} and live on wild fruits etc.⁶⁹ He had

^{68a} cf. MS, 6.4; YS, 3.45, GDS 3.27.

⁶⁹ cf. MS, 6.5; YS, 3.46.

to perform strictly penances,⁷⁰ and lead a celibate life⁷¹, and sleep on the ground. Furthermore he had to engage himself in the ceremonies for the manes, ~~the~~ gods and guests,⁷² in the homa oblation and the three daily ablutions. He had to wear matted hair, dress himself with the bark garments,⁷³ and use the forest unguents. This ^{to}asrama is believed not only ^{to}absolve one from the sins and purify but also to benefit the soul (25.24-27).

The MKP also presents the following instances of Kings, e.g. Rtudhvaja (33.10), Khanitra (115.10), Karandhama (125.33f) and Nariṣyanta (131.7-8), who, accompanied with their wives, lead the life of the forest hermit and practised austerities.

(4) The Stage of an Ascetic:

The individual entered the last ^{to}asrama viz. that of an ascetic casting off all attachments with the world.⁷⁴ He had to lead a celibate life and practise abstinence from

MS

70 cf. 6.29-30.

71 cf. MS, 6.26; YS, 3.51, 54.

72 cf. MS, 6.5.

73 cf. MS, 6.6.

74 cf. MS, 6.33.

anger and control over the senses.⁷⁵ He could not live in one and the same place for a longer period. He had to eat the food obtained by begging only once a day, abstain from undertakings, and devote himself to obtain *ātma-jñāna* (25.29-30).

Apart from the special duties concerned with the life of ~~an~~ individual in each of the *āśramas*, there are certain obligations of a general or universal nature; these are considered as part of duties of every man without reference to the *varṇa* or *āśrama* to which he belongs. Thus the MKP says that to whatever *varṇa* or *āśrama* a man may belong, he should practise truthfulness, purity, harmlessness, absence of spite, forgiveness, abstinence from cruelty, generosity and contentment (25.32).⁷⁶

The foregoing review of the *Āśrama*-system suggests that "the theory of *varṇa* dealt with man as a member of the Aryan society and laid down ^{what} his rights, functions, privileges, responsibilities and duties were as a member of that society. It was addressed to man in the mass. The theory of *āśramas* addressed itself

⁷⁵ cf. MS 6.4,8.

⁷⁶ cf. MS, 6.91; MS, 3.66; VDS, 10.30; *Arthasastra* 1.3.8.4 etc.

to the individual. It tells him what his spiritual goal, is, how he is to order his life and what preparations are required to attain that goal. The theory of āsramas was truly a sublime conception,"⁷⁷ and it has won the admiration of Prof. Deussen who remarks that "the whole history of mankind has not much that equals the grandeur of this thought."⁷⁸

SLAVERY

Slavery has existed as a constant element in the social and economical life of all nations of antiquity such as Babylon, Egypt, Greece, Rome and also many nations of Europe.⁷⁹

The word 'dāsa', which is of Rgvedic antiquity, is met with in the MKP. The Rgvedic passages⁸⁰ make it clear that the dāsas or dasyus⁸¹ formed the opposite camp

77 Kane P.V. Op.Cit., Vol.II, p.423.

78 Deussen P., Op.Cit., p.129.

79 Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, p.180. For an article on 'Slavery', vide Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, Vol. XIV, pp.73 ff.

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

81 In the MKP the word 'dasyu' frequently occurs in the sense of a 'robber' (89.5 etc.).

against the Aryans. The vanquished dāsas who were taken as prisoners might possibly have been treated as slaves.⁸² The ChU (5.13.2) and the BrU (6.2.7) and other vedic passages⁸³ refer to dāsīs and on these passages MM.Dr. Kane comments that "these passages show that in the vedic period men and women had become the subjects of gifts and so were in the condition of slaves."⁸⁴ The Mbh frequently refers to the gifts of dāsas and dāsīs.⁸⁵

In the MKP, the male and female slaves are referred to. King Dama, who departed with his wife for his own city after his marriage, was given the elephants, horses, chariots, cows, camels, many male and female slaves, clothes, ornaments, bows and other apparel, house-hold utensils and also other vessels by his father-in-law, the King of Dasārṇa (130.62-63). This shows that male and female slaves also constituted objects of gifts.

82 Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, p.180. "The word 'Dāsa' in later literature means 'serf or a slave' " Kane P.V., Op.Cit., p.33.

83 For passages vide Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, pp.180 ff.

84 Op.Cit., p.182.

85 Mbh. Cr.Ed. 2.48.39 ¶ Gift of 30 dāsīs to each
 3.183.30 ¶ of the 88,000 snātaka
 3.222.41 ¶ Brahmins.

Elsewhere in a chapter dealing with the things prohibited and prescribed it is mentioned that whatever is brought by the slaves and other menials is pure (32.15).

The MKP also gives some information about the price and the treatment of the slaves. For example, the old Brahmin who wanted to purchase King Harischandra's wife as a slave asked the King to demand the wealth in proportion to her skill, age, beauty and disposition (8.55). He also said that the wages (vetanam) of both male and female have been fixed by those conversant with the Dharma-sa^hstras at a hundred, a thousand and a hundred thousand pieces, and a price of ten millions by others (8.65).

Wealthy and well-to-do people purchased the slaves for their house-hold work but they did not treat them in a good way. For example the wealthy Brahmin, who purchased King Harischandra's wife for his house-hold work as his wife was very young and could not perform the house-hold work (8.54), actually dragged off the queen seizing her by hair (8.57).

The servitude of the Candālas was considered to

be despicable, e.g. when King Hariscandra wanted to sell himself as a slave, Dharma came forward disguising himself as a Cāṇḍāla and asked him about his wages but the King at once refused to accept the despicable servitude of a Cāṇḍāla and considered it better to be consumed by the fire of the curse rather than to be thrall to a Cāṇḍāla (8.79-87).

SECTION II

MARRIAGE

INTRODUCTION:

Marriage is one of the fundamental institutions of human society. The circumstances and conditions of such unions necessarily react on various facets of the social organisation, and hence its study is very important for our understanding and evaluating the spirit of its culture and civilisation.

According to the Hindu view of life matrimony is a holy bond and not a contract. It is declared in the MKP that marriage is 'holy' or 'conducive' to merit', and the means to the heaven and final emancipation, and that without marriage there is perpetual bondage.¹

FORMS OF MARRIAGE:

Polyandry, polygyny and monogamy are the various

1 cf. the speech of the Pitrs to Prajāpati Rci: "Vatsa kasmāt tvayā punyo na kṛto dārasaṅgrahaḥ / Svargāpavarga hetutvād bandhaḥ tenānīsam vinā // MKP 92.3".

forms of marriage having a variation in the number of partners,² while in the traditional eight forms of marriage, there is a difference in ritual and mode.

POLYANDRY:

Polyandry is that form of marriage in which a woman has more than one husband at a time, or in which brothers share a wife in common.

There is a difference of opinion among scholars about the prevalence of polyandry in the Vedic age. MM Dr. P.V.Kane³ and Dr. A.S.Altekar⁴ deny the existence of polyandry in the Vedic age, whereas Dr. R.C.Majumdar holds that "polyandry, the counterpart of polygamy, probably also existed in the early Vedic society."⁵

The most glaring example of polyandry in Sanskrit literature is that of Draupadī as the wife of the five

2 Malinowski used the phrase "the forms of marriage" in the sense to imply the numeric variation in partners (Marriage, Encyclopaedia Britanica, Vol.14, p.949), but its connotation is extended here as done above.

3 Op.Cit., Vol.II, p.554.

4 The Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation, p.132.

5 Ideal and Position of Indian Women in Domestic Life, Great Women of India, p.7. In fn.11 on the same page he notes that B. Upadhyaya in his book "Women in Rig-Veda" also opines that polyandry existed.

Pāṇḍavas. In the MKP there is also a reference to the polyandrous marriage of Draupadī. The Purāṇa explains her polyandrous union by saying that ~~the~~ Pāṇḍavas were the incarnations of Indra, and Draupadī an incarnation of Indra's wife. She thus married but one person of whom ~~the~~ Pāṇḍavas were only the incarnations. The Mbh attributes her marriage to Kuntī's proposal and inserts various explanations and justifications advanced by different personages against a storm of protests from her relatives.⁶ In one of the explanations, ~~the~~ five Pāṇḍavas are shown to be ~~the~~ five Indras, who, by the curse of Śiva for their haughtiness, were born as men on earth, and Draupadī is said to be the goddess Lakṣmī born as their wife when asked by Śiva.⁷

Prof.F.E.Pargiter rightly remarks that this explanation of the MKP solves the two difficulties raised by the Mbh, viz. (1) that there ~~the~~ five Indras who became the

6 Mbh Cr.Ed. 1.188.5, 12ff; 1.189.1ff; 1.200.17ff; Vide Kapadia K.M., Marriage and Family in India, pp.52-54; Hindu Kinship, pp.106ff; Winternitz M., JRAS, 1897, p. 737.

7 Mbh Cr.Ed., 1.189.1ff.

Pāṇḍavas were not the same deity and thus Draupadī's husbands were still five persons, and (2) that there Lakṣmī is said to become incarnate as the wife of the incarnations of Indra, by showing that the five Pāṇḍavas were the incarnations of the same deity Indra, and thus were really only one person, and that it was Indra's own wife who became incarnate as Draupadī.⁸

POLYGyny:

Polygyny is that form of union in which a man has more than one wife at a time. "Monogamy has been the cherished ideal and also the legalised form of the Indian Institution of marriage and this form also seems to have been the ideal and was probably the rule, in the Vedic period, but the Vedic literature is full of references to polygyny."⁹

There are some instances of the polygynists in the MKP.

⁸ Op.Cit., Introduction, p. Xviii.

⁹ Kane P. V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, p.550.

Dakṣa and Prasūti had twenty-four daughters and Dharma married thirteen out of them (47.19-21). Marīci's son Kāśyapa had thirteen wives who were the thirteen daughters of Dakṣa (101.3-4). These two are the examples of sororal polygyny which means marriage with two or more sisters.

The Vāṃśānucarita section of the MKP contains three instances of Kings who were polygynists, e.g. King Khanitra had three wives (115.20) and Kings Avīkṣit (119.16ff) and Marutta (128.44-47) had many wives. Elsewhere Svarociṣ, Svārociṣa Manu's father, is said to have three wives (60.61; 61.19).

MONOGAMY:

Monogamy is that type of marriage in which there is an union of one man with one woman.

In connection with ^{the} description of the royal families, the MKP provides some instances of monogamy viz. of Nābhāga and Suprabhā, a Vaiśya lady (chap.110), Vatsapri and Saunandā (chap.113), Karandhama and Vīrā (119.1), Nariṣyanta and Indrasenā, Dama and Sumanā (chap.130). The ideal

monogamous union is also exemplified by an instance of R̥tudhvaja, Śatrujit's son, who did not marry again even after the death of his beloved wife Madālasā.

VIEWS ABOUT MONOGAMY,
POLYGyny AND POLYANDRY:

The MKP favours monogamy and disapproves polygyny and polyandry as is evinced from the two dialogues in the episode of Svarociṣ - one between a Kalahamsī and a Cakravākī and the other between a Hamsa - couple.

In the first dialogue, Kalahamsī praised Svarociṣ before a Cakravākī as meritorious and lucky as he was enjoying desired pleasures with his wives, and declared that appropriate couples in point of beauty are rare in the world, and mutual love between the married couple is difficult and that it is also a matter of good luck. But Cakravākī censured him remarking that he could not be called lucky as, without the least modesty, he enjoyed one woman in the presence of others, and his mind did not dwell on all of them equally and also that the heart's affection could have only one basis and further questioned as to how he could love all his wives. she also said that / towards them, neither his wives were affectionate towards him nor he was so/

other, but those wives were merely just ^{for} ~~an~~ amusement to him just like an attendant. Further she pointed out that if they really loved him, what prevented anyone of them from dying when he embraced the other wife or he was thought over by the third one. He had been just purchased by his wives as a good servant by giving him the different vidyās (viz. those of astra-grāma-~~vidyā~~, of understanding the animal-speech, and the Padmini-vidyā¹⁰ respectively); the affection would not exist equally towards many women. She exemplified the ideal monogamous union by citing her own example that she and her mate were lucky as they loved mutually, and declared that "a man having many wives is the resort of merit and sin as he makes distinctions among many wives in points of house, food, seat, ornaments and intercourse, and thus leads an elder wife to the status of a younger one and vice-versa; a man should perform nitya and naimittika Karmas with his wife and if he behaves otherwise, he commits sin (62.7-21)".

10 Dr.V.S.Agrawala has written a learned article on the 'Padmini Vidyā of the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa', Purāṇa, Vol.1, No.2, February 1960, Vasanta-Pañcamī Number, pp.188-197.

In the second dialogue, the male deer criticised Svarociṣby pointing out that just as one female following many males is a laughing stalk among mankind, so is a man gazed on by many females with lustful glances. Such a man also loses his religious acts day by day being attached to some wife and addicted to other loves (62.23-28).

The foregoing dialogues bring out that monogamy was held in high esteem while polygyny and polyandry were totally disfavoured; and the marriage was considered to be important mainly from the religious point of view and where sexual pleasures were rather looked down.

EIGHT FORMS OF MARRIAGE:

We now turn to the various forms of the Hindu marriage. From the times of the Grhyasūtras, Dharma-sūtras and Smṛtis,¹¹ the ancient Indian law has recognised the following eight forms of marriage which differ in ritual and mode:-

¹¹ Kane P. V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, p. 516.

(1) Brahma, where the father gives his daughter decked with ornaments and jewels, to a learned man of good conduct invited by him.

(2) Daiva, where the father gives his daughter, decked with ornaments to a priest, who duly officiates at a sacrifice, during the course of its performance.

(3) Arsha, where the father gives his daughter after receiving from the bride-groom a cow or a bull or two pairs.

(4) Prajapatya, where the father gives his daughter after addressing the couple with the text: "Sahobhau caratām".

(5) Asura, where the bride-groom receives a maiden after having given as much wealth, as he can afford to the kinsmen and to the bride herself.

(6) Gandharva, or the voluntary union of a maiden and her lover.

(7) Raksasa, or the forcible abduction of a maiden from her home.

(8) Paisaca, where a man by stealth seduces a girl who is

अपहृत्य वा बलवत्प्राप्त्य वा विवाहः

sleeping, intoxicated or disordered of intellect.¹²

The first three, four or six forms of marriage are approved by different law-givers,¹³ whereas the last one is universally condemned. There is, however, a great divergence of opinion as to which of these are the approved ones for the members of the different varṇas.¹⁴

12 MS 3.21, 27-34; vide Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, pp. 516ff; Majumdar R.C. and Pusalkar A.D. (Ed.), The Age of the Imperial Unity, pp.559-560; Prabhu P.N., Hindu Social Organisation, pp.153ff; Altekar A.S., Op.Cit., pp.41ff; Pandey R.B., Op.Cit., pp.271ff. Dr. Ludwik Sternbach says that there are eleven forms of marriage. In addition to the above eight forms there are two special forms named svayamvara, viz. (1) in which there was the absolute freedom of the bride to choose her husband e.g. Sāvitrī and Damayantī and (2) the bride is won by a feat of prowess (vīryasūkṣa) as in the case of Sītā and Draupadī. The Gāndharva vivāha is to be divided into two forms i.e. Gāndharva vivāha combined with the Rākṣasa vivāha and the Gāndharva vivāha not combined with the Rākṣasa vivāha. From the legal point of view, he categorises the first four as orthodox forms of marriage while the last four as unorthodox ones. He also brings out the sociological aspects of the different forms of marriage from the customs prevalent amongst the primitive tribes and communities. Vide his article "Forms of Marriage" in Ancient Indian and their Development", Bhāratīya Vidya, Vol.XII, 1951, pp.62-138.

13 Majumdar R.C. and Pusalkar A.D. (Ed.), Ibid., p.559.

14 MS 3.23ff; Vide Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, pp.521ff.

The MKP contains two instances of the Rākṣasa form of marriage, e.g. (1) Nābhāga, King Diṣṭa's son, married Suprabhā, a Vaiśya lady, by the Rākṣasa form of marriage (110.23), and (2) King Avikṣit used to drive away all the Kings, the fathers and the families of the princesses and take them (i.e. princesses) away by force if they did not approve him at their svayamvara (119.8f). He also carried away by force Vaiśalīnī, daughter of the Vaidīśa King Viśāla, as she was waiting for the proper moment at her svayamvara, after vanquishing all the Kings because of her own free will she did not choose him (119.20f).

There are also two interesting and important discussions bearing on the problem of the suitability of the Gāndharva and the Rākṣasa forms of marriage for the Kṣatriyas. The first discussion is occasioned when Dama, King Nariṣyanta's son, appealed to the Kings against the conduct of the three princes who tried to carry away princess Sumanā, King Cāruvarman's daughter, when she chose him (i.e. Dama) at her svayamvara.¹⁵ In reply to his appeal some Kings dis-

15 Bho Bhūpāḥ dharmakṛtyeṣu yad vadanti svayamvaram / Daśār-
-napatinā bhūpāḥ krte dharmye svayamvare / Adharmo vā
thavā dharmoyadābhīr grhyate balāt // Yadyadharmo na me
kāryam anyabhārya bhaviṣyati / dharmo vā tad alam
prānair ye rakṣyante rilāṅghane // 131.19-20.

on the ground that as the Gāndharva form of marriage (i.e. the union of a girl and the bride-groom by their mutual consent),¹⁶ was ordained for the Kṣatriyas alone and not for the other three castes, and as Sumanā had chosen him, she belonged to him only, while the others favoured their conduct saying that she should belong to him who forcibly carries her away after slaying those who oppose him. At this, the first group of Kings replied that, no doubt, the Rākṣasa form was commended as the best for the Kṣatriyas, but as that form meant the forcible abduction of a maiden after killing her father and kinsmen, provided she be in possession of her husband,¹⁷ and as Sumanā had approved Dama as her husband under her father's authority before all the Kings, that was the Gāndharva form and not the Rākṣasa one. They also pleaded that a maiden once married loses her

16 Parasparānūrāgena gāndharvo vihito vidhiḥ // MKP 130. 23^{cd}. cf. Icchayānyonya saṃyogaḥ kanyāyāḥ varasya ca / gāndharvaḥ sa tu vijñeṇo maithunyaḥ kāmasaṃbhavaḥ // MS 3.32.

17 Hatvā tu Pitr̥sambandhaṃ balena hriyate hi yā / sa rākṣaso vidhiḥ prokto nātra bhartṛkare sthitaḥ // MKP 130.32. cf. Hatvā chitvā ca bhitvā ca krośantiṃ rudatiṃ grhāt / prasahya kanyāharaṇaṃ rākṣaso vidhi rucyate // MS 3.33.

maidenhood and the marriage creates a bond upon her, hence it was not worthy on their part to carry her away from Dama (130.19-35).

Another discussion arises when prince Avikṣit forcibly abducted princess Vaiśālīnī who did not choose him at her svayaṃvara. Some Kings condemned his act of carrying Vaiśālīnī as unlawful since she did not ^{choose him, while his mother Vīrā} highly appreciated the act/declaring that a Kṣatriya takes things to himself by force alone in the presence of the mighty ones,¹⁰ (chaps. 119-121).

The abovementioned two episodes suggest the following four points:-

(1) Some Kings favoured only the Rākṣasa form of marriage for the Kṣatriyas.

(2) Some Kings approved both the Gāndharva and the Rākṣasa forms for them but they strictly disfavoured the abduction of a woman from her chosen husband. They also emphasised the virginity of the bride and believed that as

soon as a girl chooses a man at her svayamvara, she becomes his wife and loses her maidenhood.

(3) Some Kings disapproved the forcible abduction of a maiden by a man whom she did not desire.

(4) Some other royal members considered such an act as highly worthy for the Ksatriyas.

SVAYAMVARA FORM:

Scholars like MM Dr. P.V.Kane¹⁸ and Dr. R. C. Majumdar¹⁹ hold that the germs of the svayamvara form of marriage are traceable to the Rgvedic society.

The MKP provides ample references to the svayamvara form of marriage in the royal families, e.g. King Viryacandra's daughter Virā chose King Karandhama at her svayamvara (119.1), King Hemadharman's daughter Gaurī, Bali's daughter

¹⁸ He holds that the Gandharva form of svayamvara is indicated by Rgveda 10.27.12 and 1.119.5, vide, Op. Cit., Vol.II, p.525.

¹⁹ He also says that the svayamvara, Gandharva and the Rakṣasa forms of marriage can be traced in the Rgvedic hymns, vide, Op.Cit., p.13.

Subhadrā, Vīra's daughter Līlāvati, Virabhadra's daughter Nibhā, Bhīma's daughter Mānyavati, and Dambha's daughter Kumudivati are all said to have chosen Avīkṣit at their svayamvara (119.16-17). Likewise, King Cāruvarman's daughter Sumanā also chose King Dama at her svayamvara only (130.8-9).

There are also some glimpses of the mode of svayamvara in the MKP, e.g. it (svayamvara) is counted as a religious act (130.19). The day of svayamvara was fixed in consultation with the astrologers (daivajña) (120.23^{cd}-24). The marriage ceremony proper followed after the maiden chose her partner from among the Kings or princes specially assembled for that purpose (130.60). The King, whom the maiden chose, was offered the clothes (121.32). King Dama was bestowed various gifts by his father-in-law after his marriage (130.61-63).

While choosing her life-mate the maiden paid importance not merely to his outward beauty but also to his

heroism, prowess and fortitude, and at times she even resorted to austere penance if the person whom she liked the most refused to marry her.^{2D}

P.T.O.

^{2D} cf. the speech of princess Vaiśalīnī who later on choose King Avikṣit on account of his prowess etc.
 Na cāpi rūpamātre'ham lobham asya gatā pitah /
 sauryavikramdhairyāni haranty asya mano mama //
 MKP 121.37.

INTER-CASTE MARRIAGES:

The Vedic literature contains instances of inter-caste marriages, e.g. Cyavana, a Bhārgava, had married Sukanya, the daughter of King Śaryata Mānava.²¹

In the period of Sūtras and Smṛtis it is noticed that law-givers like Āpastamba condemn inter-caste marriages,²² whereas Manu, Baudhāyana and others permit an anuloma marriage,²³ but the opinion is not unanimous about the marriage of a twice-born with a Śūdra woman.²⁴ The law-givers appear to disapprove pratiloma marriage as may be inferred from the derogatory status attached to the partners and the offspring of such unions.²⁵

The MKP shows a favourable attitude towards anuloma unions and allows the Brahmins, the Kṣatriyas and the Vaiśyas to marry low-caste girls, provided they marry first within

²¹ SBr. 4.1.5; Vide Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, pp.447ff.

²² ADS 2.6.13.1,3,4; Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, p.448.

²³ MS 3.13; BDS 1.8.2; cf. also ViDS 24.1-4 etc.

²⁴ Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, p.449.

²⁵ For the views of the different law-givers on this, vide Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, pp. 52ff.

their respective varnas.²⁶ An instance of anuloma marriage in the MKP is that of Cyavana's son Pramati who had married a Kṣatriya lady (111.29). The MKP lays down a punishment viz. the degradation to the low-caste of one's wife for breaking the savarna-marriage rule (110.31-35). This is exemplified by an instance of prince Nābhaga, King Dīsta's son, who was degraded to Vaisyatva on account of his marriage with a Vaisya lady without marrying first a savarna girl (110.23,26).

The pratiloma unions among the Brahmins and the ^{were} Sudras held to be sinful as is suggested by the fact that a Sudra indulging in sexual inter-course with a Brahmin lady and begetting offspring on her is said to be reborn as an insect and a wood-packer respectively after his release

²⁶ Manu (3.12), Nārada (Śrīpumsa, 5.4) etc. also say that the best course is to marry a girl of one's own caste. This is said to be Pūrva Kalpa (the foremost or the best procedure). Manu (3.13) also speaks of a less advisable course (anukalpa, as it is called) viz. that a Brahmin may take as wife a woman of any caste, a Kṣatriya may marry a woman of his own caste or a Vaisya or a Sūdra woman, a Vaisya may marry a Vaisya or Sūdra woman and a Sūdra only a Sūdra woman. This is also stated by BDS (1.8.2), ViDS (24.1-4) etc. Though the ViDS and MS state that a Dvijāti may marry a Sūdra girl, that is not their own view, but they simply voice practices and sentiments prevalent in their time, since both denounce the marriage of a Brahmin with a Sūdra girl in the most unmeasured terms (ViDS 26.5-6 and MS 3.15-19); For details vide Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, pp.448f.

from the hell (15.15-16).

LIMITATIONS OF MARRIAGE:

There is no known society which does not restrict marriage relations by some kind of endogamic and exogamic rules.²⁷ The Hindu exogamy has three aspects viz. (1) gotra exogamy which forbids marriage of persons of the same gotra, (2) pravara exogamy which bars marriage between the members of the same pravara and (3) sapinda exogamy which prohibits marriage of persons within certain generations on the paternal and maternal side.

The prohibition as to the sameness of gotra in marriage had its origin long before the period of the Sūtras in the times of the Brāhmaṇa works (if not earlier).²⁸ The word gotra has undergone various semantic changes from its meaning viz. a cow-pen to a family name.²⁹ The

²⁷ Different theories are expounded to explain the rise of exogamy. For a summary of these various theories, vide Pandey R.B., Hindu Saṃskāras, pp.296 ff.

²⁸ Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, p.481.

²⁹ Vide Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, pp.479ff; Karandikar S.V., Hindu Exogamy, pp.34ff; Kapadia K.M., Hindu Kinship, pp.55ff.

conception of pravara is closely interwoven with that of gotra from very ancient times. The term pravara literally means 'choosing' or 'invoking' (prārthanā) and finally it came to denote one or more illustrious ṛṣis, ancestors of a sacrificer. A synonym of 'pravara' is 'arṣeya' or 'arṣa' (as in YS 1.52)³⁰. Though, the word pravara does not occur in the R̥gveda, the word 'arṣeya' occurs therein and the system of pravara goes back almost to the R̥gveda.³¹ Much has been written and discussed on this problem of 'gotra and pravara' by several indologists, anthropologists and sociologists.³²

The MKP appears to prohibit both sagotra and sapravara unions when it states that one should marry a girl

³⁰ Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, pp.482f.

³¹ Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, pp.486f.

³² Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, pp.478ff; Gotra and Pravara in Vedic Literature, Proceedings and Transactions of the Seventh All India Oriental Conference, Baroda, 1933 (1935), pp.317ff; Karandikar S.V., Op.Cit., Chaps. 1-8; Kapadia K.M., Op.Cit., pp.54ff; Brough John, The Early Brāhmanical System of Gotra and Pravara, pp. 1-55; Karve Iravati, Kinship Organisation in India, pp. 58ff.

sprung from the family of a different ṛṣi.³³

The term 'sapinda' is interpreted differently by the founder of the Mitākṣarā School and the Dāyabhāga School. Vijnānesvara, the founder of the Mitākṣarā School followed by Bombay, interprets it as 'one who has the same pinda i.e. body (or particles of body), while according to Jimūtavāhana, the founder of the Dāyabhāga School followed by Bengal, the word pinda means 'the ball of rice' that is offered in śrāddha to the deceased ancestors etc.; thus the term 'sapinda' means 'one who is connected with another through oblations of food'.³⁴

Both Vijnānesvara and Jimūtavāhana agree that a man cannot marry a sapinda girl. Yājñavalkya 1.53 as interpreted by Mitākṣarā, makes it necessary that the girl to be eligible must be the sixth from the common ancestor traced through the mother and the eighth when traced through the father, while Vasīṣṭha (8.2) says that one may marry the fifth on the mother's side and the seventh on the father's side.³⁵ The MKP (31.79^{ab}) agrees with the latter.

