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PRINTED BY PANDIT GANGA PRASAD SHUKLA
AT THE VIKRAMA PANCHANG PRESS, BHADAINI, BANARAS.

HINDU SAMSKARAS

**A Socio-religious Study of the
HINDU SACRAMENTS**

By

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VIKRAMA PUBLICATIONS.

BHADAINI, BANARAS,

1949.

HINDU SAMSKĀRAS

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- 3. Oriental Book Agency, Sukravarpeth, Poona**

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**THESES APPROVED
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BY THE BANARAS
HINDU UNIVERSITY
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समर्पणम्

श्रीभारतोज्ज्वलविशालपवित्रकीर्ति-
र्दिव्यावदानमहनीयमहानुभावः ।
मव्यस्फुरच्छ्रुतिममादृतधर्मबर्म-
सन्मूर्तिमान् मदनमोहनमालवोयः ॥
तस्मै महामहिममान्यवदान्यधन्य-
हिन्दुसुसंस्कृतिनिधानविधानं भूम्ने ।
मोल्लासमर्पयति मत्कृतिपुष्पमालां
श्रद्धानुरागसुपरागसुगन्धबन्धाम् ॥

FOREWORD

In the following pages an attempt has been made to trace the Hindu Saṃskāras through their origin and development. They have a long and varied past. Many of them go back to a hoary antiquity and some of them still survive. In course of time, they have undergone many changes and modifications. The Saṃskāras are described in some hymns of the Vedas, a few Brāhmaṇas, the Gṛhyasūtras, the Dharmasūtras, the Smṛtis, and the later treatises. But as these works were intended to be manuals or codes for a particular time and locality, they do not present the Saṃskāras in their historical evolution. So, an endeavour has been made here to link and piece together these scattered materials into a comprehensive whole and to supply a historical perspective for their proper understanding.

For doing so not merely chronological sequence is traced but the connection between various changes is also shown. It has also been explained that the Saṃskāras were based on religious beliefs and social conditions. What was in the beginning purely natural became more and more cultural. Here it will be found that many social elements entered into the precincts of religious ceremonies and many cultural devices were introduced to mould the Saṃskāras in order to produce the desired effects.

The Saṃskāras are, in a fact, expressive and symbolic performances. They also contain dramatic utterances and theological gestures. Without an inkling into these aspects of the

Saṃskāras they appear as fanciful puerile pranks. In order to make them intelligible, the symbols are unfolded and explained and suggestions are made more articulate. This has been done without overrationalising. The Saṃskāras give expression to aspirations and ideals of the Hindus. They are brought out wherever found.

Many constituents of the Saṃskāras were meant to be means of intercourse with, and influence upon, spritual beings that were believed to guide and interfere with the course of human actions. But while the mind of the performers was bent on religious intent, their knowledge of the arts of life helped to bring about the object in view. In this connection the religious beliefs of the Hindus are analysed and their knowledge of the arts of life shown. As the aim of the Saṃskāras was to secure the welfare of the recipient and to develop his personality, every contrivance towards the same is pointed out.

All the rites, ceremonies and customs, that form the Saṃskāras, are, more or less, universal. They have all a recognized place in ancient cultures and they are still represented within the limits of modern religions. So, in order to make the historical development of the Saṃskāras more comprehensible, parallels in other religions are referred to wherever possible.

Many people, looking at the Saṃskāras from the modern practical point of view, regard them as ridiculous and meaningless. But few, who will care to understand the general principles of ancient religion, will ever think them so. They will also find that their knowledge is not superfluous to the common stock of human interest. The sacramental beliefs and practices,

far from being an irrational priest-craft are consistent and logical in a high degree, though working under a mental condition which was different from what it is to-day.

As regards the intrinsic merits of the study of the Saṃskāras, it has been made clear that these had practical utility and intention when and wherever they originated, though they, now, appear obscure and purposeless for they have been carried on, without adaptation, into a new state of society where their original sense is lost. Therefore, a study of the Saṃskāras forms an important part of investigation into the origin and development of civilization.

For treatment in the present thesis, only those Smārta Saṃskāras are taken which were performed at the various epochs in the life of an individual from conception to crematorium. Their theatre was the home, their chief actor the householder and the presiding deity the domestic Fire, by the side of which they were staged. The Śrauta sacrifices, for the performance of which the administration of priests was required, the Yajamāna being a passive agent, are excluded from the list of the Saṃskāras. They being Kāmya (optional) ceremonies, were not binding on every individual, and so they do not come under the Saṃskāras proper, which were compulsory.

They whole work can be divided into two parts. In the first part, sources of inquiry, the meaning and the number of the Saṃskāras, the purpose of the Saṃskāras and the constituents of the Saṃskāras are discussed in their historical growth. In the second part of the work the entire Saṃskāras are

grouped under the following heads and the conclusions are given in the end:

1. The Pre-natal Samskāras
2. The Samskāras of Childhood
3. The Educational Samskāras
4. The Marriage Samskāra
5. The Funeral Ceremonies.

While dealing with a particular Samskāra, first its origin is traced and then its subsequent development discussed. The creative period of the Samskāras has passed away. Many of them, e.g. the pre-natal Samskāras and a few of the childhood are not generally performed at present; so, they have become a thing of the past. The rest are performed by orthodox families only and, here too, in a distorted form. The only current Samskāras are the Upanayana (Initiation), not performed by all the twice-born to-day, the Vivāha (Marriage Ceremonies) and the Antyeṣṭi (Funeral Ceremonies). The revival of the Samskāras by reform societies like the Arya-Samāja is very recent, but times do not seem to be propitious for such attempts.

As the Samskāras include many essential preliminary considerations and ceremonies relating to social rules, taboos, restraints and observances and, as they are well recognized by authoritative works, they have found their proper place in the treatment of the subject. In the end the ritual proper is described with possible interpretations and significance thereof.

This work was originally written as a thesis, which was approved by the Banaras Hindu University for the degree of Doctor of Letters in 1936. It could not be sent to

the press earlier for various reasons, but mainly due to the press and paper difficulties during the Second World War, which started in 1939. The long gap has, however, been utilized in the revision and the improvement of the original work.

It is a pleasant duty of the author to acknowledge his deep gratitude to Dr. A. S. Altekar, M. A., LL. B., D. Litt., Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Banaras Hindu University, under whom he worked as a Research Scholar and whose learned guidance and help were available at all times. He also owes grateful thanks to Dr. R. S. Tripathi, M. A., Ph. D., Head of the Department of History, Banaras Hindu University, who readily offered many valuable suggestions on various topics in this work. His indebtedness to individual authors is acknowledged in the foot-notes. The author is deeply indebted to Pt. Nagesh Upadhyaya, M. A., the Proprietor of the Vikram Panchang Press, Banaras, and his staff for undertaking the publication of this work in the midst of their multifarious and pressing duties. His thanks are due to Shri Nemi Kumar, B. A. for taking great pains in preparing the Index of this work. The author, more than any body else, is conscious of many defects and blemishes, specially typographical, which have crept into the book. For these he craves the indulgence of the reader.

Banaras Hindu University
Rām-navami, Vikrama Samvat 2006 { R. B. Pandey
March, 1949.

A. A.	=	Aitareya Āraṇyaka
A. B.	=	Aitareya Brāhmaṇa
Āp. D. S.	=	Āpastamba Dharmasūtra
Āp. G. S.	=	Āpastamba Gr̥hyasūtra
Āp. S. S.	=	Āpastamba Śrautasūtra
A. G. S.	=	Āśvalāyana Gr̥hyasūtra
A. S.	=	Atri-Smṛti
A. U.	=	Aitareya Upaniṣad
A. V.	=	Atharvaveda
A. V. Par.	=	Atharvaveda-Parīṣiṣṭa
B. U.	=	Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad
B. D. S.	=	Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra
B. G. S.	=	Baudhāyana Gr̥hyasūtra
B. G.	=	Bhagavadgītā
B. S. S.	=	Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra.
Bh. G. S.	=	Bhāradvāja Gr̥hyasūtra
Bh. P.	=	Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa
Ch. U.	=	Chāndogya Upaniṣad
D. S.	=	Dakṣa-Smṛti
De. S.	=	Devala-Smṛti
G. B.	=	Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa
G. D. S.	=	Gautama Dharmasūtra
G. G. S.	=	Gobhila Gr̥hyasūtra
H. D. S.	=	Harita Dharmasūtra
H. G. S.	=	Hiranyakeśi Gr̥hyasūtra
H. D. S.	=	Hiranyakeśi Dharmasūtra

H. S.	=	Hārta-Smṛti
J. G. S.	=	Jaiminiya Gṛhyasūtra
Kh. G. S.	=	Khadira Gṛhyasūtra
K. S.	=	Kauśika Sūtra
M. Bh.	=	Mahābhārata
M. D. S.	=	Mānava Dharmasūtra
M. G. S.	=	Mānava Gṛhyasūtra
M. S.	=	Manu Smṛti
M. U.	=	Maitrāyaṇi Upaniṣad
N. S.	=	Nārada-Smṛti
P. Br.	=	Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa
P. G. S.	=	Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra
P. S.	=	Parāśara-Smṛti
R. V.	=	R̥gveda
S. Ch.	=	Saṃskāra-Chandrika
Ś. Br.	=	Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa
Ś. G. S.	=	Śāṅkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra
S. M.	=	Saṃskāra Mayūkha ✓
S. U.	=	Śvetaśvatara Upaniṣad
S. V.	=	Sāmaveda
T. A.	=	Taittiliya Āraṇyaka
T. Br.	=	Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa
T. U.	=	Taittiriya Upaniṣad
V. G. S.	=	Vārāha Gṛhyasūtra
V. D. S.	=	Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra
Viś. D. S.	=	Viṣṇu Dharmasūtra
V. M. S.	=	Vira-mitrodaya-Saṃskāra Prakāśa
Yaj. S.	=	Yajñavalkya-Smṛti
Y. V.	=	Yajurveda

**XIV THE SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION ADOPTED
IN THE BOOK**

अ = a	क = ka	ढ = dha	य = ya
आ = ā	ख = kha	ण = ṇa	र = ra
इ = i	ग = ga	त = ta	ल = la
ई = ī	घ = gha	थ = tha	व = va
उ = u	ङ = ṅa	द = da	श = śa
ऊ = ū	च = cha	ध = dha	ष = ṣa
ऋ = ṛ	छ = chha	न = na	स = sa
ए = e	ज = ja	प = pa	ह = ha
ऐ = ai	झ = jha	फ = pha	क्ष = kṣa
ओ = o	ञ = ña	ब = ba	त्र = tra
औ = au	ट = ṭa	भ = bha	ज्ञ = jña
अं = am	ड = ṭha	म = ma	
अः = ah	ढ = ḍa		

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THE SOURCES OF INQUIRY.