33 Tatosamānarsikulām tulyām bhāryām aroginīm / udvan
nyāyātovyaṅgām gr̥hasthāsramakāraṇāt // MKP 25.18.

34 Vide Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, p.472.

35 Kane P.V., Op.Cit., pp. 452,456.

QUALIFICATIONS OF THE BRIDE
AND THE BRIDE-GROOM:

The Dharmasāstras lay down detailed requisite qualifications of a bride and a bride-groom. The MKP
✓ 25.18 says that for the sake of gr̥hastha's status a man should marry a girl who is equal, free from sickness, not deformed. Elsewhere it states that a man should give up
✓ a maiden having an excessive limb, of low family, disfigured tawny coloured, talkative, and contaminated by everybody; he should marry a girl who is not having an excessive limb, whose name is agreeable and who is marked with all the auspicious characteristics, for the desire of his welfare (31.77-78).³⁶

It shows that the bride-groom should not be aged nor poor. Thus when the Pitṛs persuaded Prajāpati Ṛci to marry, the latter replied that as he was aged, none would
✓ bestow him a wife, and that it was hard for a poor man to take a wife (92.24).

✓ Incidentally it may be noted that a man, who, after having promised his daughter to some one, gives her to a

³⁶ cf. MS 3.4,8,10.

another person, is considered to be a sinner (14.68^{cd} - 69ab).³⁷

MARRIAGE RITES:

The consideration of various rites of the marriage ceremony are very important from the sociological point of view. The MKP sometimes refers to the rites of marriage. This ceremony was performed by the family priest before the fire and in its celebration Samidh and Kusa were offered to it (19.61ff; 66.38-39). The bride was taken to the home of her husband along with the nuptial fire.³⁷ The ~~Abhyudaya~~śrāddha³⁸ was also required to be performed (27.4ff), and the Mother-Goddesses (Mātrkāḥ) were to be worshipped (48.106).³⁹

37 Agninā saha yā nūnam sā jayāma grhaṁ subhā // MKP 66.41^{cd}; cf. Vivahāgnimagrato'jasraṁ nayanti / ASGS 1.8.5.

38 For details on this rite, Vide Chapter III, under śrāddha.

39 For details See Chapter II, Sec.V, under Superstitions, Beliefs and Taboos.

SECTION III

FAMILY

INTRODUCTORY:

The family was the starting point of the social evolution, the most fundamental and basic unit of all human institutions and its study is of an absorbing interest from the sociological point of view. There is a vast literature on family and researches are being conducted still with regard to the different problems connected with it.

In this section, the information of the MKP about the concept of the family, the status and position of the father and the son, and the interpersonal relations of some of the members of the family and their behavioural pattern with each other i.e. the interplay of the relations of the husband and the wife, the father and the son, brothers - elder and younger and brother's wife and the mores of relation of the daughter-in-law, parents-in-law and other relatives-in-law are examined.

THE CONCEPT OF FAMILY:

The MKP does not state directly the concept of the family but it can be reconstructed from the sentiments expressed about the family by two deer in the course of their dialogue.¹ It appears that a man felt miserable and unhappy if it had no issue,² and this incidently reminds one of the concept of family in the light of sociology viz. ~~that~~ even an elementary family is said to be only complete if there is a child.³ On the other hand, a person with many children was also equally miserable and unhappy.⁴ It is needless to say that the same sentiment prevails even in present times. Possibly they preferred a middle path to two extreme situations.

1 MKP 117.10ff.

2 Vide Radcliff Brown, A.R., Structure and Function in primitive Society, p.51.

3 Cf. the speech of the deer to King Karandhama: Aputro²ham maharāja vrthā janmaprayojanam / vicārayan na paśyāmi prāṇām iha dhāraṇam // MKP 117.10.

4 Cf. the speech of another deer to King Karandhama: Bahavo me sutā bhūpa bahvayo duhitaras tathā / yac cintā -duḥkha-dāvāgni-jvālāmadye vasāmyahmam // Ibid 117.16.

STATUS AND POSITION OF THE FATHER:

The RV⁵ refers to the father as the type of all that is good and kind. The MKP also considers the father as the cause of his children's happiness and joy. This is evidenced by the speech of prince Rtudhvaja who points out that those sons whose fathers are alive are indeed highly lucky and meritorious, and to whom crores of money are but equal to grass and youthfulness equal to riches⁶ and moreover blessed are they who are sheltered under the shade of the trees in the form of their father's arms, and hence have not to worry whether there is any wealth in their home or not. In contrast to the above type of sons is another type of sons viz. the fatherless ones those who have a family since their infancy. They are naturally lacking in happiness and are surely deceived by the Providence.⁷

5 RV 4.17.17; 8.86.4 etc.

6 Te subhāgyāḥ supuṇyās' ca yeṣāṃ pitari jīvati / tṛṇaṃ koṭisamaṃ vittaṃ tārūṇyaṃ vittakoṭiṣu // MKP 22.7.

7 Yair na cintyaṃ dhanam kiñcin mama geheṣti nāsti vā / pitrbāhutarucchāyāṃ samstīṭāḥ sukhino hi te // Ibid. 22.10-11.

The father was specially held in honour and respect along with certain other members of the family. Touching the father as well as the cow, the fire, the mother, the brahmin, an elder brother, the sister, the son-in-law, the elders and the aged ones with the foot was considered to be a sin (14.59-60). Killing the father, the Brahmin and the cow were also counted among sinful acts (10.81). A man disregarding his parents was looked upon as a sinner (15.3).

STATUS AND POSITION OF THE SON:

The primary object of marriage in ancient India was the propagation of the family; hence a son who acted as the continuer of one's family -line⁸ was the primary craving of every wedded couple. This is even the feeling now-a-days. The necessity of having a son was also emphasised from the religious point of view. The son was believed to rescue his ancestors from the hell called 'put' into which they might otherwise fall without his birth.⁹

⁸ Vamsakarah Sutaḥ // MKP 8.228; cf. Rām. 1.38.12.

⁹ Garbhādhānavidhānena na kāmāṇurudhyatā / putrārthaṁ janitas cāyaṁ punnāmno bābhyatā mune // MKP 72.16; cf. for a similar idea, 'punnāmā narakād yasmād trāyate pitaraṁ sutaḥ /' MS 9.138; MBH Cr.Ed.1.147.5; Rām. 2. 107.12; ViDS 15.14; Nirukta 2.11.

The birth of a son was conceived to be contributory towards helping the father to execute his obligations which are due to the manes, men and the gods.¹⁰

It was believed that a man can not attain the desired goal without begetting sons, and without worshipping the gods, the manes and the living-beings.¹¹ It also appears that sacrifices to the pitrs with the offerings of flesh ~~was~~ performed by the sonless ~~and~~s with a view to getting sons, and penance was also practised for that purpose, e.g. King Karandhama (or Balās¹va), ~~sonless~~ as he was, practised penance and pleased god Indra and obtained a son by his grace (118.1ff):

On the other hand the MKP also expresses a sentiment that sonlessness is better than having a bad son who brings misery and untimely oldage to his parents, unhappiness to friends and joy to foes and causes the downfall of his pitrs from the heaven. An ill-behaved son is a matter

10 Pitṛdevamanuṣyaṇām yaṇyuktāni ṛṇāni vai / tānyapākurute putro// MKP 3.40.

11 cf. the speech of Pitrs to Prajāpati Ṛci: "Anutpādyā sutān devān asantarpya pitṛnstathā / bhūtādins' ca katham maudhyāt sugatiṃ gantum icchasi // Ibid., 92.7", cf. MS 6.35. The roots of such a faith date back to a very ancient time; vide TS 6.3.10.5; S'Br. Br. 1.7.2.11; ABr. 33.1; For details vide Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, pp.560ff.

of great hatred because he neither gratifies his friends nor satisfies the pitrs and brings misery to his parents.¹²

The noble idea that a good son is a saviour of his father¹³ is also expressed in the MKP. Those parents of good sons who command honour from all and are grateful and calm in disposition and equally engaged in performing good deeds, were considered to be fortunate.¹⁴ The son known through his father was hated upon but the father known by his son was considered worth the life.¹⁵ The father was called "possessed of a son (putravān)" among good people if his son possessed both knowledge of the śāstras and good character, and if his friendly qualities and

12 Aputratā manuṣyānāṃ śreyase na kuputratā // Kuputro hrdayāyāsaṃ sarvādā kurute pituḥ / mātusṣa svargasams-thānāṃ ca svapitrān pātayatyadhāḥ // Suhrūḍāṃ nopakārāya pitrñāṃ ca na tṛptaye / pitror duḥkhāya dhig janma tasya duṣkṛtākarmaṇaḥ // Karoti suhrūḍāṃ dānīyam ahitānāṃ tathā mudam / akāle ca jarāṃ pitroḥ kusutāḥ kurute dhruvam // Ibid. 72.7cd -9, 12.

13 Matputrena tvayā putra tāritosmi mahātmanā // Ibid., 19.92cd.

14 Dhanyās te tanayā yeśāṃ sarvalokābhisammataḥ / paropakāriṇaḥ śāntāḥ sādūkarmanyānuvratāḥ // Ibid., 72.10.

15 Dhik tasya janma yaḥ pitrā loke vijñāyate narah / yatputrāt khyātimabhyeti tasya janma sujanmaḥ // Ibid. 19.101.

prowess were always extolled by his friends and foes respectively.¹⁶ The high ideal that a man who is not surpassed by his son in respect of knowledge, gifts and prowess, can not experience that joy which springs from a good son is also cherished.¹⁷

The MKP contains statements marking off the different grades of sons from the point of view of their prowess and fame. For instance, a son is considered to be middling, if he does not destroy the wealth, valour and renown acquired by his father; the best if he adds to the victory achieved by his father; and the lowest among men if he loses the wealth, valour and fame acquired by his father.¹⁸ Similarly the son known by himself (ātma-jñānī i.e. ātmanā svakarmanā jñāyate asau) is called fortunate, if

16 Sāstraśīle samaṃ manye yasmin dhanyataram tu tam / yasya mitra-guṇāḥ mitrānyamitrās ca parākramam // kathayanti sadā satsu putravāns tena vai pitā / Ibid., 18.25-26^{ab}.

17 Na satputrakṛtām prītimanyaḥ prāpnoti mānavaḥ / putrenā-tisayito yaḥ prajñādānavikramaiḥ // Ibid., 19.100.

18 Yadupāttam yaśaḥ pitrā dhanam vīryamathāpi vā // Tanna hāpayate yastu sa naro madhyamaḥ smṛtaḥ / tadvīryadadhikam yas tū punaranyat svasaktitaḥ // Niṣpādayati tam prajñā vadanti naramuttamam / yaḥ pitrā samupāttāni dhanavīryayaśāṃsi vai // nyūnatām nayati prajñās tamāhuh puruṣādhamam // Ibid., 19.94^{cd} - 97.

known through his father and grand-father, of middling merit, and if known by his maternal relatives and mother, as the worst of men.¹⁹

IDEAL OF FAMILY RELATIONS:

The strength and excellence of the Aryan culture lay in the domestic virtues of its adherents. The MKP contains glimpses of many a happy house-hold, and of love and harmony prevailing through out the family circle. Friendly relations among the different members of the family like the children, the aged ones, wife and husband and other kinsmen were highly esteemed. Seniority of age and relation were the matters of high respect as is also found in modern times in good and cultured families. It also appears that in cultured homes, age & relations were even respected in matters of bedding & food. The home in which the man earns his livelihood without overstepping the Śrutis, and Smṛtis, the wife follows

19 *Ātmajñanī yato dhanyo madhyah pitṛpitāmahaiḥ /
mātrpakṣeṇa matrā ca khyātiṃ yāti narādhamah //*
Ibid., 19.102.

and worships her husband, and also the son worships the teacher, the gods and the father, was considered to be an abode of prosperity.²⁰

The MKP holds up a mirror to ideally affectionate and friendly relations subsisting among the different members of the family like the husband and wife, the parents and the son, the brothers - elder and younger, and the brother's wife, and the mores of relations of the daughter-in-law, parents-in-law and other relatives-in-law.

THE HUSBAND AND THE WIFE:

The MKP gives glimpses of ideal, devoted and

20 cf. the advice of Brahmā to an evil spirit called Duḥsaha, Mṛtyu's son through Alakṣmī: Yatrāmaitrī gr̥he bālavr̥ddhayoṣinnareṣu ca/ tathā svajanavargeṣu gr̥haṃ tacçāpi varjaya // Vayaḥsambandayogyāni śayanānyaśanāni ca / yatra gehe tvayā yakṣmans tat varjyaṃ vacanān mama // yatra putro guroḥ pūjāṃ devānāṃ ca tathā pituḥ / patnī ca bhartuḥ kurute tatrālakṣmī bhayaṃ kutah // Ibid 47.65, 67, 79.

loving relations between the husband and wife.

There is a very interesting dialogue between Atri's chaste wife Anasūyā and a Brahmin's chaste wife centering round the problem of a wife's devotion to her husband and his apotheosis. Here the husband is considered as the wife's supreme bliss,²¹ and a deity. It is said that for a woman there is no other goal like her husband and that love for him tends to her benefit here and hereafter. Through his favour, she is said to gain happiness both here and after death.²² Obedience to her husband is believed to make all her wishes fruitful.²³

As the foremost duty of the wife was to honour and serve the husband, she must always stay with him and she

21 Yato bhartā parāgatiḥ // MKP 16.63d.

22 Jānāmyetanna nārīṇaṃ kaccit patisaṃ gatiḥ / tatpriti-
ścopakārāya iha lōke paratra ca // Patiprasādād iha
ca pretya caiva yaśasvini / nārīṣukhamavāpnoti nārīṇā
bhartṛā hi daivatam // MKP 16.67-68. cf. also...
nārīṇaṃ bhartṛānyanna daivatam // 20.33ab. cf. Mbh
13.146-55; MP 210.17; vide Kane P.V., Op.Cit.,
pp. 562f.

23 sarvakāmaphalavāptiḥ patyāḥ susrūṣaṇāt striyaḥ // MKP
16.57ab.

had a right of residence in the house. A wife was entitled to be maintained in the house by the husband and a man abandoning his wife was considered to be a sinner (12.5^{ab}; 14.69^{cd} - 70).

The relations between the husband and the wife were regarded as highly sacred, e.g. adultery was regarded as the greatest evil which destroys the religious acts and the life of man. It was considered to be the most harmful to a man's life than any thing else.²⁴

Both the husband and the wife had to bear each other even if either of them happened to be of bad disposition.²⁵ Thus the spirit of tolerance was required on the part of both the husband and the wife, and accommodating nature was considered to be highly essential for the stability of the family life.

24 Paradārā na gantavyāḥ puruṣeṇa vipascitā // Iṣṭapūrti-
yusāṃ hantrī paradārāgatir nṛṇāṃ/ nahidṛśam anāyusyaṃ
loke kiñcana vidyate // Yadrśam puruṣasyeṣa paradārā-
bhimarśanam // MKP 31.62^{cd} - 64^{ab}; cf. MS 4.134, Mbh
13.104.21.

25 Patnyānukūlayā bhāvyam yathāśīlāpi bhartari / duḥśīlāpi
tathā bhāryā poṣaṇīyā nareśvara // MKP 66.64.

THE FATHER AND THE SON:

In the MKP there is a pen-picture of cordial relations between the father and the son. Prince Rtudhvaja is referred to as obeying the commands of his father (Piturādesakārin, 19,8^d). When his wife Madālasā died, though she was heart-~~in~~-heart to him, he thought that he should not give up his life after her, and in so thinking one of his considerations was that he should serve his father ~~in~~ whom his life was dependent. Of course, he also gave up the idea of remarrying on account of his deep love for Madālasā (21.16-17).

The father was consulted in every matter by the son, except, of course, his personal matter like his marriage. It was considered improper by the son to talk personally to his father about his marriage, e.g. when Prince Nābhāga, who wanted to marry a Vaiśya lady named Suprabhā, was asked by her father to obtain his father's permission, he replied saying: "those, who treat their gurus with respect, should consult them in all matters, but in such matters as this (i.e. marriage), their words

have no scope. What has love's talk to do with listening to gurus? This is incompatible. In other things men should consult their gurus."²⁶

The paternal care is also referred to in a prayer to Agni, who is prayed to protect just as a father protects his son.²⁷

But at the same time the instances are not wanting of disobedient sons who would be hesitant to fulfil their father's request and for which, of course, they would have to suffer their curse. This is evinced from the instance of sage Sukṛṣa's sons. When he asked them to give their flesh to Indra who had come in the guise of an old bird to test his truthfulness, they immediately refused to do so, and hence out of anger, he cursed them to be born as birds. But the end of the episode also

26 Praṣṭavyāḥ sarvā kāryeṣu guravo guru-vartibhiḥ / na tvīdṛṣesvakāryeṣu guruṇāṃ vākyagocaraḥ // kva manmathakathātāpo guruṇāṃ śīravanāṃ kva ca / viruddham etaḍ anyatra praṣṭavyāḥ guravo nṛbhiḥ // MKP 110.13-14.

27 Yatte vahne śivam rūpaṃ ye ca te sapta-hetayaḥ / taiḥ pāhi naḥ stūto deva pitā putramivatmajam // Ibid., 96.71.

shows the father's kind feelings for his sons. Thus when he was entreated by his sons, he was pleased with them and became sorry for cursing them out of anger, and finally he bestowed upon them the highest knowledge (3.15ff).

BROTHERS - ELDER AND YOUNGER -
AND BROTHER'S WIFE :

The position of the eldest son is peculiarly important in the Hindu family. He occupies the status equal to the father, and disregard for him amounts to a sin (15.14^{cd} - 15^{ab}). There is also an instance of brotherly affection and respect in the MKP, e.g. Kandhara, a bird, avenged the death of its elder brother Kaṅka by killing its demon-murderer called Vidyudrūpa. Fratricide is counted among the sins (15.10^{cd} - 11^{ab}).

THE MORES OF RELATION OF THE
DAUGHTER-IN-LAW, PARENTS-IN-LAW
AND OTHER RELATIVES-IN-LAW :

Early in the history of our civilisation brides received affectionate and respected treatment in their new

homes as they were grown up and educated at the time of their marriage. The elders of the Vedic age treated the wives with very great consideration, regard and affection. They on their part used to observe proper decorum and treat their elders with utmost deference and reverence.²⁸

The MKP contains two instances of daughters-in-law honouring their parents-in-law. It is mentioned that Madālasā used to enjoy with her husband Ṛtudhvaja after bowing down respectfully at the lotus-feet of her parents-in-law daily in the morning (23.2^{ab}). Similarly King Avikṣit's wife Hṛimatī is also referred to have bowed down to her father-in-law touching his feet after her arrival to her new home (125.2).

Honour and regard for the other relatives-in-law are also evinced from the fact that Madālasā is also seen adorning her other kinsmen with obeisance, embraces and such

28 Altekar A.S., Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation, pp. 91f.

other greetings according to propriety and their ages
(23.2-3).

Thus it is seen that the honour and respect for the parents, love for the children, respect for the sister, the brother's wife and the son-in-law, mutual ~~x~~ love and respect of the married couple, regard for father-in-law's relations etc. were the common bonds that held the members of the family together.

SECTION IV

THE POSITION OF WOMEN

INTRODUCTION:

The attitude of a community towards woman has a great social significance in any society. Some of the aspects of their position have already been treated under the discussions on "marriage" and "the family". Some further aspects are discussed here in the following pages.

WOMEN AND HIGHER STUDIES:

Women were permitted to higher studies in the Vedic times, but with the lapse of time the situation changed. The cause of women's education suffered a good deal after about 300 B.C., when the practice of early marriages came into vogue. Even the upanayana ceremony was now reduced to a mere formality and then was dropped altogether putting an end to her education.¹ Till the beginning of the christian era, the upanayana ceremony, which was followed by a period of discipline and education, was common for both boys and girls. Lopāmudrā, Viśvavārā, Siktā Nivāvarī and Ghosā are the renowned Vedic poetesses.²

1 Altekar A.S., Op.Cit., pp.18-19.

2 Altekar A.S., Op.Cit., pp.11-12; Ideal and Position of Indian Women in Social Life; Great Women of India, p.26.

The names of Maitreyī and Gārgī of the Upaniṣads are too well-known to need mention. The ancient grammarians were also familiar with women-teachers.³

Women-students were divided into two classes, Brahmvādinīs and Sadyodvāhās. The former were life-long students of theology and philosophy; the latter used to prosecute their studies till their marriage.⁴ In the MKP, Menā and Dharinī, the two daughters of the pitṛs viz. Agniṣvāttas, Barhiṣadas, Anagnis and Sāgnis and Svadhā, Dakṣa's daughter are said to be Brahmvādinīs and Yoginīs (49.33).

The MKP contains instances showing that women also used to attain Yoga, (Supreme philosophical state of mind a sort of serene indifference). Sage Atri's wife Anasūyā chose a boon from the gods that she may attain Yoga along with her husband for deliverance from affliction (16.90^{cd}). A Nāga King Asvatara chose a boon from Lord Śiva that Rtuḍhvaja's deceased wife Madālasā may be alive and become Yoginī and the mother of Yoga (Yogamātā) (21.66-67).

3 Kane P. V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, p.366.

4 Altekar A.S., Op.Cit., pp.13,237.

There are also instances of women of royal families retiring to the life of the forest-hermit in company of the husband. For example, King Rtudhvaja and Madālasā retired to the forest to practise penance (33.10). King Khanitra also went to the forest along with his three wives to practise austerities (115.10). Likewise, King Karandhama retired to the forest accompanied by his wife Vīrā to practise penance, and after practising very arduous austerities there for a thousand years, when the king died and gained the world of Indra, Vīrā practised austerities for a hundred years longer for gaining the same world as her husband (125.33ff). King Nariṣyanta also departed to the forest and his wife Indrasenā accompanied him to the forest. She is described as tapasvinī(131.7-8).

THE CHOICE OF THE MATE:

In early times, maidens appear to have had more or less effective voice in the selection of their partners in life. Kṣatriya-circles in society even conceded to grown up brides the exclusive right of selecting their own consorts as is proved by the custom of svayamvara or self-choice.⁵ The instances of svayamvara in the royal families

⁵ Altekar A. S., Op.Cit., pp.77-78.

in the MKP are already noted under the discussion of the svayamvara form of marriage.

When the pre-puberty marriages came into vogue, the situation was changed and they were deprived of their right in the choice of the mate.⁶

WOMAN AS WIFE:

The ideal of relations between the husband and wife is already noted.

The wife who is always cheerful and is not eager to move outside, who is always modest, devoted to her husband's service, keeps aloof from associating with disreputable women, and eats the food that has been left by the family and the husband, is highly esteemed.⁷

WOMAN AS MOTHER

Motherhood has been the cherished ideal of every Hindu woman and the apotheosis of the mother has reached a greater height in India than anywhere else. The MS says

⁶ Altekar A.S., Op.Cit., p.12.

⁷ MKP 47.66,73.

that one ācārya excels ten upādhyāyas in glory; a father excels a hundred ācāryas in glory; but a mother excels even a thousand fathers in glory (2.145). The MKP declares that the wives of the good men bear fruit in their sons (8.24^b). The MS also states that women are created for procreation and men have to propagate the race, therefore in the veda it is declared that the wife shares in common with the husband the performance of religious duties. The NS (5.19) also declares that women are created for procreating children.

It is also noticed that the curse of the mother could not be averted. This is testified by the instance of Yama in the MKP (chaps. 74-75, 103-105). Once Yama, Vivasvata's son through Samjñā, enraged at the improper treatment of Chāyā-Samjñā, the substitute mother for his real mother, raised his right foot to strike her in righteous indignation; but he was cursed for such an ignoble act by her to the effect that his foot would drop down. Deeply afflicted at that curse he went to his father for remedy for which he pleaded his inability by saying that all curses could be averted but not that of a mother.⁸ Afterwards

8 MKP. 103.28; cf. Mbh Cr. Ed. 1.33.4.

out of his love for him, he said that insects taking some flesh from his foot would go forth to the earth, and thus he would be saved. One thing to be noted here is Yama's sentiment that mostly Chāyā-Saṃjñā was not his real mother as she cursed him; because even towards unworthy sons a mother is not wanting in good qualities.⁹

In both men and women there is a deep desire to have brave and valient sons and this desire is as old as the RV.¹⁰ The MKP expresses a noble sentiment that he who is kind to the suppliants, well-disposed towards the friends and able to face the foes, - in him his father has a real son and his mother has given birth to a hero. A woman's pain of conception reaches its success if her son either vanquishes his foes or is slain in the battle; on the other hand if the sons die sighing in great distress, afflicted with illness while their relatives lament, - their mother has brought forth children in vain...(20.43-46).

9 Viguneśvapi putreṣu na mātā vigunā bhavet // MKP 74.32cd; 103.25ab: cf. a similar sentiment "Kuputro jāyeta kvacidapi kumātā na bhavati", Devyaparādhakṣama-panastotra, 2,3,4.

10 RV. 1.140.12^c; 2.24.15^c; 7.34.20^d (prayer for heroic son); RV. 1.64.14^d; 2.23.19^b; 2.32.1^d; 8.27.16^c (prayer for progeny).

WIDOW REMARRIAGE:

The widow remarriage prevailed in Vedic society side by side with Niyoga, but it gradually came into disrepute during the period 300 B.C. to 200 A.D., and from about 600 A.D. the prejudice against the widow remarriage began to become deeper and deeper. Smṛti-writers from this period onwards condemned them vehemently, and passages in earlier works clearly permitting them began to be explained away as referring to a bygone age.¹¹

The MKP also, thinks of a girl's marriage only once,¹² when it states that a man who gives his daughter twice is verily born as a worm (15.13). Elsewhere a man who has married a widow is considered to be a sinner (14.82). Moreover, ~~the~~ good deeds done by the son and daughter of a remarried widow are stated to bear no fruits for themselves (47.50^{cd}, 51). The son of a remarried widow is tabooed at the śrāddha-dinner (28.27).¹³ All this clearly shows that the MKP disapproves widow remarriage.

11 Altekar A.S., Op.Cit., pp. 150ff.

12 cf. NS 12.28

13 cf. MS 3.155.