1. *Introductory*

The Gr̥hyasūtras, the oldest manuals of the Hindu Saṃskāras, do not cite their authorities as the Dharmasūtras do for their contents. The cause of this silence is that the Saṃskāras, mostly being domestic rites and ceremonies, were based more on precedent and popular traditional usages than on any definite written code. The Dharmasūtras, the Smṛtis and the mediaeval treatises produce authorities on Dharma or Law, both sacred and secular. But these works do not go deep into ritualistic details and are mainly concerned with the social aspects of the Saṃskāras. Therefore, for the full information about the Saṃskāras, we have to ransack other sources also ignored by them.

2. *The Vedas*

The Vedas are universally recognised as the primary source of the Hindu Dharma. According to the Gautama-Dharmasūtra¹ "the Veda is the

source of Dharma and the tradition and practices of those who know it." Other Dharmasūtras and the Smṛtis endorse the above view.² From the perusal of the Vedas also we arrive at the same conclusion.

The oldest document of the religious literature of the Indo-Aryans is the Ṛgveda. Though the religious picture painted in it is by no means complete, as it contains hymns used by the priests in the sacrifices to high gods, we catch glimpses of popular religion at several places. Moreover, there are a few specific hymns that are particularly concerned with popular rites and ceremonies. The wedding,³ the funeral⁴ and the conception⁵ are narrated in them. The narrations or descriptions may not be ritualistically exact but they are historically approximate. The later-day Samskāras, the Vivāha, the Antye-ti and the Garbhādhāna were direct descendants of these hymns. Then, there are those hymns of the Ṛgveda that are of general applicability in the sacramental rituals. They are recited at different occasions, which show that they were not originally composed for a particular Samskāra. But their connection with popular ceremonies cannot be denied altogether. Again,

2. ĀP. D.S. i. 1. 1-2; V. D. S. i. 4. 5.

3. X. 85,

4. X, 14, 16, 18

5. X. 183. 184.

we find in the Grhyasūtras many citations homonymous to the Vedic mantras. This fact indicates that a large number of the items of the Saṁskāras were suggested by the Vedic verses in question and they originated in the later Vedic or the post-Vedic period.

As regards the details and regulations of the Saṁskāras, it must be confessed that the R̥gvedic hymns do not contain positive rules. They contain many incidental references which throw light on the Saṁskāras. In fact, the Vedic hymns were composed under inspirations for invoking the help of gods in events, public and private, that immediately interested the Vedic people. There are invocations relating to a life of hundred years with children and grand children, securing wives, children and other domestic articles,⁷ and the destruction of the demon who kills offsprings.⁸ These and similar references have a great correspondence with the Saṁskāras that were performed at the various important occasions in the life of a man. Besides, there are other references in the R̥gveda that bear on the social aspects of the Saṁskāras. For example, it was difficult to secure a husband for a brotherless girl. "Like a woman growing old in

6. सतमिन्नु शरदो अन्तिदेवा यत्रा नश्चक्रा जरसं तनूनाम् ।

पुत्रासो यत्र पितरो भवन्ति मा नो मध्यारीषितायुर्गन्तोः ॥ R. V. i. 89. 9.

7. Ibid. iX 67. 9 11. VIII. 35. 10. X. 183.

8. R. V. X. 162.

her parents' house etc."⁹ Different forms of marriages are also hinted at. The purchase of a bride (Āsura marriage) was prevalent in the R̥gvedic period. The Vasiṣṭha-Dharmasūtra¹⁰ quotes a passage from the Maitrāyaṇiya-Samhitā¹¹ which runs, "she, who being purchased by husband." The Gāndharva form is also referred to in these words, "when the bride is fine looking and well-adorned, she seeks by herself her friend among many men."¹² The R̥gveda¹³ praises the stage of a student,

The Sāmveda almost entirely borrowed from the R̥gveda, supplies hardly any material, worth the name for the history of the Samskāras. It is mainly interesting for its tune. It was sung at great sacrifices and other auspicious occasions, e. g. marriage etc. The Vārāha-Gr̥hyasūtra prescribes Vādana and Gāna (music) as a part of the marriage ceremonies. But as regards the form of the Samskāras, the Sāmaveda has nothing to contribute.

The Yajurveda represents an advanced stage in the progress of rituals. During the period of its composition the functions of different priests were specialized. In it all those formulas are

9. आत्मानुरिच पित्रोः सखा सती समानाद्य सदसस्त्वामिये भगवम् । Ibid. ii, 17.7.

10. Ibid. I. 36. 37.

11. Ibid. i. 11.12.

12. भद्रा वचुर्भवति यस्तुषेहा स्वयं सा मित्रं वन्दतेऽनेचिद् । Ibid. X. 27. 12.