SUTTEE

The custom of Suttee widely prevailed in ancient times and the custom existed among the Aryans in the Indo-European period. The Vedic period, however, shows that the custom of Satī had died down long ago. There are stray references to the custom of Satī from about 300 B.C. By about 400 A.D. the custom gradually came into general vogue and began to become popular in Kṣatriya circles and from about 700 A.D. fiery advocates began to come forward to extol the custom of Suttee in increasing numbers.¹⁴

The MKP records two cases of Suttee, e.g. (1) King Khanitra's three wives gave up their lives on the death of their husband and attained the same worlds acquired by the King (115.20) and (2) Indrasenā ascended the funeral pyre of her husband, King Nariṣyanta, along

14 Altekar A. S., Op.Cit., pp.115ff.

with his body (131.37).¹⁵

As against the above two cases of Suttee, the Purāṇa also contains an instance of a widowed queen surviving her husband, e.g. King Kaṇḍhama's wife Vīrā did not become Suttee (125.35-36). No circumstances of her not being a Suttee are mentioned here. So we can not explain her case, or possibly the two ~~stages~~ of society from the time point of view are given, or two practices were in vogue simultaneously.

The MKP, however, appears to advocate the custom of Suttee when it praises it.¹⁶ Cf. also the sentiments of King Śatrujit, the father-in-law of Maḍaśa when she

15 Dr.A.S.Altekar notes that the earliest historical instance of Suttee is that of the wife of the Hindu general Keteus, who died in 316 B.C. while fighting Antigonos....Some Greek historians tell us that the custom was prevalent among the Kathians (Kathas) of the Panjab. It was, however, still confined only to a few Ksatriya circles, for it is not noticed by Greek writers in connection with other fighting tribes, which stubbornly opposed Alexander and many members of which died while fighting with the invader; (Op.Cit., p.122). Dr.A.S.Altekar also notes another historical cases of Suttee, e.g. the wife of general Goparaja, who fell in 510 A.D. while fighting for his country against the Hunas, immolated herself on her husband's funeral pyre, and in 606 A.D. the mother of King Harṣa chose to predecease her husband by committing herself to flames, when it was declared that there was no chance of her husband's recovery. At about this time a Nepalese queen, named Rājyavati, is also seen becoming a Suttee (Op.Cit., p.123).

16 Mṛteti sāmānīm nimitṭam tyajāmi yadi jīvitam // Kiṃ māyopakṛtām tasyāḥ ślāghyam etat tu yoṣitām / MKP 21.13^{cd} - 14^{ab}.

died on hearing the news of her husband's death: "How is it possible that she, thus faithful to her husband, should be bewailed, for women have no deity besides the husband? She would have to be bewailed by us and her relatives and other compassionate persons, if she were separated from her husband. But this lady, who, on hearing about her husband's death, has immediately followed him, should not be bewailed by the wise men. Those women should be bewailed, who are separated from their husbands, and do not die after them due to the fear and thus cause pain to their family." (20.32ff).

WOMEN AND RELIGION:

Women were eligible to participate in sacrifices independently and jointly with the husband upto C. 300 B.C.¹⁷

As the Vedic sacrifices became very complicated and as the Vedic studies declined among women owing to the practice of the early marriages coming in vogue and also as the society was not prepared to tolerate the dilettante Vedic studies, obviously female Vedic scholars began to

17 Altekar A. S., Op.Cit., pp.229-236.

become rarer and the unhealthy attitude of the law-givers to women's role in the participation of the Vedic sacrifices resulted in the prohibition of their part in the Vedic sacrifices but this did not produce a long standing hardship. This religious disenfranchisement had created a vacuum to be filled by the Bhakti-Paurāṇika religion. As early as the third century B.C. women are seen performing a number of Vratas.¹⁸

The MKP shows a favourable attitude towards women, especially the wife as an assistant in religious matters (67.23^{cd}). Without her a house-holder becomes unfit for performing his daily duties and thus incurs sins. Hence, of whatever temperament the wife may be, she deserves to be protected very carefully. In the MKP (chaps 66-69) there is a story of King Uttama, who banished his wife and was not shown proper respect for this act. He was instructed by a sage thus: "A wife is the potent cause of righteousness, wealth and love among men; and in particular, one who forsakes her has in sooth abandoned righteousness. A wifeless man, O King, is not fit for his own works, be he Brahmin or Kṣatriya, Vaiśya or even Śūdra. No brilliant

18 Altekar A. S., Op.Cit., pp. 239ff.

deed didst thou do, Sir, when thou didst abandon thy wife; for as women must not forsake a husband, so men must not forsake a wife (68.9-11). " Elsewhere it is declared that "a wife is the helpmate of her husband unto the complete attainment of dharma, artha and k̄ama. When both the wife and the husband are controlled by each other, all the three - dharma, artha and k̄ama - combine. Men can not perform the worship of the gods, the pitṛs, the ✓ dependents and the guests without a wife, or with a worthless wife. There is no love for him without a wife..... By community of the wedded pair in their duties, they may attend to the three duties. A man satisfies the pitṛs with children, the guests with food, and the gods with worship; as a man he protects a virtuous wife. Similarly, for a woman there is no dharma, k̄ama, artha and offspring without a husband. Hence this three-fold group rests upon the wedded life".

But the wife is not authorised to do religious acts independently of her husband. The MKP states that there is no separate sacrifice for women, nor śrāddha, nor fasting; for by obedience to her husband indeed she reaches

the desired worlds;¹⁹ and whatever worship the husband may perform to the manes and guests, even one half of that is enjoyed by devoted and faithful wife by her very obedience (16.64).

Only the first married wife is considered to be worthy of accompanying her husband in religious matters,²⁰ and by abandoning her, he is believed to lose the fruits of his actions (66.41^{ab}).

WOMEN NOT TO BE KILLED:

Since the Vedic times, it is enjoined that a woman ought not to be killed.²¹ The MS (9.232) says that a person killing a woman or a Brahmin or an infant is to be

19 MKP 16.62^{cd} - 63^{ab}; cf. MS 5.155; ViDS 25.15. The Nityācārapaddhati (p.329) quotes MS 5.155 and remarks that Manu's words are not to be taken literally but are only meant to extol the eminence of the husband; Vide Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, pp.558 f.

20 MKP 66.42^{ab}; cf. ViDS 26.1-4 Gobhila Smṛti 1.103-104; YS 1.88 and Veda-Vyāsa 2.12; vide Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, pp.559f.

21 Altekar A.S., Op.Cit., p.380; Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, pp. 593f.

and / meted out a capital punishment. The MKP states that and those who kill a woman and an infant, break the faith of others, go to hell (2.19). Elsewhere also it states that killing a woman, a brahmin, a teacher, and a cow and abandoning persons devoted to oneself amounts to a great sin (8.261). One killing a woman, a cow and a brahmin is considered to be an Apavāddha (i.e. contaminated by people) (32.67).

POWER OF A PATIVRATĀ:

The Mbh and the Purāṇas contain hyperbolical descriptions of the power of the Pativrata.²² The stories about the powers of chaste and devoted wives are full of supernatural occurrences. For instance we may refer to the story of the Brahmin leper and his wife as narrated in the MKP 16.14ff. The story runs as follows:-

There was a Brahmin leper who had a very chaste and devoted wife. She served him whole-heartedly. Once the Brahmin was enamoured of a prostitute. Consequently, in order to fulfil his wishes, his wife was taking him at

22 Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, pp.567ff.

night to the house of the prostitute, when the leper's foot struck against the body of a sage who was lying pierced with a lance. The sage cursed him that he would die with Sun-rise. At this the wife arrested the rise of the Sun by virtue of her chastity, and, as a result, the whole creation was in danger. So, the gods sent Anasūyā, who persuaded the leper's wife to allow the Sun to rise and revived the dead leper by means of the merit gathered through service to her husband.

GENERAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS WOMEN:

Hindu society has sought to show its concern for the woman in a variety of ways. On the crowded streets way was to be made for her (32.41). To accept a bride price was an improper act (47.51).

As against the high eulogy and considerate treatment of women, the MKP also evinces unfavourable attitude towards women; e.g. it declares that self-reliance is the quality of men; women (abālāḥ) are always dependent on others.²³

23 Svatantratā manuṣyaṇām paratantrā sadābālāḥ // MKP 121.29ab; cf.na bhajet strī svatantratām // MS 5.148d. As regard the details about the theory of perpetual tutelage of women, and its development vide Altekar A.S., Op.Cit., pp.327ff; vide also Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, pp.576ff.

SECTION V

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE

The social and religious life is an index to the culture of the society and the picture of the same can be had by the consideration of the topics like food and drink, dress and decoration, customs and conventions, daily and periodical duties and ceremonies (*Āhnikā* and *Ācāra*), rules of purity (*Suddhi*), superstitions, beliefs and taboos, pastimes, weights and measures etc.

I. FOOD AND DRINKSGENERAL:

Various articles of food are referred to ^{in the MKP} as objects of gift to Brahmins on certain occasions, e.g. if the gift of food etc. is made to the Brahmins well-versed in the Purāṇas, after hearing the Hariscandra-kathā in the MKP, it is said to bring the highest merit (8.282-283). The food given in gift is believed to produce happiness at the time of death (10.51), and also to satisfy one at the time of death even though one can not eat food at that time

(10.52). Similarly, one is said to pass the road to the abode of Yama with ease if one bestows food-gift. (10.69). It may also be noted here that King Nariṣyanta is said to have bestowed the granaries (dhānyāgāra) on Brahmins, when he performed a sacrifice (129.20).

FOOD-GRAINS:

With regard to the origin of the vegetable kingdom we have a reference to seven^{teen} types of grāmyauśadhis, which probably mean cultivated grains. They are Vrihi, Yava, Godhūma, Anu, Tila, Priyaṅgu, Kovidāra, Koradūṣa, Cīnaka,^{1a} Māsa, Mudga, Masūra, Niṣpāva, Kulatthaka, Ādhakī, Caṇaka and Sana.¹ Some of these might have been used as food-grains (For their identification see under Eatables below).

EATABLES:

Fruits constitute one of the articles of eatables and in the MKP they are mentioned as the food of persons practising penance.² Queen Virā lived on fruits and roots

¹ MKP 46.67-69; cf. VP 8.147-150.

^{1a} This is according to the cal. ed. (49.68). The Bombay edition reads 'Tīnaka' by mistake.

² cf. MP 7.4 etc. Vide Kantawala S.G., Cultural History from the Matsya-Purana, pp.585f.

during her period of penance (125.36). Fruits and roots are mentioned as food for Yogins (38.11).³

The following is an alphabetical list of the edible substances with the details of their occurrences in the MKP. They are generally recommended or tabooed in *śrāddha*, or are referred to as right food for Yogins. The MKP does not give details about the shape, preparation, taste etc. of the various dishes but merely mentions them.:

Adhaki:- It is a kind of pulse, *Cajanus Indicus*, Spreng, N. O. Papilionaceae; Pigeon Pea; Guj. Tuver, Dangri; Hindi Tor; Arhar dal;⁴ Marathi Tur. It is a *grāmya* oṣadhi (46.69).

Anu:- *Panicum Miliaceum*, the small china.⁵ It is included into *grāmya* (46.67) and *Yajñiya*

3 Cf. VP 16.13.

4 Nadkarni A.K.(Re.), *Indian Material Medica*, Vol.I, p.231; vide Pargiter F.E., *Op.Cit.*, p.245, note.

5 Pargiter F.E., *Op.Cit.*, p.244, note.

oṣadhis (46.70).

Apūpa⁶:- Cake, Guj. mālapūdo: one who steals apūpa is born as an ant after one's release from hell (15.23).

Canā(ka):- Chick-pea or gram; Cicer Arientinum; N.O. Papilionaceae; Guj. Caṇā; Hindi Chana.⁷ It is a grāmya oṣadhi (46.69). Stealing of it is considered to be a sin (15.7-8).

Cīnaka:- This is said to be panicum Miliaceum which is already mentioned above (see Anu)^{7a}. It is a grāmya oṣadhi (46.68).

Dugdha:- Milk: Guj. Dudha: Stealing of milk(dugdha, Kṣīra: Payas: 15.20; payas, 15.22) is counted among sinful acts. Milk is mentioned as food for Yogins(38.11).⁸ Kṣīra-vāhinfī is mentioned as a proper name for river in Uttara-Kuru-Varṣa (56.24). The Milk of cow is said to satisfy the manes for one year (29.6). The vessels for keeping

6 Or Pūpa (cal.ed. 15.23).

7 Nadkarni A.K.(Re.), Op.Cit., p.311; Pargiter F.E., Op.Cit., p. 84; Vaidya B.G., Sanskrit Sahityamā Vanaspati (in Gujarati), p.241.

7a Pargiter F.E., Op.Cit., p.244, note.

8 Cf. VP 16.13.

milk and other things are referred to (48.38).

Ghr̥ta:- Guj. Ghī:
Sarpis: Clarified butter:⁹ Ghee residing
 in milk is mentioned in a simile (43.6). Stealing of
 ghee (ghr̥ta) is considered to be a sin (15.21).

Godhūma:- Wheat, Guj. Ghaum: It is a grāmya
 (46.67) and a yajñiya oṣadhi (46.70). It is recommended
 for śrāddha (29.10). Stealing of it is considered to be a
 sin (15.7-8).

Gr̥njana:- Red Garlic. It is tabooed in śrāddha
 (29.12).

Havisyāna:- It means food fit to be eaten during
 certain festival days or any particularly sacred food.¹⁰
 It is said to satisfy the manes for one month.¹¹

9 For the reference to Sarpis vide under Popular Superstitions, Beliefs and Taboos, Chap. II, Sec. V.

10 Monier Williams, Op.Cit., p.1294.

11 MKP 29.2; cf. YS 1.258

Kalama:- It is a sort of rice sown in May and June and ripening in December or January.¹² Stealing of it is considered as a sinful act (15.7-8).

Kalāya:- It is a sort of pea or pulse. This is the general name for most of the commonly cultivated kinds of bean,¹³ Guj. Lāga.¹⁴ Stealing of Kalāya amounts to a sin (15.7-8).

Kana:- Grain : It is a food for Yogins (38.11).

Karambha:- Groats or Coarsely ground Oats; a dish of parched grain, a cake or flour or meal mixed with curds, a kind of gruel,¹⁵ Monier Williams does not take it the neuter, but says Karambha, feminine, is *Asparagus Racemosus*; N.O. Liliaceae;¹⁶ which is also called shatamuli or shatavari (shata-hundred; muli-roots alluding to its numerous fusiform roots); Guj. Satavar; Hindi Shakakul; Satavari.¹⁷ It is

12 Pargiter F.E., Op.Cit., p.84, note; Monier Williams, Op.Cit., p.260; Vaidya B.G., p.Cit.,

13 Pargiter F.E., Op.Cit., p.84, note.

14 Vaidya B.G., Op.Cit., pp.166f.

15 Monier Williams; Op.Cit., p.255.

16 Op.Cit., p.255.

17 Pargiter F.E., Op.Cit., p.165, note; Nadkarni A.K. (Re.), Op.Cit., p.153.

tabooed in śrāddha (29.12).

Kodrava:- A species of grain eaten by the poor;
Paspalum Scrobiculatum; N.O. Gramineae; Guj. Kodrā,¹⁸
It is recommended in śrāddha (29.10).

Koradūṣa (= Kodrava) :- The seed of it is an article of diet with the Indians, particularly with those who inhabit the mountains and most barren parts of the country, for it is in such countries only where it is cultivated, it being unprofitable crop and not sown where other more beneficials will thrive. It is as palatable as rice.¹⁹ It is a grāmya oṣadhi (46.68).

Kṛsara : (Guj. Khīcāḍī; it refers to a dish of rice and pulse): It is a dish of rice and sesamum.²⁰
One should not prepare the samyāva, kṛsara and meat (for the gods).²¹

18 Nadkarni A.K.(Re.), Op.Cit.,p.924; Vide Pargiter F.E., Op.Cit., p.244, note; Monier Williams, Op.Cit., p.313; Vaidya B.G., Op.Cit., pp.227-228.

19 Pargiter F.E., Op.Cit., p.244, note.

20 Macdonell A.A., A Practical Sanskrit Dictionary, p.74.

21 MKP 31.49; cf. Mbh 13.104.15.

Lasuna:- Garlic; Guj. Lasana : It is tabooed in sraddha (29.12).

Lavana:- Salt: Stealing of it is mentioned as a sin (15.22). Additional salt is tabooed in sraddha (29.13). It is also said that one should give up taking additional salt (31.29,58).

Madhu:- Honey; Guj. Madha: It is mentioned as food for people in the Treta age (46.30-32).²² Stealing of honey is a sin (15.23). Honey is said to yield endless satisfaction to the manes (29.7). S.V. Ghr̥ta and Payasa.

Madhuparka:- It is a mixture of honey, curds and clarified butter.²³ In the MKP it is referred to as an offering to Brahmins (31.95).

Masa:- It is a kind of bean, Phaseolus Roxburghii or Phaseolus Radiatus; N.O. Papilionaceae; Black gram; Guj. Adad, Hindi Urid.²⁴ It is esteemed the best of all the leguminous plants and the meal is made into bread for many

22 cf. VP 8.92.

23 Monier Williams, Op.Cit., p.780.

24 Nadkarni A.K.(Re.), Op.Cit., p.940; Vide Vaidya B.G., Op.Cit., p.374.

religious ceremonies.²⁵ It is a valued kind of pulse having seeds marked with black and grey spots.²⁶ It is a grāmya oṣadhi (46.68). Stealing of it is a sinful act (15.7-8).

Masūra:- A sort of Lentil or pulse: According to Monier Williams this is either *Ervum Hirsutum* or *Cicer Lens*.²⁷ The former is modern masūracanā, and the later masūm.²⁸ It is a grāmya oṣadhi (46.68).

Modaka:- This is the most popular preparation of India. It is also called Ladduka and it is prepared from wheat flour in which, after frying, are added sugar and ghee, cardamom and other ingredients and is then given a round shape, ordinarily of the size of a wood-apple. The word Ladduka seems to be a popular word, the other word, being 'Modaka' (literally that which gives joy). The word thus suggests people's liking for it). The house which is

25 Pargiter F. E., Op.Cit., p.84, note.

26 Monier Williams, Op.Cit., p.814.

27 Op.Cit., p.794.

28 Pargiter F.E., Op.Cit., p.165, note.

decorated with the picture of a cow eating 'modaka' is believed to have no influence of an evil spirit called Duhsaha (47.92).²⁹

Mudga:- Green gram; Phaseolus Mungo; N. O. Papilionaceae; Guj. Mag; Hindi Moong, Mag.³⁰ अ. म. It is recommended for śrāddha (29.10). It is a grāmya oṣadhi (46.68).

Nispāva:- The finest pulse. It is recommended for śrāddha (29.10).

Nivāra:- Wild rice, Guj. Namāra^{ṇā} Cokhā. It is recommended for śrāddha (29.9). It is a yajñiya oṣadhi (46.71).

Palāndu:- Onion; Guj. dungalī. It is tabooed in śrāddha (29.12).

Pauṣkara:- Pauṣkala³¹ is the correct reading (Cal.ed. 32-9). It is a kind of wild grain and is

29 For details see under ~~Popular~~ Superstitions, Beliefs and Taboos.

30 Nadkarni A.K.(Re.), Op.Cit., p.939; vide Pargiter F.E., Op.Cit., p. 84, note; Vaidya B.G., Op.Cit., p.375.

31 Monier Williams, Op.Cit., p.652.

recommended for śrāddha (29.9).

Pāyasa:- This is known as 'Dudhapāka' and it is prepared by boiling rice in milk and adding sugar when the rice gets soft. It also means an oblation of milk, rice and sugar.³² The man eating pāyasa without consecrating it is considered to be a sinner (14.62f). It is referred to as satisfying the manes for one year (29.6). Pāyasa mixed with honey and clarified butter is mentioned as being desired by the manes (29.36).

Pindamūlaka:- Carrot:- It is tabooed in śrāddha (29.12).

Pinyaka:- Oil-cake. It is recommended as food for Yogins (38.11).³³

Prasatikā:- Small-grained wild rice: It is recommended for śrāddha (29.9).

32 Monier Williams, Op.Cit., p.619.

33 cf. Vp. 16.14.

Priyaṅgu³⁴:- Panicum Italicum; Guj. Kāṅga;
Hindi Kangui; Samak; Kangni.³⁵ (~~p. 897~~). It is recommended
for śrāddha (29.10). It is mentioned as food for Yogins
(38.11). It is a grāmya (46.68) and a yajñiya oṣadhi
(46.71).

Rajamāsa:- A kind of bean, Dolichos Catjang^{35a};
N.O. Papilionaceae, cow-pea; cow-gram; Hindi Lobia; Raish;
Guj. Colā. It is tabooed in śrāddha (29.11).

Rajasyamaka:- Panicum Hispidulum. It is a wild
grain and is recommended for śrāddha (29.9).

Saktu:- Groats. It is a coarsely ground meal
especially of barely.³⁶ It is recommended as food for
Yogins (38.11).

Samyava:- (Śīro). It is a sort of cake of wheat-
flour fried with ghee and milk and made up into an oblong
form with sugar and spices.³⁷ S. V. Kṛṣara.

34 The Bom.ed. reads (38.11) Priyagu mistakenly. The Cal.ed.
reads Priyaṅgu (41.11).

35 Nadkarni A.K. (Re.), Op.Cit., p.897; Vaidya B.G. Op.Cit.,
pp.333ff.

35a Nadkarni A.K. (Re.), Op.Cit., p.459.

36 Monier Williams, Op.Cit., p.1132.

37 Monier Williams, Op.Cit., p.1112.

Syāmaka:- Panicum Frumentaccum; Barnyard Millet; "Billion-dollar grass"³⁸; Guj. Sāmo; It is a wild grain and is recommended for śrāddha (29.9).

Takra:- It means butter milk mixed with an equal amount of water; Marathi tāk; Guj. Chhāsa. It is mentioned as food for Yogins (38.11).³⁹

Taila:- Sesamum oil, Guj. Tela. Stealing of taila is mentioned as a sin (15.23). Taila residing in tila is mentioned in a simile (43.6).

Tila:- Sesamum seed; Guj. Tala: S. V. Taila. It is very often mentioned in connection with śrāddha (27.10 etc.). It is a grāmya (46.67) and a yajñiya oṣadhi (46.70).

Uṣara:- It means salted things which are tabooed in śrāddha (29.13).

Viprāsikā⁴⁰:- (A kind of grain ?). It is tabooed in śrāddha (29.11).

38 Nadkarni A.K.(Re.), Op.Cit., p.896.

39 cf. Vp. 16.13.

40 Viprāsikā (cal.ed. 32.11). Not given in the dictionary.

Vrihi:- Rice, Guj. Dāngara. It is recommended for śrāddha (29.10). It is a grāmya (46.67) and a yajñiya oṣadhi (46.70).

Yava:- Barely, Guj. Java. It is frequently mentioned in connection with śrāddha (27.5 etc.).

Yavagu:- Rice-gruel. It is mentioned as food for Yogins (38.11). They are advised to eat warm rice-gruel mixed with oil as a cure against certain gastric troubles (36.54f).⁴¹

Yavaka:- Barely-gruel. It is a particular food prepared from barely.⁴² It is mentioned as food for Yogins (38.11).⁴³

Juices:- Over and above the mention of various eatables, some juices are also mentioned. It is said that the people of Kimpuruṣavarṣa enjoy the juice of a Plakṣa tree (fig-tree) (57.3). The juice of the Jambu fruits is said to be the food of the people of Ilāvṛtavarṣa

41 cf. Vp. 16.13.

42 Monier Williams, Op.Cit., p.852.

43 cf. Vp. 16.13.

(57.9). The people of Harivarṣa are said to drink the sugarcane juice (57.5). It is even a common drink of Indians to-day. The people of Rāmyakavarṣa are said to relish the juice of the fruits of a Nyagrodha tree (Ficus Indica) (57.12). It may be noted here that the sweetness of fruits is compared to that of nectar (57.25). So also amṛta and viṣa are mentioned in a simile, e.g. in connection with the Yogins, apamāna (insult) and māna (pride) are compared to nectar and poison respectively (38.3).

Non-Vegetarian diet:- The references to the use of meat, beef and flesh are found in the RV.⁴⁴ The Indus valley people used to take animal food.⁴⁵ The MKP contains references to non-vegetarian diet. The offering of flesh of different animals to the manes at śrāddha is said to satisfy them for a particular period of time (29.2ff). The offerings/

44 Majumdar R.C. and Pusalkar A.D.(Ed.), The Vedic Age, p.393. Vide Patil D.R., Cultural History from the Vāyu Purāṇa, pp.214-215 for references from other works.

45 Majumdar R.C. and Pusalkar A.D.(Ed.), Ibid., p.174.

animals to Devī are mentioned in the MKP (89.20). These references tend to suggest that the use of meat and the offerings of animals find permission in religious acts.

It also appears that meat-eating was permitted under certain circumstances, e.g. it is declared that a man who eats the remains of meat offered to the manes, the gods, the meat cooked at śrāddha-dinner at the desire of the Brahmins and that which is sprinkled and which serves the purpose of medicine is not defiled.⁴⁶ Furthermore, certain animals like go-samp (godhā), a very large kind of lizard found in jungle⁴⁷), the procupine (svāvit), and the rhinocerus (khaḍga) are recommended for eating, while certain others viz. the domestic pig (grāma-sūkara) and fowl (kukkuta) are prohibited.⁴⁸

That

Wine-drinking:- several types of alcoholic drinks must have prevailed can be known by some of the names of such wines in the MKP, e.g. asava (15.24), madhu (62.2 etc.),

46 Pitrdevādiśeṣaṃ ca śrāddhe brāhmaṇakāmyayā / Prokṣitaṃ
cauṣaḍharthaṃ ca khādan māṃsaṃ na duṣyati // MKP
32.3cd - 4ab.

47 Pargiter F.E., Op.Cit., p. 181, note.

48 MKP 32.2cd - 3ab.

madirā (used in a simile, e.g. madirekṣanā 58.45 etc.),
 Madya (16.14 etc.), pāna (6.7 etc.), surā (16.14 etc.)
 and varuṇī (18.16).

Liquor was patronised by the Kings and queens.
 It is also referred to in connection with the Nāgas and
 certain divinities. King Uttama is referred to as offer-
 ing the best wine to his queen (Varāsava, 66.11). Drinking
 of wine (madhu) is also mentioned with reference to King
 Rtudhvaja, a Nāga King Asvatara and his two sons (21.118).
 Baladeva is referred to have indulged in wine-drinking before
 resorting to pilgrimage (6.6). The Devī is also said to
 have drunk wine (pāna) during her fight with the demon Mahiṣa
 (80.37). Wine-drinking is frequently mentioned in connection
 with lord Dattātreya (16.114 etc.), who is referred to
 have indulged in wine in order to test the loyalty of young
 sages. There is also a reference to madya-offering to
 Dattātreya-worship (17.11).

In a chapter on śrāddha, it is laid down that a
 Brahmin dealing in Soma is not to be invited at the śrāddha-
 dinner (28.28). The VP also lays down the same thing. In

this connection the observations of Dr. D. R. Patil may also be applied here: "This reference suggests that traffic in Soma was regarded with disapproval though such traffic was taking place. The prohibition is equally suggestive of the fact that Soma was primarily used in sacrifices and hence was considered too sacred to be an article for sale."⁴⁹

II. DRESS AND DECORATION

INTRODUCTION:

While enumerating the principles underlying the social structure, Raymond Firth mentions the principle of sex which points out and distinguishes the different and divergent roles played by the males and females in society and the division between the male and the female is marked by the differences in their costumes.⁵⁰

GENERAL:

The clothes generally figure as objects of gifts

49 Patil D.R., Op.Cit., p.213.

50 Human Types, pp. 98 ff.

to Brahmins on various occasions like the performance of sacrifices etc. King Nariṣyanta bestowed upon the Brahmins the clothes etc. when he performed a sacrifice (129.20). King Karandhama also gave clothes and various other things to Brahmins on the occasion of the birth of his grandson Marutta (125.10). The gifts of clothes etc. to Brahmins well-versed in the Purāṇas are also referred to (8.82-83). Those who bestow clothes in gifts are believed to pass the road to the abode of Yama with ease (10.69). It may be noted here that King Dama is mentioned to have been bestowed clothes and certain other things by his father-in-law after his marriage (130.63).

In the Karma-vipāka chapter, stealing of clothes is mentioned as a sin leading to the birth of a hare (15.70). A man is prohibited from worshipping⁵¹ the gods and eating when clad in a single garment.⁵²

BARK AND SKIN GARMENTS:

The use of skin garments and the garments of barks

51 MKP 31.34.

ibid
52 MKP 31.61.

of trees was known to the R̥gvedic people. "The Maruts wear deer skins and a muni (10.136.2) is clad in skins or soiled garments.⁵³

In the MKP certain Brahmin sages are referred to as clad in hides of black antelopes (Kṛṣṇājīnāmbārāḥ, 6,30). The mṛga-carman or deer-skin is tabooed to a house-holder having a son (32.53). Its use might have been quite common with the ascetics. The Forest-Hermit (Vānaprastha) is advised to wear Valkalas i.e.bark garments (25.26). Sage Viśvāmitra asked King Harīścandra to leave his kingdom and to put on garments of barks of trees (taru-valkala), after the latter handed over his kingdom to the sage (7.34).

KINDS OF CLOTHES AND VARIOUS GARMENTS:

Various types of clothes and garments are referred to in the MKP; of course they are not numerous.

Adhovastra:- Literally the word adhovastra means

53 Majumdar R.C. and Pusalkar A.D.(Ed.), Op.Cit.,p.393;
Vide Apte V.M., Social and Religious life in the
Grhya-sūtras, p.68.

a lower garment. The MKP states that one, who blows one's head with a lower garment, a dish, a leather (carma) and a winnowing basket, loses one's good deeds (32.59).

Amsuka:- It means a fine or white cloth, muslin garment, upper garment.⁵⁴ It is a type of silk made from cocoons (silk-worm).⁵⁵ One who steals amsuka is born as a parrot (suka) (15.27^{cd}).

Astarana:- Literally this word means a covering. In the MKP 62.4^{cd} beds of diverse kinds arranged with heavenly coverings are referred to. The coverings of the hair of the spotted deer (rāṅkavāstarana) are referred to (8.30).

Āvika:- Literally the word means the woollen cloth made of sheep's wool. In the MKP (32.53) Kṛṣṇāvika (black woollen cloth) is tabooed to a house-holder having a son (32.53). In BrU 2.3.6 the āvika cloth is referred to.

Dukūla:- It means a very fine cloth or raiment made up of the inner bark of the dukūla plant.⁵⁶ According

54 Monier Williams, Op.Cit., p.1.

55 For details vide Agrawala V.S., Harsacarita Eka Sāṃskṛtika Adhyayana (in Hindi), p.78; Moti Chandra, Prachina Bharatiya Vesha-Bhusha, pp.148,153,154.

56 Monier Williams, Op.Cit., p.483; for details vide Moti Chandra, Op.Cit., pp.54-55; Agrawala V.S., Op.Cit., pp.76-77; the Varna Kasamuccaya (p.121) describes it as 'kṛmī-kulād dukūlam iva', whereas it is said to be made of the strands of the bark of the Dukūla tree (Moti Chandra, Op.Cit., p.54).

to the Amarakośa 2.6.113 the word dukūla is a synonym of Kṣauma. One who steals dukūla is born as a peacock (sārngaka) (15.27).

Kambala:- The word Kambala means a woollen blanket. It is mentioned in a chapter on Yoga (37.14).

Kanthā:- This word means a patched garment, especially one worn by certain ascetics.⁵⁷ In the MKP 8.127 King Hariscandra, in his guise of a cāṇḍāla, is referred to as being clothed in a patched cloth made of old rags well fastened together. (jīrṇakarpatasugranthi kṛtakanthā-parigrahaḥ). The word Karpata also means old or patched or ragged garment.⁵⁸

Kārpāsika:- The use of cotton clothes is as old as the period of the Indus Valley civilisation. The word Kārpāsa does not occur in the Vedic Saṃhitas and the Brāhmaṇas. The earliest reference to it is found in the Āśvalāyana

57 Monier Williams, Op.Cit., p.249.

58 Monier Williams, Op.Cit., p.258; for details vide Agrawala V.S., Op.Cit., pp.130-131.

(2.3.4.17) and the Lātyāyana-śrauta sūtras (2.6.1; 9.2.14).⁵⁹ The MKP states that one stealing Kārpāsika is born as a Krauñca bird after one's release from hell (15.28).

Kauseya:- It means silk petti-coat or trousers, a woman's lower garments of silk.⁶⁰ It also means a type of silk made from cocoons.⁶¹ One stealing Kauseya is born as a cakravāka bird (15.26).

Kṣauma:- Linen cloth: It is probably a silken cloth prepared from the fibres of the bark of Atasī tree.⁶² Though Amarakosa identifies dukūla and kṣauma as already stated above under dukūla, the MKP probably seems to distinguish between the two words in as much as it refers to them separately in the same context and states that one stealing dukūla is born as a peacock (15.27) whereas one stealing kṣauma clothes is born as a boar (15.28). According

59 Moti Chandra, Op.Cit., pp.14,26ff.

60 Monier Williams, Op.Cit., p.317.

61 cf. krmeh kauseyam iva / varṇakasamuccaya (Ed.by Sandesara B.J.), p.8. For details vide Moti Chandra, Op.Cit., pp.27-28, 56, 95.

62 For details vide Moti Chandra, Op.Cit., pp.13,14,26,28, 30, 36, 55, 58, 147, 157, 162; Agrawala V.S., Op.Cit., p.76.

to the Mbh also dukūla is different from kṣauma.⁶³ Dressing the child in kṣauma-vastra serves as a charm against the evil influence of a malevolent spirit called Dantākṛṣṭi,⁶⁴ (48.10).

Uttariyaka:- Literally this word means an upper garment. One, whose father is alive, is prohibited ~~from~~^{ing} wear_L an upper garment leaving either of the two shoulders uncovered,⁶⁵ i.e. he is to wear an upper garment in such a way that both his shoulders remain covered with it. Kings in the guise of servants are referred to have been freeing the earth from dust with their upper garments while moving with King Hariscandra (8.211). This may show that Kings might_L^{have} be_L^{en} wearing long upper garments, i.e. even touching the earth.

Varnaka:- It means a coloured blanket (kambala).⁶⁶ One stealing the varnakas is born as a peacock (mayūra, 15.29).

63 Monier Williams, Op.Cit., p.483.

64 For details vide ~~Popular~~ Superstitions, Beliefs and Taboos.

65 Na jīvatpitṛkaḥ kuryād ardhakakṣottariyakam // MKP 32.56^{ab}.

66 Kautilya's Arthasāstra (Tr.by Shama Shastri p.89, note; Vide Moti Chandra, Op.Cit., p.52.

Yogapatta(ka): It means the cloth thrown over the back and ~~knees~~ of a devotee during meditation.⁶⁷ The house-holder having a son (32.53) and having his father alive (32.57) is prohibited its use.

DYEING OF CLOTHES:

As regards dyes and colours it may be noted that the art of dyeing was known during the period of the later Saṃhitās, the Brāhmaṇas, and the Gr̥hyasūtras.⁶⁸ The MKP refers, in many places, to white, yellow, red, black, and multi-coloured clothes. White clothes are specially recommended for the gr̥hastha's use (31.89^{cd}). Lord kṛṣṇa is referred to as 'pītāmbarah' (8.241). Stealing of red clothes is a sin leading to the birth of a jīvaṃjīvaka bird (15.29). Red, multi-coloured and black clothes are tabooed for the gr̥hastha's use (31.55^{ab}). In a chapter on Yōga, clothes are referred to in connection with red and black/evil- forebodings in dreams (40.16,33). These references may probably suggest that red, black or variegated clothes were considered to be inauspicious especially with

67 Monier Williams, Op.Cit., p.357. For details on Yogapatta and Yogapattaka vide Agrawala V. S., ~~Harita-~~
~~Harita-Eka-Sanskritika-Adhyayana~~, Op.Cit., pp.15,48,57.

68 Apte V. M., Op.Cit., pp.68,71.

reference to the house-holder.

WASHING OF CLOTHES:

The art of washing was quite well-known in the period of the Grhyasūtras.⁶⁹ That the art of washing various types of clothes was quite well-known can be inferred from the following references. Generally the clothes and leather (carma) are said to be cleansed with water (32.4ff), the antelope-hides (ajina) and thick clothes by sprinkling (32.9), the bark-garments (or valkalas) with water and clay (32.10), āvika clothes with oily sediment of the white mustard (siddhārthakāṣaṇāṃ kalkena) or the sediment from sesamum seem (tilakalka) (32.11), damaged clothes (upaghātavatām) with water and the cotton clothes with water and ashes (32.12). Thus water alone or in combination with clay or ashes served the purpose of washing materials in those days, as we have soaps and other materials for the same,

ORNAMENTS:

Ornaments also figure as objects of gifts to

69. Apte V.M., Op.Cit., p.71.

Brahmins on certain occasions, e.g. the performance of a sacrifice (129.20), the birth of a grand-son (125.10) etc. Among the various gifts to King Dama by his father-in-law after his marriage the ornaments also find a mention (130.63).

Ābharana (66.11), or Alankāra⁷⁰ (123.10 etc.), or Bhūṣana (1.4 etc.) are some of the terms used in the MKP to signify ornaments. A general reference to female ornaments is found in connection with the princess Vaisālinī who is said to have been "adorned with all the ornaments" (Sarvālamkārabhūṣitā, 123.10,46). A golden ring (33.9) and a necklace of pearls (21.104) are also referred to. The names of various ornaments also occur, of course, without their details.

The following is an alphabetical list of the ornaments referred to in the MKP with reference to their context:

70 For the meaning of the word Alankāra, vide Gonda's article "A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies presented to F.W.Thomas, New Indian Antiquary, 1939, pp.97ff.

Āṅgulīyaka: (Ring): The Devī-mahātmya section of the MKP states that the milk-ocean gave to ^{the} Devī rings and gems on all her fingers (79.29).

Cūdāmaṇi:- (Crest-jewel): It is mentioned as the best among the ornaments (1.4), and is referred to in connection with King Rtudhvaja (22.13). The Milk-Ocean gave a divine Cūdāmaṇi to ^{the} Devī (79.25).

Graiveyaka:- (Grīvāyāṃ haddholamkāraḥ, A Neck-ornament). The Milk-Ocean also gave a graiveyaka and a hāra to the Devī (79.30). The separate mention of graiveyaka and hāra in the same context probably suggests them to be two different types of Necklaces.

Hāra:- (Necklace): S. V. Graiveyaka.

Kaṭaka:- (Bracelet): The Milk-Ocean also gave Kaṭaka to goddess Devī (79.25).

Keyūra:- (Armlet): It is worn on the upper arm by both the sexes.⁷¹ Bracelets were used by the Aryans of

71 Macdonell A.A., A Practical Sanskrit Dictionary, p.74.

the Rgvedic period,⁷² and also continued to be used in later times. The Yakṣa statue from Patana of about the third century B.C. shows that both bracelets and armlets were used in that period.⁷³ Keyūra is frequently mentioned in the Mbh and E.W.Hopkins says that armlets are the most frequently mentioned ornaments in the great epic.⁷⁴ The MKP refers to it (21.104, 79.26).

Kundala:- (Ear rings): Ear-rings (Karna-sobhana, lit. Ornaments for the ear) are mentioned in the RV,⁷⁵ and may have been used in later times also. The MKP refers to it (21.100, 79.25). The mani-kundala is also referred to (21.103).

Nupūra:- The MKP refers to anklets in connection with the Apsaras (10.94). The Milk-Ocean gave a pair of anklets to the Devī (79.26).

72 Rapson (Ed.), The Cambridge History of India, Vol.I, p. 101; Macdonell A.A., A History of Sanskrit Literature, p.164; Altekar A.S., The Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation, p.360.

73 cf. Stella Kramrisch, Indian Sculpture, Plate I, No.2.

74 JAOS, Vol. 13, p.317, note.

75 Das A.C., Rgvedic Culture, p.216; Macdonell A.A., Op.Cit., p.164; Altekar A.S., Op.Cit., p.358.

Sronī-sūtra:- (Waist-band): It is referred to as an ornament in connection with King Hariscandra (7.34).

Valaya:- It means a bracelet, armlet; or ring worn by men and women on the wrist; or a zone, girdle of a married woman.⁷⁶ The RV mentions it.⁷⁷ It is said to produce a tinkling sound and is mentioned in connection with an apsaras Vapu by name (1.54).

HAIR-COIFFURE:

The discussion of ornaments leads to the consideration of the art of hair-dressing as it enhances one's beauty. It is quite well-known that in modern times various hair-styles are being developed day-to-day and in ancient times also various hair-styles were developed.⁷⁸

The MKP refers to black and curly hair in describing infants, males and females. King Rtudhvaja is described as having black and curly hair: (19.20). Likewise, King Hariscandra's son Rohitāśya (Rohitāśva) is said to have

⁷⁶ Monier Williams, Op.Cit., p.927.

⁷⁷ Macdonell A.A., History of Sanskrit Literature, p.164.

⁷⁸ Altekar A.S., The Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation, pp.360-361; Ibid., Plate VIII.

his hair: black, curly, equal (in growth), long and wavy (8.281). Madālasā, wife of King Rtudhvaja, is also described as having black, fine and strong locks of hair. This shows that, as in modern times, black, curly, fine, long etc. locks of hair were considered as signs of beauty in ancient times.

The Vānaprastha is advised to wear matted hairs ^{and} (jata, 25.26). Both male, female ascetics used to wear such matted hairs (125.35; 131.13).

The demon called Vidyudrūpa is referred to have his crest covered with strings of garlands (sragdāmāpuritaśikham, 2,13). Rohitāśya is also referred to have worn side-locks of hair (kāka-pakṣa-dharaḥ, 8.58). King Hariścandra's wife is referred to as 'mukta-keśī' (8.157). Sukeśī is the name of the daughter of King Ketuvīrya of Magadha country and one of the wives of King Marutta (128.46). This name may suggest that she had lovely and exuberant hair.

GROWTH OF BEARD:

The men of Indus Valley wore short beards and whiskers with the upper lip sometimes shaven.⁷⁹ In the Rgveda the beard and moustache are mentioned, and shaving too is referred to.⁸⁰

In the MKP, the demons and Yakṣas are called Smaśrulaḥ i.e. bearded ones (45.19ff). King Dama is referred to have worn ^{the} beard (133.1). Dharma, in the guise of a cāṇḍāla, is also referred to as 'Smaśrulaḥ' (8.81). Elsewhere shaving is referred to and it is stated that a man should get his beard trimmed facing eastward or northward (31.76^{cd}), and that after shaving etc. he should bathe with his clothes on (31.84-85).

TOILETS AND COSMETICS:

Ancient Indians had their own ways and means for toilet and personal hygiene.

In the MKP, collyrium is often mentioned in

79 Mohanjo-daro, 1.33; vide also Majumdar R.C. and Pusalkar A.D., (Ed.), Op.Cit., p. 175.

80 Majumdar R.C. and Pusalkar A.D., (Ed.), Op.Cit., p. 394.

similes (2.22 etc.). The demon Vidyudrūpa is referred to as adorned with haricandana, ^(yellow sandal) (2.15). People used to apply oil and unguents to their bodies as it appears from the statements prohibiting the application of oil on the body on the eighth, fourteenth and fifteenth days of a month,⁸¹ and to apply unguents before bathing.⁸² The practice of applying oil to the body is prohibited after taking a head-bath.⁸³

The white flowers are specially recommended for adorning oneself.⁸⁴ The Devī-māhātmya says that the Ocean gave to ^{the} Devī a garland of unfaded lotuses, one for her head and the other for the chest (79.28). "Wearing divine malyas and ambara" is a common expression in connection with the Kings (8.253 etc.). Lakṣmī, the wife of lord Dattātreyā is referred to as being adorned with divine malyas and ambaras (divyamalyāambaradharah, 16.111).

PERFUMES, INCENSE ETC.:

References to perfumes, incenses etc. occur in

81 MKP 31.35.

82 Ibid. 31.54^{cd}

83 Ibid. 31.37.

84 Ibid. 31.89.

connection with the worship of the gods, and the pitṛs as well as the śrāddha ritual. For instance, King Kārtiṣavīrya worshipped Dattātreya with the garlands, sandal (candana) and other perfumes, water, fruits etc. (17.2). Incense (dhūpa), perfumes (gandha), unguents (anulepana), flowers etc. are also mentioned in Sun-worship (106.60-61).

Perfumes, incense, garlands etc. also figure in the śrāddha ritual (28.43,57). The VP also mentions the use of mālyas, perfumes, incense etc. in śrāddha ceremony (75.5ff). Flowers, dhūpa (93.22), gandha (93.31,37) and anulepana (94.15) are mentioned in pitṛ-worship done by Prajāpati Rci.

A man stealing auspicious perfumes (śubhān gandhān) is considered to be a sinner who gets the birth of a mole (chucchāṇḍarī) after his release from hell (15.30).

A GENERAL PERSONAL OUTFIT:

There are reference in the MKP to the objects like upavīta (sacred thread), staff, shoes and umbrella which constitute among other things a parapharnelia of general personal outfit. It is prohibited to use shoes

(upānat) and a sacred thread (upavīta)^{once} used by others (31.44). Men who make the gifts of umbrella (chhatra), shoes, clothes and food pass the road to the abode of Yama with ease (10.69). Dharma, who assumed the form of a cāṇḍāla to purchase King Hariscandra as a slave, is referred to have a stick in his hand (yaṣṭihastah) (8.83). King Hariscandra also in his form of cāṇḍāla is referred to as having a staff in his hand (lagudī, 8.125 etc.), or having an abominable staff (daṇḍam jugupsitam) fit for a cāṇḍāla (śvapākārham) (8.205-206). This shows that possibly the slaves & cāṇḍālas used to move with a stick. A Daṇḍa (rod) is mentioned as a weapon of Yama.⁸⁵

III. CUSTOMS AND CONVENTIONS

Custom is an "imitation of ancestors", to use the words of Gabriel Tarde.⁸⁶ It is a group of procedure that has gradually emerged, without express enactment or any constituted authority to declare it, to apply it and to safeguard it. It is sustained by common acceptance.

85 MKP 10.80 etc.

86 Laws of Imitation, Chap.VII, as quoted by Mac Iver R.M. and Page C.H., Society: An Introductory Analysis, p.181.

Customs are the most spontaneous of all social rules and often the most compelling. They are sanctioned by a wide variety of informal social pressures, and they are so intimate that until we reflect on it, we do not realise how they attend nearly every occasion of our lives, how our actions from morning till night, from youth to age, are custom-regulated. In all sorts of ways, through chance, trial, error and experience, particular modes of procedure are devised, are followed and imitated, and unobtrusively are accepted in the social mores. And often just as unobtrusively customs fade and disappear, again without formal abolition and without recognition by any but those who recall the "good (or bad) old ways."⁸⁷ Further custom exists only as a social relationship and it is a mode of conduct of the group itself, as a group, and every custom is in consequence adjusted to the others which the group observes. It is a part of a complex of determinate relationships sustained and guarded by the group. Each individual sustains it, eventhough it gains also the support of habit in the consciousness of his membership in the group.⁸⁸

87 Mac Iver R.M. and Page C.H., Ibid., p.176.

88 Mac Iver R.M. and Page C.H., Ibid., p.195.

It is in a way indoctrinated in the individual since childhood and it is the part of the social heritage and its force is so powerful that it is very difficult to transgress or violate it. It serves well enough to regulate the behaviour of the social units i.e. the individuals.

Convention is one of the aspects of custom and it prescribes those usages the basis of which is felt to be merely social agreement rather than any significant connection between the usage and the meaning attached to it. It has many forms, such as the tacit agreement to ignore aspects of a situation that would breed difficulties if openly expressed, or the tendency to keep relations upon a superficial or arbitrary level, or the acceptance of the assumption that a person is acting from idealistic motives when there is no reason to believe that more egoistic or less noble motives are involved. When the professor is polite to a colleague whom he despises at the faculty tea^{-party} or when the student sits quietly while the professor offends his intelligence and strains his patience he is following the code of convention.⁸⁹

⁸⁹ Mac Iver R.M. and Page C.H., Ibid., p.183.

The MKP refers, in many places, to different customs, conventions etc. and thus presents before us, a nice and graphic picture of ancient India.

There are stray references in the MKP to the modes of greeting among the elders, equals and inferiors. As interesting formality in the family-life is the manner in which the parents and the son greeted each other after the latter's return from a journey. The son usually bowed down his head before his parents and touched their feet (20.4 etc.). The same method was also adopted by the daughter-in-law greeting her parents-in-law (23.2 etc.), and by young men greeting elderly persons (21.106). The daughter-in-law honoured her other relatives-in-law with obeisance, embraces and such other mode of greeting, in accordance with the propriety and their age (23.2-3). The parents and other kinsmen embraced the son in return to his salutation and blest him with the words: "May you live long ", and the son received their blessings with his obeisance (21.7-8). There were also other modes of such blessings. According to circumstances, they assumed various expressions,

e.g. when Rtudhvaja returned home from nether regions after defeating Pātālaketu and other demons and after marrying Madālasā, his father King Satrujit blessed him with the words: "May you prosper in riches, heroism and happiness and may not your wife be parted from you" (19.103^{ab}). When a young man bowed at the feet of an elderly person, the latter raised him by force, embraced him warmly, kissed him on his head and blest him saying: "May you live long. Destroy all your foes and serve your parents " (21.107-108). The kissing of a grown up son on the head on important occasions as a token of love is a custom found in Śāṅkhāyana Aranyaka.⁹⁰

Among the friends also there are certain modes of greeting and the MKP reflects one such mode, e.g. the friend, who was believed to be the soul moving outside,⁹¹ was greeted by a man by embracing him with the highest friendly affection (21.4).

As regards the etiquette between the wife and her husband it may be noted that the wife did not mention her husband by his name, e.g. Vaiśālī, a brahmin lady, while

90 Vide Majumdar R.C. and Pusalkar A.D.(Ed.), The Vedic Age, p.449.

91 Sakha prāno bahiṣṭarah // MKP 21.85^{cd}.

talking with King Uttama, referred her husband by mentioning him as the son of Viśāla (67.4). In Sanskrit dramas, the husband is referred to by words 'Ārya-putra'.

There are particular modes of actions, and expressions of invitations and ^{of} their acceptance, and the MKP refers to one such mode e.g. when two Nāga princes invited their friend Rtudhvaja, with obeisance, to come to their home since their father had repeatedly expressed his desire to see him, he (i.e. Rtudhvaja) rose from his seat, prostrated him on the ground in acceptance of their invitation with the words: "be it so as your father says; happy am I, most meritorious am I, who else is so fortunate like me that even your father shows an earnest mind to see me?" Rise and let us go. Not even for a moment do I wish to transgress (your) father's command. I swear by his feet (21.80, 89-92).

In every society, there are also particular modes of introducing oneself while approaching a stranger, and the MKP refers to one such mode, e.g. when Jaimini approached the Birds for the solution of his doubts about the Mbh, the

former addressed the latter with the words: "Hail to you; know that I am Jaimini, Vyāsa's disciple, who have come to you being eager for learning" (4.9).

There are also certain peculiar modes of bidding good-bye, and the MKP reflects one such mode, e.g. while leaving the King of Kāśī (Banāras), Subāhu bade him good-bye with the words: "may thou farewell (Svasti te) stu, 41.7^c)." .

The joy of receiving great persons was unbounded, and union with such great persons, was considered to be a matter of prosperity and great fortune; e.g. when Jaimini approached the four wise and learned Birds, the latter expressed their joy with the words: "To-day has our birth become fruitful, and our lives have been well-lived, since we see your lotus-feet which are worthy to be praised even by the gods. Union with you, as with the gods, is a great prosperity; by whom, powerful for our good fortune hast thou been brought to our view?"⁹²

92 Ady naḥ saphalam janma jīvitam ca sujīvitam // yat
pasyamah surair vandyam tava padambujam dvayam //
Devānāmiva saṁsargo bhāvato' bhyudayo mahān / Kenāsmād
bhāgya-gurunā anīto dr̥ṣṭi-gocaram // MKP 4.17.21.

Hospitality to a guest was elevated to the rank of a religious duty as one of the five great daily sacrifices (pañcamahāyajñas), which a house-holder must perform (25.21; 26.26). An atithi is so called because he does not stay for a whole tithi (i.e. day).⁹³

The honouring of guests comes after the offering of 'bali' and the MKP ordains that after the baliharāṇa the house-holder should wait for one-eighth of a muhūrta for receiving the guests (26.26).⁹⁴ It also lays down that a friend, a fellow-villager, one of an unknown family should not be treated as a guest, but a Brahmin who has arrived, hungry, wearied supplicating and indigent is called a guest.⁹⁵

93 Anityam hi sthito yasmāt tamāda-tithi rucyate // MKP 26.31ab; cf. MS 3.102; PS 1.42; The Nirukta 4.5 in explaining RV 5.4.5 (Juṣṭo damunā atthir duroṇa) derives the word atithi from the root vāt, to go and also from 'tithi' (day) and 'a' meaning 'comes' (from li) with Abhi.

94 BGS 2.9.1-2; VDS 11.6 and Viṣp 3.11.55 ordain that after 'baliharāṇa' the house-holder should wait in front of the yard of his house for as much time as would be required for milking a cow or for a longer time at his desire for receiving guests.

95 MKP 26.28-29; cf. GDS 5.36; MS 3.102-103; YS 1.107, 111.

His lineage or conduct, or study were not to be inquired, and whether handsome or otherwise, he was to be esteemed as a Prajāpati (26.30). When a guest arrived at a house, he was honoured with perfumes and flowers, and food, vegetables and water were offered to him (26.27,34). He was received with agreeable speech and was offered a seat (66.51). He was offered a little of the oblations proffered to the gods (arghyam) (66.49). If he arrived in the evening after sun-set he was to be offered a bed, a seat and the food according to one's ability (26.42).⁹⁶ It was one's duty to eat in the morning and evening after honouring a guest (31.50^{ab}), otherwise, one incurred the sin and is said to feed on ordure in another life (26.32).

The motive of this injunction to honour guests was clear, viz. universal kindness.