13. Ibid. X. 109. 5,

fixed, which were used by the Adhvaryu and his assistants in the performance of the great sacrifices. But the Yajurveda is concerned with the Śrauta (sacrifices only.) So we do not get any material help from it for the study of the Samskāras. The only useful reference found in it is to the shaving ceremony, a common feature, which preceded a Śrauta sacrifice—where prayers are offered to the shaving razor and directions are given to the barber.¹⁴ This reference supplies a link between the Śrauta and the Grhya ceremonies.

In contradistinction with the other Samhitās, the Atharvaveda is rich in information about popular religion, rites and ceremonies. Here we get mantras for almost every end of human life. The wedding¹⁵ and the funeral¹⁶ hymns are more elaborated in the Atharvaveda than in the Ṛgveda. To the praise of the Vedic Brahmachāri a full hymn is devoted.¹⁷ The act of conception has found mention in a larger number of hymns than in the Ṛgveda.¹⁸ (In the book XVIII of the Atharvaveda there are prayers for long life that are called Āyusyakarmāṇi,) "hymns achieving long life." These prayers were used chiefly at domestic

14. vi. 15.

15. A. V. xiv. 1, 2.

16. Ibid. XVIII. 1-4.

17. Ibid. Xi. 5.

18. Ibid. iii. 23; Vi. 81,

rituals, such as the first haircutting of the boy, the first shaving of the youth and the initiation. It also contains hymns that refer to marriage and love and form a separate class. Kauśika calls them 'Strikarmāṇi' or women's rites. Through them a maiden tried to obtain a bridegroom or a young man a bride by stimulating love in indifferent lovers and unresponsive sweethearts, benedictions upon the bride were offered, conception was accelerated and the birth of a male child effected. These hymns have also got prayers for the protection of the pregnant woman,¹⁹ the unborn and the new-born child, and so on. Considering this popular character of the Atharvaveda, Ridgeway concludes that it is not a record of the Aryan religion but represents the beliefs of the aboriginal people. This view cannot be accepted. It is just possible that the Indo-Aryans assimilated many non-Aryan elements in their religion, but the lower strata of the Aryan community were not less interested in the lower side of religion than the non-Aryan population. The Atharvaveda reflects the faith and rites of the common people rather than the highly specialized religion of the priests.

3. *The Brāhmaṇas*

After the Vedas, we come to the Brāhmaṇas as the source of our information. They are thorough

treatises on the Vedic rituals. The Brāhmaṇas give rules for the performance of the Śrauta sacrifices and the Arthavāda or explanation of the purpose and meaning of the sacrificial acts. (They contain many discussions on the sacrifices, give interpretations of Vedic hymns, trace etymology of words and try to explain symbols. But the Brāhmaṇas are mostly occupied with the Śrauta sacrifices that were the supreme religious concern of the time. In them, however, we get sporadic references that supply some data for constructing the history of the Samskāras. A fragmentary account of the Upanayana is found in the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa.²¹ The Śatapatha²² gives a different account of it and the word "Brahmacharya" used here denotes the condition of the life of a student. The word 'Antevāsin' (living with a teacher) in the sense of a student is used both by the Śatapatha²³ and the Aitareya²⁴ Brāhmaṇas. (Ajina 'the deer-skin' is mentioned in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa.)²⁵ Godāna ceremonies are described in the same Brāhmaṇa. Recognition of marriage within the

20. Dramas and the Dramatic Dances of non-European Races p. 122.

21. i. 2 1-8.

22. Xi 3 3 1.

23. V. 1 5. 17.

24. iii. 2. 6

25. V. 2. 1 21.

third or the fourth degree is also found in it.²⁷ The Tāndya-Brahmaṇa mentions the Vrātyas and the Vrātyastoma sacrifices through which they were reclaimed to the Aryan community. The Śatapatha-Brahmaṇa, Books XI-XIV, besides appendices to the preceding books also contain a few interesting sections on the subjects, which are otherwise not dealt with in the Brahmanas e.g. on the Upanayana,²⁸ the initiation of a pupil, on the daily Vedic Study,²⁹ and on the death ceremonies or the raising of the mound.³⁰

4. *The Āraṇyakas and the Upaniṣads.*

The Āraṇyakas and the Upaniṣads are mainly concerned with philosophical subjects and do not condescend to deal with rituals. But the Vedic sacrifices and rituals were still very popular in their times and they have found mention, here and there, in them. From the point of view of the Samskāras, the Taittiriya Āraṇyaka is important. From it we learn that late marriages³¹ were general, as unmarried pregnant girls were looked upon as sinful. The Brahmajña or the Daily Study is

26. iii. 1. 2. 5. 6.

27. i. 8. 3. 6.

28. Xi. 5. 4.

29. §. P. Br. XI. 5. 6.

30. Ibid. Xiii.

31. कुमारीषु कनीनीषु जरिणीषु च ये द्विताः । i. 27.

praised.³² The sixth chapter called "Pare" gives the Mantras required for the Pitṛmedha, 'the burning of the dead'.

(In the Upaniṣads we have many references relating to the Upanayana-Saṁskāra) The theory of the four Āśramas seems to have been established. The Brahmachārin resided and boarded at the house of the guru and in return rendered many personal services such as tending his cows. The importance of the guru was recognized even for studying the Brahmagvidya and one had to approach a teacher for this purpose. 'Admission of a student to the guru is described in the Chāndogya-Upaniṣad.³⁴ The restrictions on the teaching are found in the Maitrāyṇi-Upaniṣad, in the dialogue of Brihadratha and Śakāyana which runs thus: "This knowledge should not be imparted to a sceptic and so on."³⁵ The usual period of Brahmacharya is mentioned in the Chāndogya-Upaniṣad.³⁶ (In the Brhadāranyaka-Upaniṣad,³⁷ the sacred Gāyatri Mantra is esoterically explained.) Many practical instructions of very high value are given in the Taittiriya-Upaniṣad,³⁸

32. Ibid. ii 9

33. आचार्यस्तु ते गतिर्वक्ता आचार्यादेव विद्या विदिता साधिष्ठं प्रापयति ।

CH. U. iv 14 1.

34. iv 4

35. असूयकायानृजदेऽयताय न मा भूया वीर्यवती तथा स्यात् । Chap. I.

36. Vi. 1. 2

37. V. 15

38. i. 11

such as those to the student who leaves his college. As regards marriage, polygamy was possible as shown by the case of Yājñavalkya and his two wives. Early marriage is referred to in the Chāndogya-Upaniṣad.³⁹ Here Āṭiki wife is mentioned. The word is explained by later writers as a wife married when she was very young. It was, however, derided. The same Upaniṣad⁴⁰ contain many references to the system of naming. In the Brhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad⁴¹ we have a detailed sacrificial rite for begetting a learned son versed in all the Vedas. The custom of not performing any funeral ceremony of an ascetic is mentioned in the Chāndogya-Upaniṣad.

5. *The Ritual Literature proper.*

The first systematic treatment of the Vedic sacrifices and domestic rites is found in the Sūtra literature. The Śrautasūtras contain directions for the laying of the sacred sacrificial fire, for the Agnihotra, the Darśapaurṇamāsyā, the Chāturmāsyā, the Paśūyāga and the great Aśvamedha, the Rājasūya and the Vājapeya sacrifices. But as they are mainly occupied with the Vedic sacrifices, they do not yield any material relating to the Samskāras. It is in the Grhyasūtras that we find directions for all sorts of usages, ceremonies, rites, customs and

39. i. 10. 1.

40. v. 15

41. vi. 5.

sacrifices, the performance and observance of which were binding on the Hindu householder. (Among these are found the Samskāras that were performed from the moment when the individual was conceived in the womb till the hour of his death and even further through the funeral ceremonies.) The Grhyasūtras generally begin with the Vivāha, 'marriage ceremonies' and go on describing the Garbhādhāna, the Pūmsavana, the Simantonnayana, the Jātakarma, the Nāmakaraṇa, the Niskramaṇa, the Annaprāśana, the Chūḍākarma the Upanayana and the Samāvartana. Then, they describe the sacrifices and rites to be performed by a married couple, and in the end deal with the Antyeṣṭi or funeral ceremonies. They give every detail of a Samskāra and lay down Mantras and formula to be recited at different stages of a particular Samskāra. (Many Grhyasūtras omit the funeral ceremonies, as it was regarded inauspicious and was described in separate Parīṣiṣṭas) or addenda and the Pitrmedhasūtras. The ritual aspects of the Samskāras are emphasised and minutely described in the Grhyasūtras. Their social sides are simply hinted at or briefly described. The Grhyasūtras belonged to the different Vedic schools; so, in matters of details, they differ from one another to some extent.

There are other branches of the ritual literature which, though of later date, should be classed with the Grhyasūtras. These are various Kalpas, the Par-

īṣṭas, the Kārikās, the Prayogas and the Paddhatis. The Śrāddhakalpas⁴² and the Pitrmedhasūtras, which contain rules for funeral ceremonies and ancestral sacrifices follow many of the Grhyasūtras. Next come the Pariśistas or 'addenda' in which certain features of the Samskāras are dealt with in a greater detail, that were briefly described in the Grhyasūtras. Other works on the Samskāras are the the Prayogas, "practical handworks", the Paddhatis "outlines", and the Kārikās, "versified presentations of rituals". These works supplement the Grhyasūtras and introduce new materials in course of time. They deal either with the complete rites and ceremonies of that school, or are only concerned with special rites. There are also exhaustive works of this class of literature on important Samskāras like the marriage, the Upanyana, the funeral etc. There is a continuous stream of the ritual literature from the most ancient period up to the present time.

6. *The Dharmasūtras*

The Dharmasūtras are closely connected with the Grhyasūtras, and they were perhaps written in continuation with them. By "Dharma" the Hindus mean 'right, duty, law' and also 'religious custom and

42. The most important of them are the मानव, the कात्यायन, the शौनक, the पैपकाद, the गौतम, the द्रोणायन and the हिरण्यकेशी ब्राह्मणकल्पः.

usage." So, at many places the contents of the Dharmasūtras and the Grhyasūtras overlap each other. The latter describe the domestic rites which the householder was required to perform in his individual capacity, whereas the former were concerned with rules and regulations about the conduct of men as the members of the Hindu community and do not describe rituals of any kind. The Dharmasūtras deal with the Varnas (castes) and the Āśramas (stages of life). It is under the Āśrama-Dharmas that the rules about the Upanayana and the Vivaha are given exhaustively. They also contain rules about the Samāvartana, the Upākarma, the Anadhyāyas, Āśaucha, the Śrāddhas and the Madhuparkas. They take up and develop the social aspects of the Samskāras that were simply suggested in the Grhyasūtras.