The common belief that when a guest returns from the house of a person with his hope of getting food shattered, he (the guest) transfers his own sins to the house-holder

96 cf. GDS 5.29-34; ADS 2.3-6.7-15; MS 3.99,107 and 4.29, Dakṣa 3.5-8.

and departs taking with him the householder's merit (punya).⁹⁷

IV. DAILY AND PERIODICAL DUTIES AND CEREMONIES: (ĀHNIKA AND ĀCĀRA)

INTRODUCTION:

The daily and periodical duties and ceremonies (āhnika and ācara) form an important topic of the Dharma-sāstras. The MKP also contains some information on the same. The data of the MKP as regards the daily duties of a student (brahmacārin), a house-holder (gṛhastha), a forest-hermit (vānaprastha) and of an ascetic (bhikṣu) have already been discussed under the discussion on the Āsrama-system. Some further data about the duties (āhnika) of the house-holder are discussed here.

The principle matters to be discussed under 'āhnika' are: getting up from bed, śauca (bodily purity), dantadhāvana (brushing the teeth), snāna (bath), saṃdhyā, homa, tarpaṇa, the five daily mahāyajñas, Vaiśvadeva, bhojana

97 MKP 26.33; cf. ViDS 67.33; ViSP 3.9.15; BP 114.36.

(taking of food), going to bed etc.

GETTING UP FROM BED:

The MKP enjoins that a man should get up from bed at the Brāhma muhūrta, should reflect over dharma and artha that he would seek to attain that day and over the bodily efforts that he would have to undergo for securing his object and think out the real meaning of Vedic injunction.⁹⁸ From very early times getting up before sun-rise was prescribed specially for a student and generally for every one.⁹⁹

98 Brāhmemuhūrte budhyeta dharmārthau cānucintayāt / Kāyakleśāns' ca tanmūlān vedatatvārthameva ca // MKP 31.17; cf. MS 4.92; brāhma muhūrto rātreḥ pascimo yāmah / brāhmī bhārati tat prabodhaheṭutvāt / muhūrtasabdōtra kalamātravacanah / Kullūka, p.149. The first half also occurs in Mbh. . . ; BP 113,17; the KP as quoted in Parāśara-Mādhaviya 1.1, pp.220-221 has almost the same verse; cf. also 'gahanamapararātra-prāptabuddhiprasādaḥ kavaya iva mahīpas' cintantyartha-jātam // Śiśupālavadha of Māgha, 11.6. The Parāśara-Mādhaviya (1.1, p.220) says that there are two muhūrtas in the half watch before Sunrise, the first of the two is called 'brāhma' and the second 'raudra'. Pītāmaha quoted in Smṛti-candrikā (I, p.88) says that the last watch of the night is called 'brāhma muhūrta'.

99 For details vide Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, pp.647f.

SAUCA:

Then the next act is to answer the calls of nature. Very detailed rules are laid down about these even in the most ancient Sūtras and Smṛtis. Many of the rules are simply hygienic, but as religion, rules of law, of morality, of health and hygiene are mixed up in the ancient works, they are given in works on 'dharma'.¹⁰⁰

The MKP also lays down certain rules on the matter of sauca, e.g. It states that one should not defecate or void urine in a path leading to the villages, temples, places of pilgrimages or the fields, nor on cultivated ground, nor in a cattle-pen (31.23), nor should one do these acts while walking or standing (31.30^{ab}); nor should one void urine, or defecate, or engage in sexual intercourse in water (31.25^{ab}), nor should one void urine against a Brahmin, the wind, the cow, or the Sun. One should void

100 Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, pp. 648 ff.

Even in the AV it is said: "Yas' ca gām padā
sphurati pratyāṅg sūryaṁ ca mehati / tasya
vr̥ścāmi te mūlāṁ na cchāyāṁ Karavāṁ param //
(AV 13.1.56). Mekṣyāmyurdhvam tiṣṭhām mā himsi
purīśvarāḥ // (AV 7.102 (107).1).

urine and faeces facing north by day and south by night, and during illness whenever one desires (31.38-39ab).¹⁰¹

After answering the calls of nature one should perform cleansing the parts and in doing so one is not to employ earth from inside a river or water reservoir or from a habitation, from an ant-hill or from the hiding places of rats or from dung-hills or what is left after being used for a prior cleansing.¹⁰²

ACAMANA:

As regards the ācamana also elaborate rules are laid down from very ancient times,¹⁰³ and the MKP also contains some of them, e.g. it states that water should be sipped by the brāhmatīrtha¹⁰⁴ (31.106cd).¹⁰⁵ One should

101 cf. GDS 9.13,15,37-43; ADS 1.11.30.15-30 and 1.11.31.1-3; VDS 6.10-19 and 12.11-13; MS 4.45-52,56,151; YS 1.16-17, 134,154; ViDS 60.1-26; VP 78.59-64 and 79.25-31; Vāp 14.30-32 which contains similar rules.

102 MKP 32-66cd-67ab; cf. VDS 6.17.

103 For references vide Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, pp.315-316, 652f.

104 Aṅguṣṭottarato rekhā pāner yā dakṣinasya tu / etad brāhmanam iti khyātaṁ tīrtham ācamanāyavai // MKP 31.107. For a note on tīrthavide Kane P.V., Op.Cit., p.316, fn.750, pp.652-653 and fn.1538 on p.652.

105 cf. MS 2.18; YS 1-18.

rinse out the mouth facing the east or north with frothless, inodorous, pure and holy water (31.65^{cd}-66^{ab}).¹⁰⁶ One should also rinse out the mouth after washing the hands and feet and after sprinkling water on them, with one's face between the knees and with composed mind, and drink water three or four times after twice wiping the sides of one's mouth, the apertures of the body, and the head (31.67^{cd}-68).

Moreover, one should perform the worship of the gods, the ceremonies to fire, respectful salutation to the teacher, and should eat after duly rinsing out the mouth and being pure (31.64^{cd}-65^{ab}; 69-70^{ab}).

It also states numerous occasions when acamana is necessary, e.g. one should rinse out one's mouth after one has sneezed, or spitten out, or donned his raiment.¹⁰⁷ After a sneeze, licking, vomit, spitting etc. one has to rinse out the mouth, touch a cow's back, look at the Sun and hold up one right year according to one's power and in the absence of the former, one has to do the latter (31.70^{cd} -73^{ab}).

106 cf. MS 2.61.

107 cf. MS 5.145.

DANTA-DHĀVANA (BRUSHING THE TEETH):

Danta-dhāvana comes after sauca and ācamana and before snāna (bath).¹⁰⁸

The practice of daily danta-dhāvana has existed in India from the most ancient times.¹⁰⁹ The MKP prescribes the danta-dhāvana in the morning only (31.22). It forbids danta-visodhana after meals for an unmarried man (32.55^{cd}). This shows that the MKP prescribes danta-dhāvana not only in the morning but also after taking one's meals except for an unmarried man.¹¹⁰ This, as stated by Devala, is intended for removing particles of food sticking to the teeth or the gums.¹¹¹

One has to face north or east while brushing the teeth with restrained speech,¹¹² and has to give up forbidden (twigs of) trees (31.51^{ab}).¹¹³

108 YS 1.98 and DS 2.6

109 For details vide Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, pp.653f.

110 ViDS 61.16 also prescribes danta-dhāvana not only in the morning but also after taking one's meal.

111 Vide Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, p.1, p.656.

112 For details on the rules about the trees the twigs of which are allowed or forbidden as found in various works vide Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, p.655.

113 MKP 31.50^{cd}; cf. ViDS 61.12-13.

SNĀNA (BATH):

Snāna comes after danta-dhāvana. The MKP says that one should not bathe in perfumed water, nor at night except when there is an eclipse¹¹⁴ (31.52^{cd} - 53^{ab}); nor should one wipe one's limbs with a cloth or with hands (31.53^{cd}); nor should one ever apply unguents when one has not bathed (31.54^{cd}). It also lays down^{that} one should bathe in holy ponds, in the Ganges, in lakes and rivers; and that one should not bathe in other man's water without taking five pindas (of clay from the bottom of the reservoir).¹¹⁵ The idea behind this is that either the private owner would participate in the merit of the bath (as BDS 2.3.7 remarks) or that the bather incurs a fourth part of the sin of the owner of the water (MS 4.201-202).

114 cf. Astamite ca snānam (varjayet) // ADS 1.11.32.8; BDS 2.3.2.9; cf. Rāhudarsanasankrāntivivāhātyayavṛddhi-su / snānadānādikaṃ kururniśi kāmyavrateṣu ca // Devala quoted by Aparārka pp. 135, 229, Śmṛticandrikā I, pp.120,229; vide Parāśara 2.26 to the same effect - Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, p.659, fn.1564.

115 cf. MS 4.203; ViDS 64.1-2 and 15-16; YS 1.159; DS 2.43; VS 3.7-8; Śaṅkha 8.11 etc.

A man has to undergo a bath keeping his clothes on after shaving, vomiting, sexual intercourse, and after repairing to a cemetery.¹¹⁶

He is forbidden to wash his head frequently without cause and after taking a head-bath he is not to apply oil on his body (31.36^{cd} - 37^{ab}); after bath he is not to rub off the water on his body with his garment already worn by him or with his hands;¹¹⁷ nor should he shake his hair, nor his clothes; nor should he ever apply unguents when he has not bathed (31.54).

There are also certain rules about the clothes to be worn by a house-holder, e.g. one is not to eat nor to worship the gods when clad in a single garment.¹¹⁸ Red, variegated or black clothes are forbidden. One is not to make a complete change of one's clothing or in one's

116 MKP 31.84^{cd} - 85^{ab}; cf. MS, 5.144; Sāṅkha, 8.3, BP 113.79; Parāśara 12.28.

117 MKP 31.53^{cd}; cf. ViDS, 64.9-13.

118 MKP 31.34; cf. BDS 2.3.66; ViSP 3.12.20.

ornaments. Transparent and very much damaged clothes are forbidden (31.55-56^{ab}). Shoes, garments, garlands etc., upavīta or sacred thread, ornament and water-pot used by another are to be given up.¹¹⁹ One is not to dress nor speak unbecomingly, but is to wear white clothes¹²⁰ and to adorn oneself with white flowers (31.89).

SAMDHYA:

After bath comes samdhya.¹²¹ The word 'samdhya' literally means 'twilight', but also indicates the action of prayer performed in the morning and evening twilight. This act is generally styled 'samdhyopāsana' or 'samdhyāvandana' or simply 'samdhya'.¹²²

In the MKP the samdhya prayer is prescribed twice. The morning prayer is to be begun with the

119 MKP 31.43-44; cf. GDS, 9.5-7; MS 4.66; ViDS, 71.47.

120 cf. GDS, 9.4.5; ADS 1.11.30.10-13; MS 4.34-35; YS 1.131.

121 cf. YS 1.98.

122 cf. Viśvarūpa on YS 1.25: 'Samdhyeti copāsthana-karmano nāmadheyam kālasya cānyataḥ prāptatvāt' and the Mitākṣarā on the same verse 'Ahorātrayor samdhau yā kriyā vidhiyate sa samdhya / Medhātithi on MS 2.101 says "na sarvaṁ tāmāḥ kṣīṇaṁ nāpi paripurnaḥ prakāśa eṣa samdhya /" and on MS 4.94 'sahacarite japādividhau samdhyāśabdo vartat/'.

constellations in the east and the evening prayer when the Sun is in the west. One is not to neglect the sandhyā prayer except in adversity (31.19).

HOMA:

After sandhyā comes homa.¹²³ Homa was performed in the morning before Sunrise according to one view (anudite juhōti) and after Sunrise, according to another (udite juhōti) but even on the latter view, homa must be performed before the Sun rises one cubit above the horizon (Gobhila-Smṛti 1.123).^{123a}

The MKP prescribes both the morning as well as the evening homa (31.21^{ab}).¹²⁴

123 Cf. Dakṣa 2.28; YS 1.98-99.

123a Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, p.1, p.675. The MS 2.15 refers to the several views about homa-kāla, cf. Udite' nudite caiva samayādhyuṣite tathā / Sarvathā vartate yajña itiyam vaidikī śrūtiḥ // Cf. Kullūka, 'Sūrya-nakṣatravarjitaḥ kālaḥ samayādhyuṣitaśabdenocyate / (p.32).

124 The Āsvalāyana-Srauta-Sūtra 2-2; and the Āsvalāyana-Grhyasūtra 1.9.5 state the time for morning homa to be upto the end of the period of saṅgava i.e. the second of the five periods of day time. Gobhila-Smṛti 1.124 states the time for the evening homa to be when the stars clearly appear in the sky and the ruddy colour has left the western horizon.

TARPAṆA (SATIATING BY
OFFERING WATER ETC.):

Every day one has to perform tarpaṇa of gods, sages and manes after taking bath and becoming pure.¹²⁵ The water to be offered to gods is poured by the deva-tīrtha (i.e. the tips of the finger of the hand¹²⁶) and that for the pitrs by the tīrtha paitra-tīrtha (i.e. between the fore-finger and the thumb).¹²⁷

PAṆCA MAHĀYAJÑAS (THE FIVE DAILY
OBSERVANCES OR SACRIFICES):

From early Vedic times five daily observances called mahāyajñas were prescribed for each householder.¹²⁸ These pañcamahāyajñas are the offerings to beings (bhūtayajña), men (manusyayajña), manes (pitryajña), gods (devayajña) and Veda (brahmayajña). The MKP states that

125 MKP 26.16; cf. MS 2.176.

126 Angulyagre tathā daivam tena divyakriyāvidhi // MKP 31.109ab.

127 Tarjanyaṅguṣṭhayorantah paitram tīrtham udāhrtah / pitṛnām tena toyādi dadyān nādimukhād rte // MKP 31.108.

128 Vide SBr 11.56.6.1; TAr. 2.10 etc.; for details vide Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, pp.696ff.

the house-holder should not, to the utmost of his power, neglect the performance of the daily pañcamahāyajñas.¹²⁹ These sacrifices are prescribed for expiation of the sins committed in the five slaughter-houses viz. mortar, grinding stone, hearth, water-jar and the broom.¹³⁰ This shows that "the concept of the pañcamahāyajñas widened the field of social duties by reorienting the purpose of yajna and incorporating the new yajñas to men and to the bhūtas in the order concept of three debts."¹³¹

VAISVADEVA (OFFERING OF COOKED
FOOD TO ALL GODS):

Medieval works like Smṛtyarthasāra and the Parāśara-Mādhaviya state that Vaisvadeva really comprises the three daily sacrifices viz. devayajña, bhūtayajña and pitryajña. The Vaisvadeva rite is so called because in it sacrifice is offered to all the gods or because food is cooked therein

129 Pañcayajñavidhānam tu yathāsakti na hāpayet // MKP 25.21cd.

130 MS 3.68-69, 71; MP 52.15-16.

131 Kapadia K.M., Marriage and Family in India, p.32.

for all the gods.¹³² But in the ancient Grhyasūtras the three yajnas are kept distinct.

Likewise all ancient Smṛtis,¹³³ the MKP says that Vaisvadeva is to be performed twice once in the morning and then in the evening.¹³⁴ In later times, however, it came to be performed only once in the morning and the samkalpa includes both in one statement.¹³⁵

According to the MKP the deities of Vaisvadeva are Brahmā, Prajāpati, Grhya, Kasyapa and Anumati¹³⁶ and

132 Ete devayajñabhūṭayajñapitryajña Vaisvadeva ucyate / Smṛtyarthasāra, p.47; Te ete devayajñabhūṭayajñapitryajñāstrayopi Vaisvadeva sabdenocyante / Yatra Viśvadeva iḥyante tad Vaisvadevikam karma / devayajne ca etan nāma mukhyam / Pitryajñe chatrinyayena / Parāsara Madhaviya, 1, part 1, p.389.

133 Vide Āsvalāyana-Grhyasūtra 1.2.1; VDS 11.3; MS 3.121; ViDS 59.13; Gobhila 2.34.

134 Vaisvadevam hi nāmaitat sāyam prātarudāhrtam // MKP 26.25cd; Vaisvadevam hi nāmaitat kuryāt sāyam tathā dine // MKP 26.47cd.

135 The samkalpa in modern times is as follows:- Mamopattaduritaksayadvārā sriparameśvara-prityarthamātmanānasamskārapañcasūnājanitadoṣaparihārārtham prātar Vaisvadevam sāyam Vaisvadevam ca saha mantrena kariṣye / ; Vide Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, p.742.

136 Samyag grhārcanam kṛtvā yathāsthānam anukramāt / sampūjayet tato vahnim dadyāc caivāhutih kramāt // Prathamam brahmane dadyāt prajānam pataye tataḥ / tṛtiyam caiva guhyebhyah kasyapaya tathāparam // Tato numataye datvā dadyād grhābalim tataḥ / MKP 31.97-99ab. Here 'guhyebhyah' is a mistake. It should be read as 'grhyābhyah' as in Paraskara-Grhyasūtra 2.9.2.

this order of deities exactly follows that in the
Pāraskara-Grhyasūtra.¹³⁷

BALIHARANA OR BHŪTAYAJŅA:

In the MKP there are two versions of baliharana or bhūtayajña. According to one version the deities to whom bali (or part of the food taken out when performing Vaisvadeva) is offered are:- to Parjanya, water and Dharitṛi in the water-jar (manika), to Dhātṛ and Vidhātṛ at the door of the house, to Vāyu (wind) in all directions, to the east and other regions of the sky in due order, to Brahmā, antarikṣa and Sūrya (in the middle), to Visvedevas and Visvabhūtas, to Uṣas (Dawn) and Bhūtapati northwards; to the pitṛs with the words: "Pitṛbhyah svadhā namah" in the south with the sacred thread suspended over the right shoulder, and to Yakṣman¹³⁸ one should offer the remains of food

137 Athāta pañca Mahāyajñah // Vaisvadevād annāt paryūksya svāhākārair juhuyād brahmane prajāpataye grhyābhyah kasyapāyānumatayati // Pāraskara-Grhyasūtra 2.9.1-2.

138 Elsewhere also the evil spirit called Yakṣman alias Duhsaha, Mṛtyu's son by Alakṣmī, is said to have been allotted by Brahmā a share in the daily Vaisvadeva ceremony - cf. Bhavato vaisvadevānte nāmoocarāṇa pūrvakam / etat taveti dāsyanti bhavato balimurjjitam// MKP 48.62.

according to rule in the north-west with the words, "oh Yaksman, this is for thee".

According to another version the deities to whom bali is offered are: to Brahmā in the middle of the house, to the Visvedevas, to Dhanvantari in the north-east, to Indra in the east, to Yama in the south, to Varuna in the west and to Soma in the north,¹⁴⁰ to Dhātṛ and Vidhātṛ at the door of the house, to Aryaman outside the house, to all night-walking beings in the sky, to the pitṛs facing southwards, and then water should be offered to particular gods

139 Vaisvadevaṃ tataḥ kuryād balayas tatra me śruṇa /
 Yathāsthānavibhāgaṃ tu devān uddiśya vai prthak //
 Parjanyaadbhyodharitrayai ca dadyād ca maṇike
 trayam / tato dhātṛ vidhātṛ ca dadyād dvāre
 grhyasya tu / Vāyave ca pratidiśaṃ digbhyah prācya-
 ditah kramāt // Brahmane cāntarīkṣāya sūryaya ca
 yathākramam / Visvebhyas caiva devebhyo visvabhūte-
 bhyā eva ca // Uśase bhūtapataye dadyād cottarataḥ
 tataḥ / svadhānamaitityuktvā pitrbhyah cāpi dakṣiṇe //
 kṛtvāpasavyaṃ vāyavyaṃ yakṣmai tatteti bhājanāt //
 annavaseṣaṃ iccheṇ vai toyaṃ dadyād yathāvidhi //
 MKP 31.100-104.

140 Indra, Yama, Varuna and Soma are the presiding deities of the east, south, west and north respectively.

in particular directions for ācamana.¹⁴¹ Here it is also prescribed that the house-holder should throw food to dogs, svapacas¹⁴² and the birds.¹⁴³

This direction to give food even to outcastes, dogs and birds was the outcome of the noble sentiment of universal kindness and charity, the idea that one spirit pervades and illumines the meanest of creatures and binds ~~altogether~~ all together.

It may be noted here that the first version

141 Tatogñes tarpanam kurñād dadyāc ca balimityatha / brahmane grhamadhye tu viśvedevebhya eva ca // Dhanvantariṁ sāmuddiśya prāgudiciyaṁ balim kṣipet / prāciyaṁ śakrāya yamyāyaṁ yamāya balim āharet // Prāciyaṁ varuṇāyātha somayattarato balim / dadyād dhātṛe vidhātṛe ca balim dvāre grhasya ca // Aryamne-
tha bahir dadyād grhebhyaś ca samantataḥ / naktam-
carebhyo bhūtebhyo balim akāśato haret // Pitṛnām
nirvapec caiva dakṣiṇābhimukhaḥ sthitah / grhasthāś
tatpato bhūtvā susāmāhitamānasah // Tatas toyamupādāya
teṣāmācamanāyavai / sthāneṣu nikṣipet prājñas tās tās
uddiśya devataḥ // MKP 26.18-23.

142 In the MKP a cāṇḍāla is called svapāka, i.e. no distinction is made between the two (8.206). For details about svapaca, vide Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, p.97.

143 Evaṁ grhabaliṁ kṛtvā grhe grhamatiḥ śuciḥ / āpyāyanāya
bhūtānām kuryādutsargam ādarāt. // Svabhyas' ca svapace-
bhyas' ca svayobhyas' cāvaped bhūvi / MKP 26.24cd-25ab;
cf. Devabhyas' ca hutadānnāc cheśād bhūtabaliṁ haret /
annam bhūmau svacāṇḍālavayasobhyas' ca nikṣipet // YS
1.103; cf. also sarvān vaiśvadeva bhāginah kurvita sva-
cāṇḍalebhyah / ADS 2.4.9.5.

follows the Pāraskara-Grhyasūtra¹⁴⁴ and the second version follows the Āsvalāyana-Grhya-Sūtra¹⁴⁵ to some extent. It may be noted here that one of these two versions might possibly have been interpolated by a later redactor of the MKP.

BHOJANA: (TAKING ONE'S MEALS):

Bhojana is one of the most important subjects treated of in Dharmaśāstra works and the greatest importance (next to rules about marriage) attaches to the numerous injunctions and taboos about food.

The MKP contains certain rules about bhojana and

144 Bhūtagrhyebhyo manike trin parjanyaḥadbhyaḥ prthivyai // Dhātṛe vidhātṛe ca dvāryayoh // Pratidiśam vāyave diśam ca // Madhye trin brahmanantarīkṣāya sūryāya // Viśvebhyo devebhyo viśvebhyas' ca bhūtebhyas teṣam uttarataḥ / Uṣase bhūtānām ca pātaye param / Pitr̥bhyas svadhā nāmah iti dakṣiṇataḥ / Pātram nirṇijyottarāpara-syām diśi ninayed yakṣmai tatta iti / etc. Pāraskara-Grhya-Sūtra 2.9.3ff.

145 Svāhetyatha baliharanam / Etābhyas caiva devatābhyas / (i.e. to the same deities to whom the devayajña is offered as stated in Āsvalāyana-Grhyasūtra 1.2.1-2) Adbhya Oṣadhivanaspatibhyo gr̥hāya gr̥hadevatābhyo vāstudevatābhyas / Indrāyendrapuruṣebhyo yamāya yama-puruṣebhyo varuṇāya varuṇapuruṣebhyas somāya soma-puruṣebhyas iti pratidiśam / Viśvebhyo devebhyas / Sarvebhyo bhūtebhyo divācāribhya iti divā / Naktamcāribhya iti naktam / Rakṣobhya ityuttarataḥ / Svadhā pitṛbhyas iti pracināvītī seṣam dakṣiṇā ninayet / Āsvalāyana-Grhyasūtra 1.2.3-11.

they are given below:-

One should face the north or east, with one's mouth well rinsed out, restraining one's speech, pure, with one's mind intent on one's food, and keep the face between one's knees when taking food (31.28).¹⁴⁶ One has to eat evening and morning after taking a bath and not when unbathed nor when reposing, nor while thinking of other things, nor when sitting on the bed or on the earth, nor when making a sound¹⁴⁷ nor when clad in a single garment (31.34^c , 60^{cd} - 62^{ab}).

As regards the etiquette at bhojana it may be noted that those who feed a brahmin or a man of another caste in one company ^{differently} disagreeably are said to feed on

146 ADS 1.11.31.1; VDS 12.18; ViDS 68.40; MS 2.5 say that one should face the 'east' when taking food; ViDS 68.41 and ADS 8.19.1-2 allow a man to face the south, except when the diner's mother is alive. MS 2.52 and MBH 13.104.57 provides that one eating anyone of the four directions secures specific benefits. The VāP & ViSP quoted in Gr. R. p.312 disallow the south and west - Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, p.754.

147 Cf. BDS 2.7.2; Laghu-Hārīta 40.

ordure in hell (14.55).

FOOD AND FLESH ALLOWED
AND PROHIBITED:

The most elaborate rules are laid down about what food and flesh should or should not be eaten and from whom food may or may not be eaten.¹⁴⁸

The MKP contains ~~the~~ certain proscriptions about food and flesh; e.g. the food that is infested with lice, or has been trampled, or has been looked at by dogs, and has been licked or thrown down, or has been befouled by the extraction of pus is tabooed. So also the flesh from the back, or the flesh unfit for the gods and manes, or prohibited flesh is also prohibited. Moreover, the food that is long stale or that is ~~not~~ fresh and the ~~food~~ preparations made out of flour, vegetables, sugar-cane and milk and the preparations of flesh, if long stale, are to be given up (31.56cd - 59).

148 For details vide Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, p.771.

SLEEP:

Numerous rules are laid down in the Smṛtis and digests about sleeping.¹⁴⁹

The MKP states that one should not sleep at both twilights (31.74). One is not to sleep with one's head to the north nor to the west but is to sleep placing the head to the north-east or east (31.51^{cd} - 52^{ab}).

It also lays down that a woman, during menstruation, should be avoided by all the castes for four nights (31.80^{cd});¹⁵⁰ she should also be avoided on the fifth night in order to avoid the birth of female-child. A man can approach his wife on the sixth night since that night is the best among the even nights but he should avoid cohabiting with his wife on parvans. A man desirous of male issue should cohabit on the even days from the fourth day after the appearance of menses and if he cohabits on

149 For details vide Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, p.800.

Cf.

150 / MS 3.47; YS 1.79.

uneven days a female child is born (31.81).¹⁵¹ If a man cohabits in the morning, he acquires an unreligious-minded son, and if he does so in the evening, he acquires an issue who is eunuch (31.84^{ab}). Elsewhere also it is laid down that a man should avoid sexual intercourse with his wife on the fourteenth, eighth and fifteenth days of the Moon and its four changes (31.45).¹⁵²

Most of these rules are eugenic or based upon hygiene, though a few may be held to be only religious or superstitious.

V - RULES OF PURITY (SUDDHI)

INTRODUCTION:

The rules of purity (suddhi) attach not only to human beings but to animals, objects, places etc. and to special occasions like birth or death which cause impurity (ā'sauca¹⁵³) for the nearest relatives concerned, for various

151 Cf. MS 3.48; YS 1.79; Vāids 3.9

152 Cf. MS 4.128; YS 1.79.

153 For the details about the meaning of 'ā'sauca', vide Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.IV, pp.267f.

periods. Āsauca, however, is the most important subject under suddhi and therefore the suddhi - Kaumudī defines 'suddhi' as 'the state of being fit or capable of performing the rites that are understood from the Veda.'¹⁵⁴ The Smṛtis¹⁵⁵ employ the word suddhi in relation to purification after āsauca.

ĀSAUCA (BIRTH AND DEATH IMPURITIES):

There are two great events in the life of a person, the birth and death. At both these crises in human life certain relatives are supposed to be affected by impurity. The period of impurity varies with different relatives. The study of these regulations is, therefore, helpful in our understanding of kin-organisation among the Indians.

In the MKP the word sūtaka is used as a synonym of āsauca i.e. impurity on birth and death (32. 85).

In the ABr. 32-8 also the word sūtaka is probably used in

154 Vedabodhitakarmārhata suddhih // Suddhi-Kaumudī, p.1.

155 Cf. MS 5.83; Dakṣa 6.7; YS 3.14, 25 etc.
for details on suddhi vide Kahe P.V., Op.Cit.,
Vol.II, pp.267-333.

both these senses, e.g. it is stated that if it is an āhitāgni partook of food from the house of him who was affected by sūtaka, then the prāyaścitta was to offer a puṛuḍaśa cooked on eight post-heards to Agni Tantumat. Tantum also means 'son or progeny' and hence MM. Dr.P.V. Kane argues that it is an indication that sūtaka is used in the ABr. in the sense of impurity on birth.¹⁵⁶ The word sūtaka is used in the Smṛtis in three senses: (1) impurity on birth (MS 5.58); (2) impurity both on birth and death, as in Gobhila-smṛti 3.60,63; (3) impurity on death alone, as in Dakṣa 6.1 and Gobhila-smṛti 3.48. In some of the modern vernaculars (such as Marathi) the word 'sūta'ka' is used in the third sense alone, viz. that arising on birth (and called sūtaka).

The MKP contains rules of birth and death impurities,^{e.g.} it lays down periods of ten days, twelve days, fifteen days and a month of impurity on death among the

156 Op.Cit., Vol.IV., p. 269

brahmins, kṣatriyas, vaiśyas and sūdras respectively,¹⁵⁷
and those of one day, three days, six days and twelve
days of impurity on birth among the brahmins, kṣatriyas,
vaiśyas and sūdras respectively.¹⁵⁸

It also contains a passage stating that all the
agnetic relatives (gotrika) having burnt the dead out of
home, should offer him water on the first, fourth, seventh
and ninth days. These relatives should collect the bones
and ashes of the dead on the fourth day.¹⁵⁹ After this
they may be touched. The relatives called sodakas should
perform the daily duties after the collection of ashes and
bones, and gotrikas and sodakas may be touched after the
period of āsauca,¹⁶⁰ If a person dies by falling from a
tree, by snake-bite, by cow, by wild animals, by weapons, by

157 MKP 32.74-75; cf. MS 5.83; Dakṣa 6.7, YS 3.22; Atri
verse 85, Sāṅkha 15.2-3; MP 18.2-3; BP 220.63; ViDS
22.1-4; Vide Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.II, pp.271f.

158 MKP 32.83.

159 Ibid 32.78; cf. ViDS 19.10; ViSP 3.13.14.

160 Sparsa eva sapindānām mṛtāhani tathobhayoh //
MKP 32.79cd. F.E.Pargiter in his translation,
suggests the reading mṛjāhani for mṛtāhani
(Op.Cit., p.184, note), which is preferable.

water, by hanging, by fire, by poison, by falling from a mountain or in any other unnatural way or by fasting to death, and if a child, one who lives abroad or a recluse dies, purification is instantaneous. According to some the impurity is for three days. One should not perform cremation rites for them nor offer water-libations to them. If a sapinda dies and another death takes place before the expiry of the period of impurity, rites for the latter must be performed within the period of the first impurity. The same rules are to be observed by the sapindas on the birth of a child. The same rule of impurity is laid down for a sodaka, ^{also,} On the birth of a child the father must take bath with his garments on¹⁶⁰ and on his death, all his relatives should take bath with their garments on.

Impurity is here said to last for three days for all the members of the family viz. the Sapindas, Sodakas and Gotrikas. We find here these three categories, but we are not told when a person ceases to be a sapinda and passes into the category of a sodaka.¹⁶¹

¹⁶⁰ MKP 32.77-86; cf. BP 221.145, 147, 149, 157.

PURIFICATION OF THINGS:

In the MKP the following things are stated to be always pure:- alms the workman's hand, wares for sale,¹⁶² the mouths of a woman, an infant, oneself and an old man (32.14), whatever passes the high road, what is unknown, what is brought by slaves and other manials, what is commended expressly, what is long past, what is screened by many, what is light (32.15), what is extremely abundant, what is young, what is done by old and sickly, kitchens when the business in them is ended, women who are suckling children, the speech uttered after thinking, running water, odourless bubbles (32.16-17^{ab}), water collected on the ground that is of such volume that a cow can slake its thirst therein and that is in its natural state (32.24^{cd}), the flesh that has been slain by cāṇḍālas, kravyādas and others (32.25^{ab}), the overflows of fluid (32.20^b) and the milk of the mother and the bird when it knocks fruit down

162 Sūcīr bhaikṣam kārūhastah paṇyam yacca prasāritam/ (cal.ed. 35.14^{ab}). The Bombay edition reads 'kārūhastaiḥ paṇyam yac ca prasāritam'/ mistakenly (32.14^{ab}).

(32.27^{cd}). It also states that the elephant, the fire, the horse, the shade, the rays, the wind, the ground, the drops of water, mosquitoes etc. inflict no contamination though they may have been in contact with what is corrupt (32.26).¹⁶³

The mouths of the goats and horses are said to be pure but not that of the cow or the calf.¹⁶⁴

The land is said to be purified by the lapse of time, burning, treading of cows, smearing, digging and by sprinkling water,¹⁶⁵ and the house is purified by sweeping and by worship (32.17^{cd}-18^{ab}).¹⁶⁶

It is also provided that mud and water on roads which come in contact with untouchables and buildings

-
- 163 cf. MS 5.127-133; YS 1.186, 191-193; VIDs 23.47-52; BDS 1.5.56-57, 64, 65; Śaṅkha 16.12-16.
MKP 32.27^{ab};
- 164/ cf. YS 1.194; BDS quoted by Aparārka, p.276; Śaṅkha 16.14.
- 165 Cf. BDS 1.6.19-21; VDS 3.57; MS 5.124; VIDS 23.57; YS 1.188; VāP 14.68.
- 166 Cf. YS 1.187; and VIDS 23.56.

constructed with burnt bricks are purified by the wind
(32.30).¹⁶⁷

The purification of a thing soiled by impure things is said to be brought about by earth and water and by removing the smell or by removing the colour and smell both (32.20^{cd} - 21^{ab}).¹⁶⁸

The food infested with hair-lick or sniffed at by the cow or infested with flies is cleansed by sprinkling with earth, water and ash (32.18^{cd} - 19^{ab}), the food which is less in volume than one drona, if touched by cāṇḍālas, Antyajās, Mlechhas and other untouchable castes is unfit for use in all the matters but if it is more than one drona in volume, it is purified by sprinkling (32.21^{cd} - 23^{ab}); and a morsel of food that has been damaged by over-ripening should be discarded and the remaining food is purified by sprinkling water and earth (32.31). This obviously shows

167 Cf. YS 1.197, ViDS 23.41.

168 Cf. YS 1.191; GDS 1.45-46; VDS 3.48; MS 5.126; ViDS 23-39.

that common sense, convenience and the loss that may be caused by very severe provisions are the considerations which prompt^{ed} the rules on the subject of the purification of food.

The metals, vessels, clothes etc. are purified as follows:- Shell, stone, gold, silver, ropes, garments, vegetables, roots, fruits, wicker-work vessels, leather, gems, diamonds, coral, pearls, men's bodies, vessels, camasa vessels (32.4^{cd} - 6), things that are injured (32.12^{ab}) and iron vessels (32-8^a) are cleansed with water; copper, iron, bronze, brass, ~~and~~ zinc and lead by salt, acid and water (32.7); stones by scrubbing (32.8^b); oily vessels by warm water (32.8^{cd}); winnowing basket, grain, antelope-skins, pestle, mortar, thick clothes and a store (32.9), grass, word and medicinal herbs (32.10^{cd}) by sprinkling; timber, ivory, bone and horn by scraping; earthen pots by reburning (32.13); things made of udumbara wood by acid; tin and lead by salt; bronze by ash and water (32.19^{cd}-20^a); bark garments by water and earth (32.10^{ab}); woollen clothes and hairs by oily sediment of white mustard or the sediment

from sesamum; cotton clothes with water and ash (32.11,12^{cd}).

All these rules of purification clearly show that the purification of things depends on various circumstances, viz. whether they are metallic or are earthen, whether they are solid or liquid, whether a polluted thing is small in quantity or is a big heap, whether the pollution is extreme or insignificant and so on and so forth.

Purification of the body by means of ācamana and snāna (bath) has already been described under Daily and Periodical Duties and Ceremonies (āhnikā and ācāra).

SUPERSTITIONS, BELIEFS AND TABOOS:

The MKP (47.43ff) contains an account of certain instructions given to an evil spirit named Duḥsaha alias Yaksman, Mrtyu's son,¹⁶⁹ about his dwelling and raiment, about certain bad deeds nourishing him and also about his success at certain places and times, excluding a list of other persons and places from his evil influence. Chapter 48 of the MKP also contains the description of the

169 Vide Chart II under Cosmogony (Chap.IV, Sec.I).

offsprings of Duhsaha, their evil influences on people and various protectives against them. It contains a vivid description of sinful activities of demonic spirits, one arising out of the other. These chapters require a special study because the various words used therein, especially in Chapter 48, signify many popular things without the exact knowledge of which an accurate translation would be difficult. There appears to be a lot of difference between how the words are to be understood. In this respect one feels like often differing from F.E.Pargiter, Shastri T.D.Pandya and Pandit K.S.Mishra. I have noted the points of differences at proper places with probable solutions. They are, however, merely suggestions and point out that a deep textual study is necessary particularly to understand many popular superstitions.

The accounts of both these chapters are divided into two ^{parts} sections. ^{Part} ~~Section~~ I deals with the account given in MKP 47.43ff and ^{Part} ~~Section~~ II deals with that given in MKP Chapter 48.

PART I

BRANMA'S INSTRUCTIONS TO DUHSAHA:

He is asked to reside in men's houses; unrighteous men are his strength and he is satisfied with their neglect to perform the daily duties.¹⁷⁰ Spider's web (lūtāh) and boils (sphotāh) are his raiment.¹⁷¹

He eats whatever is injured, infested with vermin, gazed into by dogs, what is kept in broken pots, what is made still by the breath of the mouth, the fragments that remain from meal, what is unripe, untasteful, what is licked, not consecrated, eaten of by people sitting on broken seats, that has fallen on the seats, eaten in the morning and evening when the quarters are not seen, distinguished by the sound

170 Tavaśrayo gr̥he puṁsām janāś ca dhārmiko balam /
puṣṭir nityakriyāḥānya bhavān vatsa gamiṣyati //
MKP 47.43.

171 Lūtāh spotāś ca te vastram āharam ca dadāmi te /
kṣutam kiṭāvapannam ca tathāśvabhiravaksitam //
Ibid 47.44.

of dancing and musical instruments, polluted, eaten and looked at by a menstruating woman and whatever food and drink have been damaged.¹⁷² Such food is also tabooed in Dharma-Sāstra works.

He obtains the rewards of those men who, without taking bath, sacrifice or give alms without faith or in contempt, of what is offered without purifying it by water, what is without essence, what has been exhibited in order to be discarded, what has been given through utter amazement, what is corrupt and has been offered by a person in anger and pain, of the actions of the son or daughter of a remarried widow pertaining to the next world,¹⁷³ of those

172 Bhagnabhāṇdagatam tadvan mukhavātopaśāmitam /
ucchiṣṭāpākvaṃasvinnam avalīdham aśaṃskṛtam //
Bhagnāśanasthitairbhuktaṃ āśannāgatam eva ca / vidin-
gamukhaṃ saṃdhyayos' ca nāṭyavādyasvanākulam // Udayo-
pahatam bhuktaṃ udakyad' dṛṣṭam eva ca / yaccopaghā-
tavat kiñcit bhakṣyaṃ peyaṃ āthāpi va // Etāni tava
puṣṭyartham anyac cāpi dadāmi te / Ibid 47.44cd - 48ab.

173 Asraddhaya hutam dattam asnātair yad avajñaya //
Yannāmbupūrvakam kṣiptam anātmikṛtam eva ca /
tyaktum āviṣkṛtam yat tu dattam caivātivismyāt //
Duṣṭam kruddhārtadattam ca yaksman prāpsyasi tat phalam |
phalam / Ibid, Cal. ed. 49.48cd-50ab. Instead 50.
of 'anātmikṛtam' the Cal. ed. reads 'anarthikṛtam' (47.49).
It appears that 'Anātmikṛtam' which is lectio difficilior
is simplified into 'Anarthikṛtam'.

Ibid 47.
48d-50d

men who fast vainly and delight in gambling and women, who confer benefits according to thy word, and who are religious hypocrites (baidālavratikāh)¹⁷⁴ of the study of one who is not a Brahmacarin, of the sacrifice performed by an unlearned man, of the austerities practised in a forest by men indulging in worldly pleasures, and by men of unsubdued soul,¹⁷⁵ of the actions of Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Sūdras who have swerved from their duties, done for gaining the objects of the next world (48.60).

He is nourished by the wealth-procuring ceremonies which are performed for obtaining the bride-price and the ceremonies performed according to wicked books (asat-sastras). He also obtains what has been studied for the sake of

174^{the} MS 4.195 defines 'Baidālavratikas as follows:-
Dharmadhvajī sadā lubdhas c'phāmmiko lokadambhakah /
baidālavratiko jñeyo himsrah sarvābhisaṅghakah //

175 Vṛthopavāsino martya dyūtastrīṣu sadā^artah / tvad-
bhāsanopakartāro baidālavratikās ca ye // Abrahma-
cārinādhitaṃ ijjā cā'viduṣākṛtā / tapovane grāmya-
bhujām tathaivanirjitātmanām // Brāhmanakṣatriya-
viṣām sūdrānām ca svakarmatah / paricyūtānām yā
ceṣṭā paralokārthamipsatām // Ibid 47.58-60.

enjoying wealth and what has not been studied truly.¹⁷⁶

He is powerful in men who approach pregnant woman carnally or transgress Samdhyā and daily duties or are corrupted by wicked books, deeds or conversations.¹⁷⁷ His business lies in creating social dissensions, in rendering cookery useless, an interrupting cookery and he enjoys in household wranglings.¹⁷⁸

He is the cause of fear for those who do not nourish the servants, cow and (horses etc. which are used as) conveyances, and whose houses are not sprinkled at twilight.¹⁷⁹

He overcomes men who disregard propitiatory ceremonies during the evil influence of nakṣatras and grahas, and at the time of three-fold portents.¹⁸⁰

176 Kanyāsulkopadhānāya samupāste dhanakriyāḥ // Tathaiva yakṣman pustyarthaṁ asatcāstrakriyāś' ca yā / yaccārtha-nirvrttau kiñcid adhitam yanna satyataḥ // Tat sarvaṁ tava kāmāṁś' ca dadāmi tava śiddhaye / Ibid 47.51cd-53ab.

177 Gurvīṇyabhiḡame samdhyā nityakārya vyatikrame // Asācā chāstra kriyālāpa-dūṣiteṣu ca duṣṣaha / tavābhibhavasamarthyam bhaviṣyati sadā nr̥ṣu // Ibid 47.53cd-54.

178 Pañktibheda vr̥thāpāke pākabheda tathā kṛte / nityam ca gehakalahe bhāvitā vasatis tava // Ibid 47. 55.

179 Aposyamāne ca tathā bhr̥tyagovāhanādike / asandhyābhyukṣitāgāre kāle tvatto bhayaṁ nr̥ṇām // Ibid 47.56.

180 Nakṣatragrahaṇīdāṣu trividhotpātādarsane / asāntikaparāṇ yakṣman naraṇābhibhaviṣyati // Ibid 47.57.

He resides in the house where throny trees grow, where leguminous plants creep about, where there is a remarried widow and the anthill,¹⁸¹ wherein live five men, three women and three cows, where there is darkness, fuel and fire,¹⁸² which contains one goat, two asses, five buffaloes, six horses and seven elephants,¹⁸³ where spade, sickle, basket, caldron, and other utensils are scattered about,¹⁸⁴ where women sit on the pestle and mortar, and upon the threshold, and men utter sacred verses at the privy,¹⁸⁵ where all kinds of corn, whether cooked or uncooked, and also the scriptures are disdained,¹⁸⁶ where fire lies upon the lid of the caldron or is offered with the point of a spoon,¹⁸⁷ where human bones lie and where a corpse remains a whole day and night.¹⁸⁸

181 Yatra kantakino vrksā yatra nispāva-vallari / bhāryā-punarbhū valmikas tad yakṣmaṇ tava mandiram // Ibid 47.83

182 Yasmin grhe narāḥ pañca strītrayaṁ tāvatīś' ca gāḥ / andhakārendhanāgnis' ca tadgrhaṁ vāsatis tava // Ibid 47.84

183 Ekacchāgaṁ dvibāleyaṁ trigavaṁ pañcamāhiṣam / śaḍaśvaṁ saptamātaṅgaṁ grhaṁ yakṣmaṇ sōṣaya // Ibid 47.85

184 Kuddāladātrapitakam tadvat sthālyādibhājanam / yatra tatraiva kṣiptāni tava dadhyuḥ pratīrayam // Ibid 47.86

185 Muśalolūkhale strīṇāsyā tadvadudumbare / avaskare mantrāṇaṁ ca yakṣmaṇ tad upakrt tava // Ibid 47.87

186 Laṅghyante yatra dhānyāni pakvāpakvāni veśmani / tadvac chāstrāni tatra tvam yathestam cara duḥsaha // Ibid 47.88

187 Sthalīpidhāne yatrāgnir datto darvīphalena vā / grhe tatra hi riṣṭānām aseṣānām samāśrayah // Ibid 47.89

188 Mānuṣāsthi grhe yatra divārātram mṛtāsthitih / tatra yakṣma tavavāsas tathānyeṣāṁ ca raksasām // Ibid 47.90-90.

He has no influence over the following persons and places: he who eats only properly cooked food according to rule, who is pure within and without, who is free from covetousness, who governs his wife,¹⁸⁹ and he who establishes the country customs, the conventional ordinances, the laws regarding kinsmen, who performs the japa, homa and the auspicious sacrifice to the gods, who maintains perfect personal purification according to the precepts, and who fashions the public talk,¹⁹⁰ and women who are delighted, not eager to go outside, are always modest (47.66), devotee to their husband's service, keeping aloof from associating with disreputable women and feeding on the food left by their family and husbands (47.73), also the Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Sudras following their specific duties (47.74-77), the house where the gods and pitṛs are worshipped with their respective oblations, where the female relatives and guest are honoured¹⁹¹, where there is concord among

189 Yaḥ saṁskṛtāśī vidhivac chucirantas tathā bahih /
alōlupo jītastrīkas tad geham apavarjaya // Ibid
47.63.

190 Deśācārān samayañ jñātidharmaṁ japam homaṁ maṅgalaṁ
devateṣṭim / sanyak chaucam vidhivallokavādan pumsas
tvayā kurvato māstu saṅgaḥ // Ibid 47.96.

191 Pūjyante havyakaryābhyāṁ devataḥ pitaras tathā /
jāmayo'tithayas cāpi tad geham yakṣma varjaya //
Ibid 47.64.

children, women, and men, and among various kinsmen (47.65), where the bedding and viands are suited to the ages and relations of the inmates (47.67), where the inmates are always kind and busied in good deeds, and possess the common household utensils,¹⁹² where the inmates do not sit while the religious preceptors, the aged and dvijas are sitting,¹⁹³ where the house-door is not penetrated by trees, shrubs or other vegetation, nor by men who pierce one's vitals,¹⁹⁴ where the man supports himself with the remains of the food offered to the gods, pitrs, mankind and guests,¹⁹⁵ where the house-holder earns his livelihood without contravening Śruti and Smṛti, and where his wife is obedient to him from her very soul and where the son shows reverence to his spiritual preceptor and the gods and his father, and where the wife shows due reverence to her husband,¹⁹⁶ which is smeared over at twilights, and thoroughly sprinkled with

192 Yatra kārūnikā nityaṃ sādhu-karmaṇyavasthitāḥ /
sāmānyopaskarair yuktās tyajethā yakṣma tad
gṛhaṃ // Ibid 47.68.

193 Yatrāsanasthās tiṣṭhaṣu guruvṛddhadvijātiṣu / na tiṣṭ-
hanti gṛhaṃ tac ca varjyaṃ yakṣmans tvayā sādā //
Ibid 47.69.

194 Tarugulmāḍibhir dvāraṃ na viddhaṃ yasya veśmanah /
marmabhedo na va pūṃsās tac chreya bhavanam na te //
Ibid 47.70.

195 Devatāpitrbhrtyānām atithinām ca vartanam / yasyāvāsi-
-ṣṭenānneṇa pūṃsās tasya gṛhaṃ tyaja // Ibid 47.71.

196 Satyavākyaṇ kṣamāsīlān hīmsrānnanutāpinah / puruṣānī-
drśān yakṣmans tyajethās cānasūyakān // Ibid 47.72.

water and where the bali of flowers is offered,¹⁹⁷ where the Sun sees not the bed (i.e. where the people rise in the early morning before sunrise), and where fire and water are constantly kept, where the lamps behold the Sun (these are considered to be the places patronised by Lakṣmī),¹⁹⁸ where there are kept a bull, sandal-wood perfume, lute, mirror, honey and ghee, and where copper vessels are used both for poisons and clarified butter of holy oblations,¹⁹⁹ where the padma, the mahāpadma, a cow eating sweetmeats (modaka), a bull and an Airāvata elephant are drawn or pictured,²⁰⁰ in a house,²⁰⁰ where the unarmed, the deities, and those who bear arms without engaging in battle, are esteemed worthy of honour by men, where are celebrated as of yore the great urban and rural festivals which were famous of old.²⁰¹

197 Sadānuliptasamdhyaṣu grham ambuśamukṣitam / kṛtapuṣpa-balim yakṣma na tvam śaknoṣi vikṣitam // Ibid 47.80.

198 Bhāṣkarādṛṣṭaśāyāni nityāgni salilāni ca / Sūryā-valokadipāni lakṣmī gehāni bhājanam // Ibid 47.81.

199 Yatrokṣā candanam vinā ādarśo madhu sarpiṣī / viśājya-tāmapātrāni tad grham na tavāśrayaḥ // Ibid 47.82.

200 Yatra padmamahāpadmau surabhir modakāśinī / vṛṣabhairā-vatau yatra kalpyate tadgrham tyaja // Ibid 47.92.

201 Āśastrā devatā yatra śāstrās cāhavaṃ vinā / kalpyante manujairacyās tat parityaja mandiram // Ibid 47.93.

PART II

THE OFFSPRINGS OF DUHSAHA:

Duhsaha and his wife Nirmārṣṭi,²⁰² Kali's daughter, had eight sons and eight daughters and these also had many children. These are evil spirits of various sorts connected with the infants, men or women - especially pregnant women - etc. They are almost all personifications of physical injuries, moral vices and social offences, and many-a-times their actions are depicted true to their names.

The description of their evil influences reflects the Indian belief that human life in general is acted upon by supernatural forces and that man at every step in his course is attended by evil spirits. The operation of

202 Nirmārṣṭi means 'one who washes off, or cleans off' coming from √nir + mrj, nir having a bad sense here. Prof. F.E. Pargiter takes it to mean 'uncleaned' but how can it mean 'uncleaned' is not clear. The word is 'Nirmāṣṭi' in the Calcutta edition of the MKP. But Prof. Pargiter takes it as 'Nirmārṣṭi', vide The Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa, E.Tr., p.257.

demonic power is also recognised in all that befalls a child in its tender years, and even in the mother's womb, the influence of demons is believed to work in the development of the embryo. To these agencies are attributed the diseases and other misfortunes to which men etc. are exposed and various devices ^{are found} which largely consist of a series of magical devices intended to protect men and women, mother and child, etc. The numerous devices of this kind as mentioned in the MKP against the evil influences of Duhsaha's children and grand-children include the spells or spoken charms, various natural substances like garlands of flowers, oṣadhis, durvā grass, kuśa grass, mustard seed or white mustard, substances derived from animals e.g. camel's thorn, rhinoceros-bone, picture of a pair of peacocks, and an artificial woman on the house-walls, cow's urine used for bathing, fire, water, incense, lamp, weapon, pestle, ashes, incense ash or that of sacrificial fire etc. etc.

In the following pages are given the chart of Duhsaha's offsprings and also the details regarding their evil influences and various protectives against them.

Duhsaha = Nirmarṣti (Chap.48)

1	2	3	4
Ḍantakṛṣṭi (48.8-10) : two : daughters :	Ukti (48.11-13ab) : Seven : sons :	Parivarta(ka) (48.13cd-15ab) : two : sons :	Angadhṛk (48.15cd-16ab) : One : son :
Vijalpā Kalahā (48.51-52ab)	Virūpa (48.63cd - 66ab)	Pisuna	
Somapā Ambupā Ambhodhi Savitr Anala Kalijohva (48.62-63ab)			

N.B.:-- The sign = stands for the marital relations between the two.

Duṣṣaha = Nirmarṣṭi (Chap.48)(Contd.)

5	6	7	8
Śakuni (48.16cd-18ab)	Gaṇḍapṛāntarati (48.18cd-21ab)	Garbhahan (48.21cd-23ab)	Sasyahan (48.23cd-25ab)
Five Sons	Six children	One son One daughter	
	Their names are not mentioned.		
		Nighna	Mohanī
Śyena	Kāka Kapota Gṛdhra Uluka		
	(48.67cd - 74ab)		(48.77cd - 81ab)

N.B.:— The sign = stands for the marital relations between the two.

Duṣṣaha = Nirmarṣī (Chap.48) (Contd.)

1	2	3	4
Niyojikā	Virodhinī	Svayamhārakārī OR Svayamhārīka	Bhrāmanī
(48.25 ^{cd})	(48.30 ^{cd} -31 ^{ab})	(48.31 ^{cd} - 38)	(48.39-41)
Four daughters named Pracodikas (48.86-91 ^{ab})	Three	Three sons by Caurya	one son Kakajāṅgha (48.101 ^{cd} - 103 ^{ab})
	Servaharī	Ardhaharī	Viryaharī
		(48.98 ^{cd} - 101 ^{ab})	
Codaka	Grahaka	Tamahprāṣadaka	
	(48.91 ^{cd} - 98 ^{ab})		

207

DANTĀKRSTI (TOOTH-ATTRACTER):

He is an evil spirit of disease specially dangerous to infants. He resides in the teeth of newly-born babes and produces bristling of their teeth with a desire of effecting their sprouting very difficult or troublesome.