7. *The Smṛtis.*

The Smṛtis represent a later and a more systematic development of the Dharmasūtras. Like the Dharmasūtras, they are also mainly concerned with the social conduct of men rather than with rituals. Their contents can be classified under three heads, Āchāra, Vyavahāra and Prāyaścitta. Under the first head the Samskāras are mentioned and the rules regulating them are given. The most exhaustively treated Samskāras are the Upanayana and the Vivāha, as they inaugurated

the first and the second stages of the life of an individual. The Pañcha-mahāyajñas or 'five great sacrifices' also figure very prominently in the Smṛtis. Manu⁴³ gives a very important place to them and describes them at length. The Smṛtis also offer us a mass of information about prayers and sacrifices, household duties, eschatology, funeral ceremonies and sacrifices to the dead. We find in them discussions on the right of performing the Samskāras, minor ceremonies and rites, the worship of new Paurāṇika deities at various occasions in life, all unknown to the Grhyasūtras and the Dharmasūtras. Not all the Smṛtis deal with the Samskāras. Some, like the Narada-Smṛti, are entirely devoted to Vyavahāra or Law, while others like the Parāśara, are given to the prescription of Prayaścittas. Under the Prayaścitta, however, ceremonial impurity due to birth and death are described. The main features of the Smṛtis, as regards the Samskāras, are that they mark the transition from the Vedic to Smārta and Paurāṇika Hinduism. They omit almost all the Vedic sacrifices and introduce new types of worship and ceremonies. Greater restrictions are placed on social sides of the Samskāras, e.g., the total rejection of intercaste marriages in the latest Smṛtis.

8. *The Epics*

(The epic literature also gives some information

about the Saṁskāras. The Brāhṁaṇas, who were the custodians of literature, utilized the epics, as they became popular, for propagation of their culture and religion. So, many religious and ceremonial elements which did not originally belong to it, entered the huge body of the Mahābhārata and it became a reference book for the Hindu religion. The Mahābhārata was regarded as a Samhitā as early as before the fifth century A. D.⁴⁴ Profuse quotations from the Mahābhārata are found in the commentaries and the treatises, bearing on the various topics of the Saṁskāras, "Bharate" or in the Mahābhārata" is an oftused phrase in the treatises on the Dharmaśāstra. Moreover, there is a close relation between the Mahābhārata and the Smṛtis. The Manusmṛti and the Mahābhārata possess many common verses. The Vṛddha Gautama,⁴⁵ the Brhaspati and the Yama-Smṛtis originally formed part of the Mahābhārata. The Rāmāyana and other epics like the Raghuvamśa, the Kumārasambhava, and the plays like the Uttara-Rāmacharita supply apt illustrations elucidating many tangled points in the Saṁskāras.

9. *The Purāṇas*

The Purāṇas are not less important than the epics for the study of the Saṁskāras. Their influence

44. Biihler and Kiiste, contrib. to the history of the Mahābhārata. Siteungsher wien 1892. 4-27.

45. Cf. VMS; S. C. etc.

46. The Dharmaśāstra-Saṁgraha, Calcutta, 1876, vol. 2. 497-635. Cf. Islampurkar l. c. Preface notes 6-9.

on the Dharmaśāstra literature is considerable. Even the earliest Dharmasūtras bear witness to the popularity of the Purāṇas which they often quote. They are in many ways connected with the Smṛtis. The Āpastamba-Dharmasūtra⁴⁷ refers specially to the Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa.⁴⁸ Calaud, while writing on Śrāddha, traced close relation between the Mārkaṇdeya-Purāṇa and the Gautama-Smṛti, the Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa and the Viṣṇu-smṛti, the Chaturviṃśati-Purāṇa and the Mānava-Śrāddha-Kalpa, the Kūrma-Purāṇa and the Uśanas-Smṛti, and the Brāhma-purāṇa and the rites of the Kāthas. We also come across identical descriptions of many topics relating to the Samskāras in the Smṛtis and the Purāṇas. Thus, the Śrāddhakalpa of the Yajñavalkya-Smṛti is the same as given in the Agni and the Garuḍa Purāṇas. Long passages from the first three chapters of the Manusmṛti are borrowed by the Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa. The Laghu-Hārita-Smṛti is nothing but an extract from the Narasimha-Purāṇa.

The Purāṇas deal with ceremonies, customs and usages and fasts and feasts of the Hindus and thus throw light on many parts of the Samskāras. Astrological considerations that played an important part in the Samskaras are developed in the Purāṇas.

47. Āp D. S. i. 24. 6.