The remedies against him are casting of white mustard on the bed and teeth of the child, bathing him with the medicinal herb called sauvarcala (Sochal salt prepared by boiling down soda with emblic myrobolan;²⁰³ Guj. Sancala), reciting good scriptures, tying on his neck an amulet of camel's thorn (a shrub of the bean family which camels eat greedily)²⁰⁴ and rhinoceros-bone, and dressing

203 Monier Williams, A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, p.1255.

204 Thomas Davidson (Compiler); Gedde J-Liddell (Reviser and expander), Chamber's Twentieth Century Dictionary, p.134.

him with linen cloth.²⁰⁵

F.E.Pargiter, Shastri T.D.Pandya and Pandit K. G.Mishra misunderstand the phrase 'cikīrṣuḥ duḥsahāgamam'. Pargiter translates it as: "with the desire of effecting an attack from Duḥsaha;" ²⁰⁶ Pandya also translates it as: "for the entry of Duḥsaha;" ²⁰⁷ and Mishra also translates it as: "under his resort Duḥsaha also comes there." ²⁰⁸ But these translations do not fit in with the present context. Hence the proper translation appears to be: Dantākṛṣṭi does so "with a desire of effecting the sprouting of the teeth very difficult or troublesome." It is quite well known

205 Dantākṛṣṭiḥ prasūtānām balānām dasanasthitaḥ / karoti dantasāṅgharṣam cikīrṣuḥ duḥsahāgamam // Tasyopasa-manam kāryam suptasya sitasārṣapāḥ / sayanasyopariḥṣi-ptaiḥ mānuṣāḥ dasanopari // Sauvarcalauṣadhisnānāt tathā sat-chāstrakīrtanāt / uṣṭrakantaka khadgāsthikṣa-umavastra vidhāraṇāt // MKP 48.8-10. The Bombay addition reads 'gāṅgāsthi', but the correct reading appears to be 'khadgāsthi' as in the Cal.ed.(51.10).

206 The Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa, E.Tr., pp. 257-258.

207 The Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa, Guj.Tr., p. 160

208 The Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa, Hin.Tr., p.161.

that the teeth-sprouting of children is a very troublesome thing and we do observe them bristling their teeth when their teeth sprout out. This thing is put here in superstitious garb viz. as the work of an evil spirit of disease.

Moreover, Pargiter seems to have misunderstood the verse 48.10^{cd} also which he translates as: "and by supporting (vidhāraṇāt) it on a camel, a thorn, a sword, a bone, or a linen cloth". 'Vidhāraṇa' means 'putting on' and not 'supporting'. He misunderstands the words 'uṣṭrakantaka' (camel's thorn) and 'khaḍgāsthī' (rhinoceros-bone) which he takes separately and takes khaḍga to mean a sword. 209 Amulets of camel's thorn ~~and rhinoceros-bone~~ serve ^{as an} the examples of sympathetic magic. Pandya 210 and Mishra 211 omit the word 'kantaka' and construe 'uṣṭra' and 'khaḍga' with 'asthi' and taken them to mean the bone of camel or rhinoceros.

209 Op.Cit., p.258.

210 Op.Cit., p.160

211 Op.Cit., p.161.

UKTI (OR TATHOKTI):

This is an evil spirit supposed to assign good and evil fortune to men. Hence it is advised to speak good and auspicious things, and to praise Viṣṇu, Brahma and one's own family deity.²¹² The worship of the family deity does not figure in the Sūtras. The Sāṅkha-Smṛti (quoted by Mitākṣarā on YS 1.12) refers to her worship when it says that the name of a child should be connected with one's family deity.

KALIJIHVA (Black-tongue):

He resides in palms (tālaniketanah;²¹³ and abiding in men's tongues, engages them in discussions.²¹⁴

212 Tisthatyanyakumāras tu tathāstvityasakrā bruvaṇ /
 subhāsubhēnṛnām yunkte tathoktis tac cā nānyathā //
 Tasmād, aduṣṭam amaṅgalyam vaktavyam paṇḍitaiḥ sadā /
 duṣṭe srute tathāivokte kīrtaniyo Janārdanaḥ //
 Carācaragurur brahmā yā yasya kuladevatā / MKP 48.11-13ab.

213 Pargiter suggests here another reading 'tāluniketanaḥ'
 i.e. he resides in palace.

214 Tathokteḥ kalijihvā' bhūt putras tālaniketanah / sa
 yeṣāṃ rasanāsansthaṇ tāsāṃ vivādayet / MKP 48.62cd-
 63ab.

No remedy is prescribed against Kalijihva.

VIJALPĀ (Chatterer):

She is a malevolent spirit who indulges in contemptuous, false and corrupt talk. She can be vanquished by pondering on her and by preserving self-control. ²¹⁵

KALAHĀ (Quarreller):

She is a demonic spirit supposed to create quarrels in men's houses and perish families. She is subdued by offering blades of durva grass smeared with honey, ghee and milk in the bali ceremony, by offering a sacrifice ^{to the fire} and by extolling the Sun for averting evil from all living beings, infants and their mothers.

The kuṣmāṇḍas (a class of demons or demigods attached to Śiva ²¹⁶) and Mātudhānas (a kind of evil spirit or demon ²¹⁷) etc. should be worshipped to attain the vidyās, penances, religious vows and great moral duties, and

215 Avajñānrtaduṣṭoktir vijalpā tat praśāntaye // Tameva cintayet prājñāḥ prayatas' ca grhī bhavet / MKP 51cd-52ab.

216 Monier Williams, Op.Cit., p.298.

217 Monier Williams, Op.Cit., p.849.

also during the cultivation of land and ⁱⁿ the profits of trade, for removing every evil deed and results of great sins and whatever else that causes obstacles, and for pacifying in marriages, ceremonies performed for increase of prosperity, meritorious undertakings, yoga, worship of spiritual teachers and the gods and rites of prayers and sacrifice, the pilgrimages, bodily health, pleasures, happiness, liberality, wealth and also among the aged, children and sick (48.52^{cd}-61).

PARIVARTĀ(KA) (The Interchanger):

He is a maleficient spirit supposed to interchange the foetus between one womb and another and also the words in the mouth of a speaker. The white mustard, and the "Raksoghna" mantras²¹⁸ serve as charms against him.²¹⁹

218 RV 4.4.1-5; VS 13.9-13; TS 1.2.14.1-2; AV 1.28; 5.29.

219 Anya garbhe parān gacchan sadaiva parivartayan //
 Ratim āpnoti vāḡyam ca vivakṣo ranyadeva yat //
 parivartakasaṃjñoyam tasyāpi sitasarṣapaih //
 Rakṣoghnamantraḡjapyais ca rakṣam kurvita tattvavit //
 MKP 48.13cd - 15ab.

VIRŪPA (DEFORMED) AND VIKṚTA (ILL-HEALTH):

Virūpa and Vikṛta are supposed to frequent the trees, mountains, ditches, ramparts, and the sea, and to interchange foetus from one pregnant woman to another. In the MKP pregnant women are warned against visiting the trees etc. ²²⁰ We also find Susruta in his Āyurveda (3.10.1) warning the pregnant woman against walking in the open air, or visiting such spots as are specially frequented by demons, viz. deserted houses, tombstones, and trees in places of burial.

ANGADHRK (THE ASSAILER OF THE BODY):

This spirit is supposed to announce good or bad fortune which is indicated by throbbing^{of} the limbs^{of} men's bodies. The charm against him is striking the body with kusa grass.

220 Parivartasutau dvau tu virūpavikṛtau dvija // Tautu-
vrkṣādriparikhāprākārāmbhodhi samsrayau / gurvinyāḥ pari-
vartantau kurutaḥ pādapādiṣu // Kṛaustuke parivartāḥ
syād garbhasyānyodasāt tataḥ / na vrkṣam caiva naivā-
driṃ na prākāram mahodadhīm // Parikhām vā samākṛmed
abalāgarbhadhārini / MKP 48.63cd - 66ab.

221 Anyas cānilavan nṛnām aṅgeṣu sphuranoditām // Subhā-
subham samācāste kūsais tasyāṅgatādanam / MKP 48.15cd -
16ab.

PISUNA:

He abides in the marrow inside the men's bones and consumed the energy of those who do not preserve self-control (ajitātmanām). ²²² Pargiter translates the word ajitātmanām as, "even of invincible men" ²²³ but the translation suggested above ^{also} seems to fit with the present context.

SAKUNI (OMEN):

He abides in crows, dogs etc. and announces weal or woe. Hence evil matters should be delayed, new undertakings abandoned and good matters performed immediately.

222 Angadhrk tanayam lebhe pisunam nama nāmatah //
Sdsthimajjagatah pumsam balamattyaajitātmanām /
MKP 48.66cd - 67ab.

223 Op.Cit., p. 263.

224 Kakādipakṣisamsthonyah svāderangatopiṣā // Subhāsubham
ca śakunih kumaronyo praviti vai / tatrapī duṣṭe
vyākṣepah prārambhatyāga eva ca // sybhe drutataram
kāryam iti prāha prajāpatih / MKP 48.16cd - 18ab.

SYENA (HAWK):
KAKA (CROW):
KAPOTA (PIGEON):
GRDHRA (VULTURE):
ULUKA (OWL):

These are supposed to be possessed by Mrtyu, Kāla, Yama, Vyādhi and Nirṛti respectively.²²⁵ It is a portent if Syena and others alight on one's head,²²⁶ and hence such a one should take effectual pacificatory measures for one's safety. One should abandon the house and employ pacificatory measures if these are born in house or if they build their nests there. Even in sleep it is unlucky to see a Pigeon.²²⁷

225 These five are put together as 'Suras' and 'Asuras' (48.68), but which of them is 'sura' and which is 'asura' is not clear. Here there is a symbolism. Of course it is not clear. It can be explained as follows:- Syena is the symbol of Mrtyu because both of them attack things suddenly. Kāka is associated with Kāla possibly because of the belief that crows live long. In some religions Kapota is associated with death. Grdhra is the symbol of illness because it is very avaricious and avarice may bring illness. Uluka is the symbol of Nirṛti, the goddess of death, or hell. It is popularly associated with evil.

226 The belief in a portent occurs the Epics; vide Hopkins, E.W., Epic Mythology, pp.

227 MKP 48.67cd - 74ab.

GANDAPRANTARATI (THE REVELLER IN
BORDERS OF THE CHEEKS; BY LAKSANA
IT MAY MEAN THE RESIDER IN':

He is said to abide in the borders of the cheeks for half a muhurta and consume every undertaking. The charms against him are recitations by Brahmins, praise of the gods, extracting of the roots, ablutions with cow's urine and mustard seed, worship of the constellations and planets, and observance of righteousness prescribed in the Upaniṣads, reading the Sastras and ~~by~~ contempt for birth. 228

HIS SIX CHILDREN:

These are also the evil spirits connected with women. They are supposed to dwell in women's menses. One child takes possession of the first four days after

228 Gaṇḍāntesu sthitas cānyo muhūrtārdham dvijottama // Sarvārambhāṃ kumarōtti samam tasya nīśāmayā / viproktyā devatāstutyā mūlotkhātena ca dvija // Gomūtrasarśapasnānais tadrakṣagrahapujanaih / punaś ca dharmopaniṣat-karanaih śāstradarsanaih // Avajñayā janmanas' ca prasamam yati gaṇḍavān / MKP 48.18cd - 21ab.

Pandya and Mishra take 'mūlotkhātena' to mean by 'pacifying the mūla constellation', vide Op.Cit., p. 161 and Op.Cit., p. 161.

menstruation, another is powerful on the eleventh day, another at dawn and two others on occasions of śrāddhas and alms-giving and another at festival. Hence men are advised to avoid these days in sexual intercourse. 229

GARBHAHAN (THE FOETUS - DESTROYER):

He is an evil spirit supposed to destroy the fruit of pregnant ladies. Hence pregnant ladies are warned to preserve constant personal purification, to write out famous spells, to wear auspicious garlands etc., to dwell in well-cleaned houses and to abstain from over-exertion. 230

-
- 229 Sadāpatyāni kathyante gandaprāntarates tathā //
 Strīnām rajasyavasthānam teṣām kalās' ca me sruṇu /
 catvāryahāni pūrvāni tathaiivānyat trayodasam //
 Ekādasam tathaiivānyad apatyam tasya vai dine /
 anyad dinābhigamane śrāddhadāne tathāpare //
 Parvasvathānyat tasmāt tu varjyānyetāni paṇḍitaiḥ /
 MKP 48.74^{cd} - 77ab.
- 230 Garbhe strīnām tathānyastu kalalāsī sudārunaḥ //
 Tasya rakṣā sādā kāryā nityam saucaniṣevanāt /
 prasiddhamantralikhanāc chastamalyādīdhāranāt //
 Viśuddhagehāvasanād anayāsāc ca vai dvija /
 Ibid, 48.21^{cd} - 23ab.

NIGHNA (SLAYER) AND MOHANI (BEGUILER):

These two demonic spirits are also connected with pregnant ladies. Nighna first enters within and eats foetus and then Mohani beguiles it, as a result of which offsprings are born as snakes, frogs, tortoise and raptiles or as ordure.

Nighna enters into the six months pregnant women who, in waywardness, eats flesh, seeks the shade of trees by night or at cross-roads, stands in a cementary or any place pervaded by strong smells, who leaves off her upper garment or who weeps at mid-night. 231

SASYAHAN (THE CROP-DESTROYER):

He is a malevolent spirit supposed to destroy

-
- 231 Garbhahantuh suto nighno mohani cāpi kanyakā //
 Pravisya garbham attyekṣ bhuktvā mohayate' parā /
 jāyante mohanāt tasyāḥ sarpamandukakacchapāḥ //
 Sarisrpaṇi cānyāṇi puriṣam athavā punah / sanmasād
 gurviṇi māmsaṁ asnuvānamasanyatām // Vrkṣacchāyāśrayaṁ
 rātrāvathavā tricatuspathe / smaśānakatabhūmiṣṭhām
 uttariya vivarjtaṁ // Rudhāmanam niṣithe' tha aṁviṣet
 tamimau'striyam / Ibid 48.77cd - 81ab.

the growth of the crops. The charms against him are wearing of worn out shoes, walking in antyrcircumambulating side, causing a candala to enter the field, offering bali outside and reciting mantras called 'Somāmbu.²³²' ²³³ Pargiter translates 'Somāmbu-parikīrtanāt' as 'by eulogizing soma juice.'²³⁴

KSUDRAKA (PUNY):

He injures the growth of the crops, when he has gained a weak place. He, who sows highly pleased at the beginning of an unauspicious day, provides an entry behind him for this spirit into their fields and the neighbouring fields. Hence it is advised to give up ploughing on un- auspicious days, otherwise this spirit troubles him and his neighbours. Hence a man should worship the Moon on an auspicious day before beginning the ploughing and saw

232 Probably RV 1.23.19-21.

233 Tathaiva saṅyahā cānyah saṅyardhim upahanti yah //
Tasyāpi raksām kurvita jirnopānād vidhāranāt //
tathāpasavyāgamanāc caṇḍalāsyapraveṣanāt //
Bahir balipradanāc ca somāmbu parikīrtanāt / MKP
48.23cd - 25ab.

234 Op.Cit., p. 259

his seed in gladness and contentment, with a companion. 235

NIYOJIKĀ (THE INCITER):

She is an evil spirit inciting men to adultery and appropriating other's wealth. The charms against her are recitation of purifying prayers and abstinence from anger etc. 236

PRACODIKĀH (INSTIGATORS):

These female evil spirits always enter into intoxicated, frantic and wanton men and women to destroy them. They pervert adharma as dharma, akāma as kāma, anartha as artha and amokṣa as mokṣa and hence in the absence of purity

235 Sasyardhim sā sadā hanti labdhvā randhram srauṣva tat / amāṅgalyādinārambhe sūtrpto vapate ca yaḥ // Kṣetreṣva-nupraveśam vai karotyantopasāṅgisu // Amāṅgalyādinārambham māṅgalānam ca varjayet / (mahad bhayaṁ prayacchanti yatra vai tat prasāṅgisu /) tasmāt kalpaṁsu prasaste dine' bhyarcya niśakaram // Kuryādārambhāṁ uṣṭim ca hr̥stas tustah sahāyavān / MKP 48.82-85ab.

236 Parādāra-paradravya-haraṇādisu mānavān / niyojayati caivānyā kanyā sā ca niyojikā / tasyāḥ pavitrapathanāt krodhalobhādivarjanāt // Niyojayati māmeṣa virodhac ca vivarjanāt / ākṣṛṣṭonyena manyeta tādito vā niyojikā // Niyojayatyenamiti na gacchet tad vaśam budhaḥ / parādāra-disansarge cittam ātmanameva ca // Niyojayatyatra sā māmīti prājño viśintayet / MKP 48.25cd - 29ab.

people are presented indisciplined in different ways. These spirits enter into a house, the twilights, the planets and the threshold and where bali is offered to Dhatr and Vidhatr at proper time. They make a sudden attack upon men and women who eat or drink with drops of water clinging to them. 237

VIRODHINI (THE STRIFE-MAKER ;
LIT. THE IMPEDER):

She is an evil spirit causing opposition between loving married couples, among relatives and friends; between parents and children and among fellow-caste people. She is pacified by enduring outrageous language and observing

-
- 237 Jātam pracodikāsamjñam tasyāḥ kanyācatustayam /
mattonmattapramattāns tu narān nārīs tu tān sadā //
Samāvisanti nāsāya codayantiha dārunam / adharmam
dharma-rūpeṇa kāmam cakāmarupinam // Anartham cārtha-
rūpeṇa mokṣam cāmokṣarūpinam / dūrvinitān vināśau ca
darsayanti prthang narān // Bhrāṣatyābhiḥ pravīṣṭābhiḥ
puruṣārthāt prthang narān / tāsām praveśas' ca gṛhe
sāṁdhyrksesu hyudumbare // Dhātre vidhātre balir yatra
kāle nā dīyate ca / bhūñjatām pibatām vāpi saṅgibhir
jalavipruṣaiḥ // Naranārīṣu saṅkrāntis tāsāmāsvabhi jāyate/
Ibid, 48.85cd - 91ab.

Pargiter have misunderstood the verse 86. He takes 'procodikā', 'Matta', 'Ummatta' and 'Pramatta' as the names of four daughters of Niyojikā (Op.Cit., p.264). But the words Matta, Ummatta and Pramatta are the adjectives of the words 'men' and 'women' (in the same verse).

good conduct as prescribed by the scriptures.²³⁸

CODAKA (INSTIGATOR), GRAHAKA (SEIZER)
AND TAMAHPRACCHĀDAKA (GLOOM -ENVELOPER):

These spirits display their activity where the pestle and mortar are befouled by contact with oil of the lamp or are crossed, or are used by women as seats or shoes, where the winnowing basket or hatchet are used as seats, and where pastime is held in a house which has been cowdunged but now worshipped, and where fire is taken up and carried elsewhere in the bowl of a spoon.²³⁹

Codaka dwells in men's and women's tongues and utters falsehood as truth. He works ~~evil~~ in the house. Grahaka, who is exceeding^{ly} evil-minded, dwellsⁱⁿ men's ears and

238 Virodham kurute cānyā dampātyoh priyamānayoḥ // Bandhu-
nam suhrūdām pitroḥ putraih sāvarnikaiś ca yā /
virodhinī sā tadrakṣā kurvīta balikarmanā // Tathatīvā-
dasahanāc chāstrācāranīṣevanāt / Ibid 48.29cd - 31ab.

239 Pradīpatailasānsargadūṣite laṅghite khale // musalo
lūkhale yatra pādūke vāsane striyaḥ / śurpadātrādikam
yatra padākṛṣṭam tathāsanam // Yetropalīptenābhyarcya
vihāraḥ kriyāte gr̥he / darvīmukhena yatrāgniḥ hr̥tonyatra
nīyate // Virodhiniśutas tatra vijrabhante pracoditah /
Ibid 48.92cd - 95ab.

takes hold of people's words. Tamahpracchādaka attack men's minds and enveloping them with darkness arouses anger. 240

SVAYAMHĀRAKARĪ (-HĀRIKĀ):
(VOLUNTARY THIEF):

She is supposed to destroy grain from granaries and houses, milk from cows, and ghee, and produce from prolific things, and she is ever addicted to concealment. She consumes half-cooked food from kitchen, whatever is kept in the store-house, and whatever food is being served up along with the person who eats it. She takes the remains of food from men and also their food, and is hard to be restrained. She robs the success and prosperity from the place of karmans and from the abodes. She is supposed to deprive milk out of cow's udders and women's breasts, ghee from curled milk, oil out of sesamum, sura from suragara (liquor-stores), colour out of saffron and

240 Eko jihvāgataḥ pumsāṃ strīṇāṃ calikasatyavām //
Codako nāma sā proktaḥ paśunyaṃ kurute gr̥he / avadhā-
nagatas' canyaḥ śravaṇasthōtūdurmatih // Kāroti grahaṇaṃ
teṣāṃ vacasāṃ grāhakaḥ tu saḥ / ākrāmyāṇyo mano nṛṇāṃ
tamasācchādya durmatih // Krōdhaṃ janayate yas tu tamah-
-pracchādakas tu saḥ / Ibid, 48.95^{cd} - 98ab.

other coloured objects, and the thread out of cotton clothes. The charms against her are making a pair of peacocks and an artificial woman, and drawing prophylactic marks on the house should be avoided. Applying the ashes of the incense and of fire of sacrifices, offered to the gods, to the vessels of milk etc. also serve as a charm against her.²⁴¹

SARVAHĀRI (HE WHO STEALS THE WHOLE):
ARDHAHĀRI (HE WHO STEALS THE HALF):
VIRYAHĀRI (HE WHO STEALS ONE'S VIGOUR):

These are supposed to sport and derive their pleasure in the houses of those who do not rinse their mouths after meal, observe bad customs, and among them who enter the kitchen with unwashed feet, and in granaries and

241 Dhānyam khalād gṛhād goṣṭhāt payaḥ sarpiḥ tathā parā // Samrddhiḥ rddhimā dravyād apahanti ca kanyakā / sā svayamhārike tyuktā sadāntar dhanātatparā // Mahanasād ardhasiddham annāgarasthitam tathā / pariviṣyamānam ca sadā sardham bhunkte ca bhujatā // Ucchesanam manasya nam haratyannam ca durharā / karmantāgarasālabhyaḥ siddharaddhiḥ harati dviḥ // Gostristanebhyas ca payaḥ kṣirahārī sadaiḥ sā / dadhno ghṛtam tilāt tailam surāgarāt tathā surām // Rāgam kusumbhakādinām karpāsāt sūtrameva ca / sā svayamhārikā nāma haratyaviratam *** dviḥ // Kuryāt chikhandinor dvandvam rakṣārtham kṛtimām striyam / rakṣās caiva grhe lekhyā varjyā cocchiṣṭatā tathā // Homāgni devatā dhūpa bhasmanā ca parikriyā / kārya kṣirādibhāṇānam evam tad vakṣanam smṛtam // Ibid 48.31cd - 38.

cattle-pans and houses where perfidy prevails.²⁴²

BHRA(A)MANI (BEWILDERER):

She is a female demon supposed to produce perturbation in a man who dwells in one place. As a protection against her, the man should scatter white mustard on his seat, bed and the ground where he sits and should reflect, "This wicked, evil-minded (spirit) causes me to go astray". He should also mutter the "Bhuvās"²⁴³ hymn repeatedly with composed mind.²⁴⁴

KAKAJANGHA (CROW-THIGH):

No one possessed by him feels any pleasure in anything. He enters into the man who sings while dining, dances and laughs in the morning and indulges in sexual intercourse at twilight (Bhūñjan yo gāyate maitre gāyate

242 Anācāntagrheṣvete mandācāragrheṣu ca // Aprakṣālitapādesu praviśatsū mahānasam / Khalesu goṣṭheṣu ca vai duhoyeṣu grheṣu vai // Teṣu sarve yathānyāyam viharanti ramanti ca // Ibid, 48.99cd - 101ab.

243 RV. 1.15.1; AV 12.1.

244 Udvegāṃ janayatyanya ekasthānanivāsināḥ / puruṣasya tu yā proktā bhrāmaṇī sā tu kanyakā // Tasyātha rakṣā kurvīta vikṣiptaiḥ sitasarsapaiḥ / āsane śayane corvyāṃ yatrāste sa tu mānavāḥ // Cintayecca narah pāpā māmeṣa duṣṭacetanā/ bhrāmayatyasakṛjjapyāṃ bhuvāḥ sūktāṃ samādhinā // Ibid, 48.39-41.

hasate ca yah / samdhyāmaithunīnam caiva naram⁴avisati
 dvija // (48.102^{cd} - 103^{ab}). The word 'maitre' is mis-
 understood by Pargiter who translates the verse: "He
 enters into the men, who, while eating sings to a friend,
 and who sings and laughs at the same time, and who indulges
 in sexual intercourse during the twilight."²⁴⁵ One is
 not clear why the spirit Kākajāṅgha should enter a man
 if he sings to a friend while dining and if he sings and
 laughs at the same time. One can understand that sing-
 ing while taking food one may give scope for the entry
 of the bad spirit because it is a superstition that such
 spirits enter during a period of some mistake e.g. enter-
 ing of Kali into Nala,²⁴⁶ but not because it is done to
 a friend. Similarly, singing and laughing together
 need not necessarily constitute a fault. The difficulty
 can be removed if 'maitre' is construed with 'gāyate hasate
 ca yah' in contrast to 'Samdhyā'; 'maitre'²⁴⁷ meaning
 at the time of the Sun i.e. in the morning when dancing and
 laughing would certainly constitute a fault on strictly
 puritanical grounds.

245 Op.Cit., p.266.

246 Mbh, Cr.Ed., 3.56.3.

247 Even the word 'mitre' would have given the same
 meaning.

RTUHARIKĀ (OR - HĀRINĪ, THE
MENSES STEALER):

She is a female demon supposed to deprive women of their monthly courses, when they have begun; and before they have begun. She is subdued if women bathe at places of pilgrimage, temples, sacred public ~~places~~, mountains, confluence of rivers and in excavated places. The knowers of mantras (mantravid) and principles of evil ^{spirits} / (bhutatatvajña) should cause them to bathe at the four changes of the moon and at dawn, and the physician skilled in medicine should also cause them to bathe with the herbs. So also the gods at the places of pilgrimage etc. should be worshipped with dhūpa and lamp, food etc. 248

KUCAHARĀ (THE BREASTS STEALER):

She deprives maidens of their breasts if their

-
- 248 Strīṇāṃ puṣpaṃ haratyanyā pravṛttam sā tu kanyakā /
tathā pravṛttam sā jñeyā duḥsahā ṛtuhārikā // Kurvita
tīrtha devauka^{ts} caityaparvatasānuṣu / nadī sangamakhāteṣu
snapanam tat prasāntaye // Mantravid bhūtatatvajñaḥ
parvasūṣasi ca dvija / (teṣāṃ tu pūjanam kāryam dhūpa-
vartyupahārakaiḥ) / cikitsājñāś ca vai vaidyaḥ samprayuktair
varausadhair // Ibid 48.42-44. Instead of 'bhūtatatvajña'
at the end of 48.44c, the Cal.ed. reads 'Kṛtatvajña'
which means the 'knower of principles of action'
(51.44c).

marriage rites are not performed duly or are performed after the prescribed time.²⁴⁹

VYĀNJANAHARIKĀ:

She is a female demon supposed to remove the hair of a woman's pudenda,²⁵⁰ if she has been married without duly offering the *śrāddha* rite and without worshipping the *mātrkāś* therein.²⁵¹ This shows that the *śrāddha* rite (i.e. the *Ābhyudayaśrāddha* which is performed on auspicious events like the birth of a son, marriage ceremonies ;(27.4ff) and the *mātrkāpūjana* formed important marriage rites. The *mātrkāś* do not figure in the *sūtras*. But their worship was prevalent certainly in the first centuries of the christian era throughout India.²⁵² The GDS prescribes that at the beginning of all rites the *Mātrās* together with *Gaṇeśa* have

249 *Yasyā na kriyate sarvāḥ samyag vaivāhiko vidhiḥ / kālātito²thavā tasya haratyekākuca dvayam // Ibid 48.105.*

250 Monier Williams, Op.Cit.,p.1029.

251 *Samyag śrāddham adattvā ca tathānbhyarcya mātrkāḥ / vivāhitāyāḥ kanyāyāḥ harati vyanjanam tathā // Ibid 48.106.*

252 For several sources about *mātrkāpūjana*, vide Kane P.V., Op.Cit., Vol.2, pp.217-218.

to be worshipped and it names fourteen mātṛas such as Gaurī, Padmā, Śacī, Medhā, Śavitṛī, Vijayā, Jayā, Devasenā, Svadhā, Svahā, Dhṛti, Puṣṭi, Tuṣṭi and one's own dēity (abhiṣṭā-devatā) (1.11-13).²⁵³ In the MKP (85.12ff) seven mātṛs have been named as mātṛgaṇa, e.g. Brahmanī, Mahesvari, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, Nārasiṃhī and Aindrī.

JĀTAHARINĪ:

When the lying-in chamber is destitute of fire, water, incense, lamp, weapon, pestle, ashes and mustard seed, then Jātaharinī enters in, and snatches away the new-born child, and casts the child in that very place. She is very terrible and she feeds on flesh. Hence it is advised to guard the lying-in chamber against her. ²⁵⁴

253 GDS 1.11-12 are quoted in the Smṛticandrikā (śrāddha, p.503) and Aparārka, p.517 and GDS 1.13 in Kalpataru (śrāddha, p.212) - vide Kane P.V., Op.C&t, Vol.2, p.217 fn. 504; Vol.4, p.529.

254 Agnyambusūnye ca tathā vidhūpe sūtikāgrhe / adīpaśastra-
musale bhūtisarsapavarjite // Anupraviśya sā jātam
apahrtyātmasambhavam / kṣaṇaprasavini bālam tatraivotsrjate
dviḥ // Sā jātaharinī nāma sughorā piśitāśanā / tasmāt
samrakṣaṇam kāryam yatnataḥ sūtikāgrhe // Ibid 48.107-109.

Elsewhere in the MKP, there occurs the story of Manu Cākṣuṣa who was transferred when an infant by Jātaḥarīnī to the place of King Vikrānta's son, who was also transferred by her to the place of a brahmin, whose son she ate away. Thus here she is described as transferring one child to the place of another and the latter to the place of the third one and eating the third child (Chap.73).

SMRTIHARĀ (- HARIKĀ) :
(THE MEMORY STEALER):

She is a female demon who deprives the memory of men destitute of self-control through inhabiting empty abodes. She may be overcome by staying in lonely places.²⁵⁵

PRACANDA:

It is mentioned that from his grandsons are born the hundreds and thousands of Līkās and eight tribes of candalas, very terrible and with staves and nooses. When the Līkās and candālas being hungry, ran at one another

255 Smṛtim cāpahartyanyā (pravṛttāṃ sā tu kanyakā / athā, pravṛttā sā jñeyā) nṛṇāṃ sā smṛtiharikā // Vivikādesa-sevitṛt tasyās copasāmo bhavet / Ibid 48.45-46ab.

desiring to ear one another, Pracanda restrained the tribes of cāṇḍālas and asked them not to give a dwelling to the Likās and proclaimed that the ^{child of the} female Likā who shall give birth to ^{an} offspring in the dwelling of a cāṇḍāla ~~her~~ child shall die at first and she also shall perish at once (48.111-115).

BIJAHARĀ (OR BIJĀPAHARINĪ)
(THE SEED-STEALER):

She is supposed to rob men and women of their seed. She may be overcome by eating clean food and by bathing and also by worshipping the brahmins.²⁵⁶

VĀTARŪPĀ (WIND-FORMED):

The man or woman of whom she casts a son at the end of impregnation suffers from the seminal secretion being dried up through disorder of the wind within the body.²⁵⁷

256 Bijāpaharīnī cānyā strīpūṃśoratibhīṣaṇā / medhyānnabhōjanaiḥ śnānais tasyās' copasāmo bhavet // Dāruṇā sa durācārā dāruṇam kurute bhayam / tat praśantyaī prakurvīta dvijānām arcanam śubham // Ibid 48.46-47.

257 Vātarūpā niṣekānte sā yasmai kṣipate sutam / sa pumān vātasukratvam prayāti vanitāpi vā // Ibid 48.17.

ARŪPĀ (FORMLESS):

She deprives men of their seed if they eat without bathing and eat flesh.²⁵⁸ A man or woman, if he or she neglects personal cleanliness, lapses into sterility.²⁵⁹

DVEṢANĪ OR VIDVEṢANĪ (THE HATER):

She is a female demon supposed to cause terror among people and also hatred among them and also between husband and wife. She may be vanquished by offering an oblation of sesamum mixed with honey, milk and ghee and also by performing the Mitravindā Iṣṭi.²⁶⁰

258 Tathaiva gacchataḥ sadyo nirbījatvam arūpayā / asnatāśī naro yoṁsau tathā cāpi viyogināḥ // Ibid 48.118. 'Viyogināḥ' in the text seems wrong. Pargiter adopts another reading, 'yo vai tathaiva piṣitāśanāḥ' for 'yo sau tathā cāpi viyogināḥ' (Op.Cit., p.267, note), and I have adopted the reading as adopted by Pargiter.

259 Nirbījatvam naro yāti nārī vā saucavarjitā / Ibid 48-120^{ab}. This sentence is made the first line of verse 120 in the text, and is clearly out of place there. I have placed it after verse 118 which is the natural context.

260 Aṣṭamī dveṣanī nāma kanyā lokabhayāvahā / yā karōti janadvīṣṭam naram nārīm athāpi vā // Madhuksīraghrtāktāns tu śāntyartham homayet tilān / kurvita mitravindām ca tattheṣṭim tat praśantaye // Ibid 48.48-49.

APAKĀRA AND PRAKĀSĀKA (DIVULGER):

They are said to come to a person who delights in calumny, is inconstant, uses impure water and hates mankind, and to stay with him permanently. Hated by mother, brother, beloved, friends, kinsmen and by strangers, a man perishes from righteousness or wealth.

Prakāsaka divulges men's peculiar qualities in the world; and Apakara plucks away one's good qualities and the friendship existing among people.²⁶¹

Pargiter suggests the word 'Apa-karṣa' for 'Apakāra' as the real name of the son, for neither son has anything to do with injuries; but all the MSS. read apakāra.²⁶²

261 Vidveṣiṇī tu yā kanyā bhrukūṭikuṭilānā / tasyā dvau tanayau puṃsāṃ apakāraprakāśakau // Nirbījatvaṃ naro yāti nārī vā saucavarjitā / paisunyaḥhibataṃ lōlam asamajjalanīṣevanāṃ // Puruṣadveṣiṇaṃ caitau naraṃ ākrāmya tiṣṭhataḥ / matrā bhrātrā tathā mitrail abhīṣṭaiḥ svajanaiḥ paraiḥ // Vidviṣṭo nāśaṃ ayāti puruṣo dharmato'rthataḥ / ekas tu svaguṇān lōke prakāśayati pāpakṛt // Dvitiyas tu guṇān maitrīm lokasthāṃ apakar-ṣati // Ibid 48.119-123^{ab}.

262 Op.Cit., p.267.

The MKP also abounds in various other superstitions, beliefs and taboos, some of which survive even to this day.

The belief that serpents ~~hear-with-their-eyes~~ and live on air is found in the MKP.²⁶³ Divine *osadhis* as an antidote against snake-bite are referred to (128.39). The belief in the efficacy of the *osadhis* in removing incurable diseases like *kūṣṭha* (leprosy) and *Kṣaya* (consumption) is also mentioned (60.64). The man acquainted with the power of various medicinal herbs and skill in the magic art also finds a reference (58.8^{cd}). The knowledge of understanding the speech of all animals is also mentioned (61.3). The belief in the inherent power of assuming for oneself another man's shape also finds reference. It may be recalled here that a *Gāndharva* named *Kali* is said to have assumed shape of a brahmin, whom an *apsaras* named *Varūthini* loved, in order to win her love.²⁶⁴

263 MKP 22.1; Cf. also MP 19.8; ~~Sriharṣa's~~
~~Naṣadheerita.~~

264 *Mānuṣe s̄anurāgeyaṃ tatra tadrūpadhārini / raṃsyate*
mayyasaṃdigdham kim kālena karomi tat //
Ātmaprabhāveṇa tatastasya rūpaṃ dvijanmanah /
kṛtvā cacāra yatrāste niṣannā s̄a Varūthini //
MKP 59.21-22.

The belief in the efficacy of certain magic rites also finds a reference, e.g. Mitravindā Iṣṭi is believed to regain love between husband and wife if they do not love mutually, and to make the couple create or produce children,²⁶⁵ and Sārasvatī Iṣṭi is believed to remove dumbness (68.27-28).

Goddess Lakṣmī when residing in various limbs of human body is believed to bestow different things upon men, e.g. Lakṣmī when residing in the foot bestows clothes, jewels and manifold wealth; when living in secret part grants offspring; when stationed in the heart fulfils the thoughts of men; when resting on the neck adorns the neck with loved relatives and wives and causes close contact with those who

265 Tvayi samprīṭaye tasyā vareṣṭirapakārinī/ Kriyate mitrakāmair yā mitravindām karomi tām // Aprīṭayoh prīṭikarī sā hi saṃjananī param / bhāryāpatyor manu-ṣyendra tām taveṣṭim karomyaham // MKP 69.10-11. The word 'Saṃjananī' is not understood by F.E.Pargiter and hence not translated by him. It is the feminine of 'Saṃjanana' which can be taken in an active as well as a causal sense, according to Pāṇini's Gana-sūtra (in the bhavādi list) जनीञ्ङि कृञ्ङि मन्ताश्च, which puts the root √jan in the धरादि and भिच् group and consequently even in the causal form there is no vrddhi in effect of the pen-ultimate a. Hence 'Saṃjananī' can mean 'which make the couple to create or produce'.

are absent; when abiding in the mouth bestows sweet food, fluent speech, real command and poetic genius; but when resting on the head forsakes the man and thence resorts to another abode.²⁶⁶

Goddess Bhavānī is believed to reside in the threshold of the house and she is to be worshipped daily by women with gandha, flowers and akṣata etc. (32.43,44^{ab}).

Certain other beliefs are also current. It is believed that the front portion of the house (dehalī) should not be kept undecorated (lit. śūnya or void) especially in the morning, otherwise one's family also becomes void (of progeny). Touching it (i.e. dehalī) with the foot and crossing it without worshipping it is also believed to lead to hell (32.44^{cd}-45). A belief also runs that the

266 Nṛṇāṃ pādasthitā lakṣmīr nilayam samprayacchatī /
 sakthnos' ca samsthitā vāstram ratnam nānāvidham vasu //
 Kalatradā guhyasamsthā krodasthāpatyadāyini /
 manorathan pūrayati puruṣaṇam hr̥dī sthitā // Lakṣmīr
 lakṣmīvatām sreṣṭha kanthasthā kanthabhūṣaṇam /
 abhīṣṭabandhudārāis' ca tathāslesam pravāsibhiḥ //
 Mr̥ṣṭānnam vākya-lāvanyam ājñānavitātham tathā /
 mukhasthita kavītvam ca yacchatyudadhisambhava //
 Sirogatā santyajati tatonyām yāti cāśrayam / MKP
 16.171-175ab.

pitrs, gods and matrs are displeased with (lit.turned away from) a man in whose house Sun's rays fall before it is swept (32.47).

It is believed that a woman who cowdungs the floor in her house daily in the morning sees no calamities (32.46); If she cleans the food-grains at the dead of night she becomes barren in her subsequent lives (32.48); if she does not sweep her house in the evening, she loses her husband and attains poverty (32.49); if she besmears the ground (with cowdung etc.) freely without making on it any decoration signifying auspiciousness, she loses wealth, life and fame (32.50).

The beliefs that by crossing the broom, oven, grinding stone and pounding slab one loses the son, wife and wealth (32.51) and that by crossing and touching with foot the mortar and perstle one commits sin and does not attain the supreme goal (32.52) are also referred to. A man combing his hair facing the south or the corners of the directions is believed to lose his wealth (32.54). So also a man blowing his head with the garment, dish, leather

or winnowing basket is believed to lose his good deeds (32.59).

The common belief that a man who follows bad custom does not live long (31.5^{ab}), while a man who performs good deeds enjoys a long life (31.44^{cd}) is also alluded to.

People had a great faith in astrology and consequently in fortune-tellers (Daivajnas, 119.3 etc.). The belief that a son born at the termination of Revatī nakṣatra, which is considered to be an evil time, causes suffering to his parents is referred to, e.g. sage Rtavāc is said to have become afflicted with a lingering disease and his wife with Kuṣṭha (leprosy) and other diseases due to the birth of their son at the termination of Revatī (72.4-5, 18). The roots of such a belief go back to the Atharvaveda.²⁶⁷ A belief in astronomy is also testified by the fact that when King Uttama asked a sage about the reason of his wife's ill-behaviour towards him (i.e. King Uttama), he attributed it to certain unhappy astronomical situations during their marriage (68.26-27).

²⁶⁷ Vide Kane P.V., HDS, Vol.V, Pt.1, p.524, fn. 753, pp.632-633.

The knowledge of palmistry is also referred to. Thus certain marks on the body e.g. moon-like face, lovely eye-brows, prominent-nose; black, curly, equal, long, and wavy hair, lotus-like eyes, bilva-like lips, four-front-teeth (damstra); four fore-arm height (catuh kiṣku), long face, long hands with the palms having four lines, a sign of fish and barely and one mount; feet with visible veins (sirāṇupādaḥ), fair skin and three-folds on the belly (trivalī) are considered to be the royal ones (8.281-283).

The belief in the doctrine of transmigration is also met with in the MKP.²⁶⁸ The food given in gifts is believed to produce happiness (10.51), and to satisfy one at the time of death eventhough one can not eat food at that^{time} (10.52). Similarly, one is said to pass the road to the abode of Yama with ease if one bestows food and clothes in gift (10.69).

The interpretation of dreams may also be considered

268 See under the Doctrine of Transmigration in Chap.IV, Sec.VI.

to have been a kind of superstition. The belief in various omens and portents, dreams and other symptoms is testified by a chapter dealing with the signs of approaching and impending death which are partly natural phenomenon and partly dreams (Chap.40.2ff).²⁶⁹ The literature of the Gupta period contains repeated references to the belief in omens, portents and the like prevalent among the people in all walks of life.²⁷⁰

The belief in the efficacy of mantras which is traceable to the Brāhmaṇa literature finds a reference in the MKP. It is stated that Rakṣoghna mantras should be recited for protection during śrāddha ritual (28.52).

Rivers are believed to be holy and to possess purifying powers, e.g. Gautamī is believed to be a holy river (21.93). All the rivers in the Bhārata-varṣa are said to destroy sins (54.31). Gomatī is also believed to destroy sins (118.1).

269 Vide a section on Yoga in Chap.III.

270 Majumdar R.C. and Pusalkar A.D. (Ed.), The Classical Age, p.574.

The MKP also contains the following taboos:-

A man having a son is prohibited the use of broken seat, Yogapatta,²⁷¹ mrgacarma (deer-skin) and kṛsnāvika (black woollen cloth made of sheep's wool).²⁷² An unmarried man is prohibited ~~to~~^{ing} brush his teeth after dining, ~~to use~~^{ing} pādukās (pādukārohana) and ~~to offer~~^{ing} sesamum.²⁷³ A man, whose father is alive, is prohibited ~~to wear~~^{ing} an upper garment leaving his shoulders uncovered, ~~to perform~~^{ing} darsa-srāddha and darsa-snāna,²⁷⁴ ~~to use~~^{ing} pādukās or Yogapatta or ~~to perform~~^{ing} srāddha at Gayā.²⁷⁵ A man desiring to live long is asked to avoid the shadow of a lamp-vessel (dīpa-bhāṇḍa) and that of Bibhitaka²⁷⁶ and Kuranta²⁷⁷ trees (32.58). It is prohibited to gaze at the Sun's

271 For details see under Dress and Decoration.

272 MKP 32.53).

273 MKP 32.55.

274 MKP 32.56.

275 MKP 32.57.

276 For details vide Appendix III.

277 For details vide Appendix III.

orb²⁷⁸ and to lie down at sunrise and at sunset²⁷⁹ and to look at the Sun or the Moon or the constellations with passionate desire. The use of a broken seat, bed and cup is prohibited.²⁸⁰ A man is prohibited to gnash his teeth or to beat his body,²⁸¹ or to trim his beard facing eastward or northward,²⁸² or to look at a heifter sucking, or to drink water with folded hands,²⁸³ or to blow fire with the mouth,²⁸⁴ or to sleep, teach, eat, study, to engage in sexual intercourse and to make journey at twilight²⁸⁵ ~~(31.74)~~. A man is not to scratch his head with both the hands nor should he take the head-bath frequently without cause,²⁸⁶ and after taking the head-bath he

278 MKP 31.21^{cd}.

279 MKP 31.60^{ab}.

280 MKP 31.32.

281 MKP 31.73^{cd}.

282 MKP 31.76^{cd}.

283 MKP 31.114^{ab}.

284 MKP 31.115^b.

285 MKP 31.74.

286 MKP 31.36.

should not apply oil on his body.²⁸⁷ He is also to give up rubbing his body with oil and to engage in sexual intercourse with his wife on the eighth, fourteenth and fifteenth days of the month.²⁸⁸ He is never to stand with his foot or his leg extended, nor is he to throw out both his feet, nor to press one foot on the other.²⁸⁹ Standing in the gardens and other places in the afternoon is prohibited.²⁹⁰

287 MKP 31.37.

288 MKP 31.45.

289 MKP 31.46.

290 MKP 32.35.

VII - PASTIMES

There are several ways and means of diversion in a society and the MKP refers to the following ones:-

There are frequent references to hunting as a pastime of kings (7.4 etc.). Confirmed gamblers are condemned in the MKP 47.58. The fascination exercised by gambling and the ruin caused by addiction to it, are often mentioned in the RV and is actually the subject-matter of a hymn (RV 10.34).²⁹¹ Dicing was a popular amusement in ancient times.²⁹² In the MKP prince Rtudhvaja, ~~King~~ ^{son of} Satrujit's son, is mentioned as enjoying the game of dice (18.5^c), and practising keenly the riding on the elephants, horses and chariots (18.6^{ab}). He was also fond of poems, songs and dramas (18.5^{ab}).

291 Majumdar R.C. and Pusalkar A.D. (Ed.), The Vedic Age, p.392.

292 Ibid., p. 457.

VIII - WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

In the MKP there are stray references to various terms referring to different units of weights and measurements. As there is no description of these things, the comparative study is not entered upon but merely the data available in the MKP is noted here.

UNITS OF WEIGHTS:

The following are the words denoting the various units of weights:-

Agra:- It is a weight, equal to a pala,²⁹³ which is also a particular weights equal to 4 Kārṣas = 1/100 Tūlā.²⁹⁴ Agra is also a measure of food given as alms.²⁹⁵

Drona:- The MKP mentions it as a denomination of a weight of food (32.22,23). It is a weight equal to 34 seers.²⁹⁶

293 Monier Williams, Op.Cit., p.6.

294 Monier Williams, Op.Cit., p.603.

295 MKP 26.36, Monier Williams, Op.Cit.,

296 Ram Pratap Tripathi, Matsyamaḥāpurāṇa; H.Tr.,p.205, fn. 2.

It is a measure of capacity = 4 Ādhakas = 16
 Puṣkalas = 128 Kuñcis = 1024 Muṣṭis, or = 200 Palas = 1/20
 Kumbha, or = 1/16 Khārī = 4 Ādhakas, or 2 Ādhakas = 1/2
 Sūrpa = 64 Seers, or = 32 Seers;²⁹⁷ or it is a measure of
 capacity = 2 Sūrpas = 128 Seers.²⁹⁸

Grāsa:- It means a mouthful, morsel or a lump of
 rice etc. of the size of a peacock's egg.²⁹⁹ The MKP
 mentions it as a denomination of a measure of food given as
 alms and states that four Grāsas make one Agra (26.37^{ab}).

Hantakāra:- It is also a measure of food given
 as alms (26.38). Four Agras are said to make a Hantakāra
 (26.37^{cd}).

UNITS OF MEASUREMENT OF DISTANCE:

The references to yojanas are very common in

297 Monier Williams, Op.Cit., p.502.

298 Monier Williams, Op.Cit., p.503.

299 Monier Williams, Op.Cit., p.371.

geographical chapters. In the MP³⁰⁰ and the VP³⁰¹ also the references to yojanas are very common in chapters on geographical data.

The MKP (46.37-40) gives the following table of the various units of measurement of distance which give some idea about their relations to each other:-

8	Paramāṇus	=	1	Trasareṇu or Mahīraja.
8	Trasareṇus ³⁰²	=	1	Vālāgra (the point of a hair).
8	Vālāgras	=	1	Likṣā (nit).
8	Likṣās	=	1	Yūkā (louse).
8	Yūkās	=	1	Yava (barely corn).
8	Yavas	=	1	Angula (finger)
6	Angulas	=	1	Pāda (foot).
2	Pādas	=	1	Vitasti (span).
2	Vitastis	=	1	Hasta (cubit).

300 Kantawala S.G., Op.Cit., p.642.

301 Patil D.R., Op.Cit., p.97.

302 A Trasareṇu is a particle of dust that is clearly seen in the rays of the Sun entering through the lattices (MP 258.17). A similar table from 8 trasareṇus to 1 Angula also occurs in the MP; vide Kantawala S.G., Op.Cit., p.646.

4	Hastas	=	1 Dhanus (bow), or 1 Danda (pole) or 2 Nādikās.
2000	Dhanus ³⁰³	=	1 Krosa
4	Krosas	=	1 Gavyūti.

Yojana:- It is said to be the utmost measure for purposes of calculation (46.40^{cd}). It is a particular measure of distance sometimes regarded as equal to 4 or 5 English miles; but more correctly equal to 4 Krosas or about 9 miles; according to other calculations it is equal to $2\frac{1}{2}$ English miles, and according to some it is equal to 8 Krosas.³⁰⁴

A similar table occurs in the VP which in addition notes that 10 Mahāsthūlas = Bhūtādīsthūla; 10 Bhūtādīsthūlas = Paramāṇuṣ. The VP also gives some idea about the various units of measurements of distances to each other. The table is as follows:-

303 The Calcutta edition reads here:
 2000 Dhanus = 1 Gavyūti
 4 Gavyūtis = 1 yojana

304 Monier Williams, Op.Cit., p.858.

8 Angulas = Prādesa (?); 12 Angulas = Vitasti;
 21 Angulas = Ratni; 2 Ratnis or 42 Angulas = Kikṣu;
 24 Angulas = Hasta; 4 Hastas = Dhanus; 2000 Dhanus =
 Gavyuti; 8000 Dhanus = Yojana.³⁰⁵

The table in the MKP bears resemblance ^{to} with that
 of Kautilya, but it is not so much elaborate as Kautilya's;³⁰⁶
 but the table in the VP is "more elaborate in regard to
 minute measurements of distance than Kautilya and probably
 shows traces of later age."³⁰⁷

UNITS OF MEASUREMENT OF TIME:

Kalā:- (96.51^{ab}). It is a division of time
 said to be 1/900 of a day or 1.6 minutes; or 1/1800 of a
 day or 0.8 minutes; or 2 minutes and 26.54/201 seconds;
 or 1 minute and 35.205/301 seconds or 8 seconds.³⁰⁸

Kāsthā:- (96.51^{ab}). It is a measure of time
 = 1/30 Kalā; or = 1/12 Kalā; or = 1/15 Laghu = 1/225
Nāḍikā, = 1/450 Muhūrta.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁵ Patil D.R., Op.Cit., p.79.

³⁰⁶ Kautilya, Arthasāstra, Book 2, Ch.20, Shamshastri's
 translation, p.117.

³⁰⁷ Patil D.R., Op.Cit., p.204.

³⁰⁸ Monier Williams, Op.Cit., p.261.

³⁰⁹ Monier Williams, Op.Cit., p.281.

Kṣana:- (96.50^{cd}). It is also a particular division of time.

Lava:- (96.50^{cd}). It is a minute division of time, the 60th of a twinkling, half a second, a moment; according to others 1/4000 or 1/5400 or 1/20250 of a Muhūrta.³¹⁰

Muhūrta:-³¹¹ (96.50^{cd}). It is a particular division of time, the 30th part of a day, a period of 48 minutes.³¹²

Truṭi:- (96.50^{cd}). It is also a measure of time, the exact duration of which varies in different statements.³¹³

310 Monier Williams, Op.Cit., p.898.

311 Agni is identified with muhūrta, kṣana, truṭi, lava, kalā and kāṣṭhā (96.50^{cd}-51ab). Śun is also identified with the Time composed of nimeṣa, kāṣṭhā etc.(75.13). Devī is also identified with kalā and kāṣṭhā (88.8).

312 Monier Williams, Op.Cit., p.825.

313 Macdonell A.A., A Practical Sanskrit Dictionary, p.114.

the divisions of time which gives some idea about their relations to each other:-

15 Nimeṣas	= 1 Kāṣṭhā;
30 Kāṣṭhās	= 1 Kalā;
30 Kalās	= 1 Muhūrta;
30 Muhūrtaṣ	= 1 Ahorātra or day and night;
30 Ahorātras	= 2 Pakṣas or 1 month;
6 Months	= 1 Ayana;
2 Ayanas	= 1 year.

The VP also gives a similar table of divisions of time upto 'Ahorātra' and the further divisions of time are taken to be understood in it. ³¹⁴ The MS 1. 64-65 also gives a similar table of divisions of time, the only difference being that in the MS, eighteen Nimeṣas are said to make a Kāṣṭhā while in the MKP and VP, fifteen Nimeṣas are said to make a Kāṣṭhā.

³¹⁴ Patil D.R., Op.Cit., p.72.