48. Altind Ahneneult. 68. 79. 112.

Divinations regarding different marks on the body, that determine the suitability of the bride or the bridegroom are given in the *Līngapurāṇa*.⁴⁹ The *Purāṇas* also served as an abrogative agency and came to rescue the Hindu society in the middle ages. Many old customs and usages that had become obsolete or obnoxious to the society were taboed under *Kalivarjya* by the *Brāhma*⁵⁰ and the *Āditya-Purāṇas*.⁵¹

10 *The Commentaries*

The commentaries on the existing *Gṛhyasūtras*, the *Dharmasūtras* and the *Smṛtis* also give further and later information about the *Saṃskāras*. Though they propose to explain and expound the ancient texts, they do some thing more. They not only explain, but they supplement and restrict also. Thus they reflect a new state of society where many of the old provisions of the *Dharmaśāstra* had become out of date, and new ones were urgently needed. They were able to do so by means of ingenious interpretations, extention, restrictions and overruling. Really speaking the commentators are more important than the texts, as the Hindus of

49. Quoted in VMS. Vol. I.

50. गोब्रह्मसूतः सविष्ठात्वं विवाहो गीवधस्तथा ।

नराश्वमेधौ मद्यं च कश्चि बर्ज्यं द्विजादिभिः ॥ Quoted in N.S. p. 261.

51. On *Kalivarjya* quoted in the CVC, and the N.S. §262.

the different provinces follow the particular commentary prevalent in them. Modern Pandits reject even sacred authorities if they are not quoted by the commentators.

11. *The Mediaeval Treatises*

The Nibandhas or the mediaeval treatises gave a new orientation to the Samskāras, the Grhyasūtras and the Dharmasūtras belonged to different Vedic schools and even the Smṛtis were connected with them to some extent. But the Nibandhas do not owe allegiance to any single Vedic school. Rather they are scholarly works universal in their nature and treatment. The Nibandhas are huge compilations from ancient sources on various topics of Dharma. The Samskāras are treated under separate section allotted to them and called Samskāra-kāṇḍa,⁵² Samskāra-Prakāśa⁵³ etc. Many ancient and out of date Samskāras are also repeated in them. The texts are arranged according to the convenient opinions of the writers. They pay hardly any attention to the chronological differences and try to rationalize the ancient texts in their own way. Different Nibandhas are current in different provinces. So they contain divergent opinions on the same topics.

52. In S.C.

53. In VM.

12. *The Customs*

Customs have been recognized from the very beginning as a source of the Hindu Dharma. The Gautama, the Baudhāyana, the Āpastamba and the Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtras and the Manu and the Yājñavalkya-Smrtis all include customs in the lists of their authorities.⁵⁴ But no branch of the Hindu Dharma is more based on customs than the Saṃskāras that originated from popular beliefs and usages, and developed independently without any state interference. The Gr̥hyasūtras generally refer to the customs of one's own family in the performance of the Saṃskāras. (Really speaking, customs were the only source of the Saṃskāras before they were codified in the Gr̥hya manuals. But there was still a mass of floating customs that could not be codified but was recognized as authority on the Saṃskāras.) The Āśvalāyana Gr̥hyasūtras⁵⁵ while laying down rules about the Vivāha Saṃskāra says, "the customs and usages of different provinces and villages are high and low, that is variant. They should be all consulted in marriage. We prescribe what is common." The difference was bound to be in rites and ceremonies that were performed at such happy and joyous occasions like marriage, birth etc.

54. See Ante pp 1 & 2

55 अथ कस्युच्चावचा जनपदधर्मा ग्रामधर्माश्च तान् विमोहे प्रतीयान् । यत् सुमानं तत् वक्ष्यामः । i. 5. ।

according to the taste and refinement of the people concerned. (In the funeral ceremonies Āpastamba⁵⁶ refers to the authority of ladies in particular as they are the most conservative elements in society.) Bandhāyana,⁵⁷ on Āśaucha, says, "In the rest the people should be referred to," for the funeral ceremonies were closely connected with local beliefs and superstitions. Thus, not written in a code book, customs were a dynamic force that introduced necessary and welcome changes from time to time. They also played an important part in determining the procedure of a rite or ceremony.

(Customs can be broadly divided into three groups. The first group consists of the Deśāchāras or customs prevalent in a particular province, e.g. marrying the daughter of a maternal uncle in the South, which is generally prohibited elsewhere.⁵⁸ The second group includes the Kulāchāras or the family customs, for example, the keeping of sacred knot or Śikhā was determined by the Pravara of a man.⁵⁹ The last group coincides with the Jātyāchāras or customs current in a caste, for instance, the Rākṣasa and the Gāndharva forms of

56. यत् स्त्रियः आहुः सत्कुपुः । Āp. D.S. ii.6

57. शेषक्रियायां लोकः अनुतोष्यः । B. P. S.

58. B. D. S. i. 1. 17.

59. वृद्धाः कारवेत इक्षिततः कमुञ्जवसिष्ठानां, उमवतोऽत्रिकारवपानां, मुञ्जाः
कृञ्जाः Laugakṣi, quoted in V.M.S. vol. I. p. 315.

marriages were, on the whole, not desirable. Yet they were recommended for the Kṣatriyas.²

13. Indo-Iranian, Indo-European and Semitic Sources.

The sources of information about the Hīndu Saṃskāras are not exhausted with the Indian literature and customs. A few Saṃskāras, and many constituents of the Saṃskāras in general, can be traced back to the pre-Vedic times, (when the Indo-Iranian and even some of the Indo-European people were living together, sharing the same beliefs and performing the same rites.) The religion of the Avesta bears close resemblance with the Vedic religion and Parsism still preserves a few sacraments akin to the Hīndu Saṃskāras, e.g. the birth ceremonies, the first eating of food and the initiation ceremonies. The worship of fire and the cult of sacrifice were common to Hinduism and Parsism both. The Greek and the Roman religions were also sacrificial and their rituals, in many respects, resembled the Hīndu Saṃskāras. For example, (the marriage ceremonies of the Greeks were similar to those of the Hindus in their broad out-lines.) For studying the Hīndu Saṃskāras the knowledge of these religions supplies a proper perspective.

The religious ceremonies being universal in ancient times, we find many parallel rites in non-Indo-European races also. Semitic religions have many sacraments of very old origin which are performed at important occasions in the life of a man. The Christian sacraments evolved from Semitic sources, though later on the assimilated many Aryan elements in the course of its spread in Europe. Christianity and Islam both have religious ceremonies like baptism, confirmation, matrimony etc. These serve as means of comparison between the Hindu and the Semitic rites which originated from the same process of ideas.

14. The Relative Importance of Sources

The information derived from the Vedas, mostly being incidental, is highly reliable. Here the poet, unlike the priests, was not superimposing ceremonies on the people but drawing on the popular sources and incorporating the popular rites in his compositions. The specific hymns, e.g. the wedding and the funeral hymns reproduce very approximately their respective rites. Winternitz⁶¹ calls the wedding hymn "a narrative ballad." But even if we grant that it was so, we cannot deny that the narrating poet must have tried to be true to reality as far as it was possible. (The theory

61. A History of Indian literature. vol. I. p. 154.

also that the Vedic hymns were poetic outpourings of heart and had no connection with rituals, does not negate the possibility of the Vedic singers being influenced by ritualistic atmosphere they were breathing in. The same is also the case with other incidental references found in the Upaniṣads, the Purāṇas and the epics. They have corroborative as well as supplementary value. In the Brāhmaṇas, the discussions on the rituals are very speculative and interpretation and explanations highly fantastic. Therefore, we cannot take them at their face value. Making allowance, however, for exaggeration and fancy, we get the mental picture of a people who believed in the miraculous efficacy of sacrifices and rituals. Ritualistic details found in the Brāhmaṇas have been utilized and amplified by the later literature, the Sūtras. So, there is hardly any doubt that these details are trustworthy for their times. In the ritual literature proper there is a great elaboration of the simple rites of ancient days. For the development of rituals the priest was responsible to a great extent. But rites and ceremonies were not his fabrications; rather he mainly drew on common practices, though he gave a polish and supplied a rationale to them. Had these rituals not been popular in their origin, they could not have become so universal and lasting. We have mostly relied on this class of literature while describing the Saṃskāras. The Dharmasūtras

and the Smṛtis that prescribe the rules and regulations are not so natural to the Samskāras as the Gr̥hyasūtras. In them there was much ideal and only partially followed by people. But as the hold of religion on men was very strong in ancient times, these rules and regulations were respected and observed to a great extent. The Dharmasūtras and the Smṛtis were not closely connected with any Vedic School and they were followed universally. So, in the present thesis their rules and regulations have been understood and utilized as such. The views of the commentaries and the treatises are more reliable for their times than the texts, because the texts were written in a time far back in the past under different circumstances. Their interpretations, however, of ancient texts cannot be accepted for every time as they try to show.

CHAPTER II

THE MEANING AND THE NUMBER OF THE SĀMSKĀRAS.

1. *The Meaning of the word 'Sāmskāra'.*

The word Sāmskāra defies every attempt at its correct translation into English Ceremony or Latin caerimonia does not give the full meaning of this word. (Rather it corresponds with Sanskrit Karman, religious act in general.) Sāmskāra does not mean "more outward religious rite, polite observances, empty form, stately usage, formalities and punctitious behaviour" ¹ as it is generally understood by some people. Nor does it mean rites and rituals alone by which we understand 'form of procedure, action required or usual in a religious or solemn ceremony or observance, or a body of usages characteristic of a church.' ² A better approach to the rendering of Sāmskāra in English is made by the word sacrament which means 'religious ceremony or act regarded as outward and visible sign of inward and spiritual

1. The Oxford Dictionary, under the word, 'Ceremony'

2. Ibid under the word, 'Rite.'

grace", applied by the Eastern, pre-reformation Western, and Roman Catholic churches to the seven rites of baptism, confirmation, the eucharist, penance, extreme unction, orders and matrimony. Sacrament also means confirmation of some promise or oath; things of mysterious significance, sacred influence and symbol.' ³ Thus it overlaps many other religious spheres which, in the Sanskrit literature, are covered by "Śuddhi, purification," Brāyaścitta, 'atonement,' Vratas, "vows" etc.

Samskāra is derived from the Sanskrit root Samkrghañ and is used in a variety of ways. The Mimāṃsakas⁴ mean by it the ceremonious purification of sacrificial materials. The Advaita Vedantists⁵ regard it the false attribution of physical action to the soul. The Naiyayikas use it in the sense of self-reproductive quality or faculty of impression recognised by the Vaiśeṣikas as one of the twentyfour guṇas. In the classical Sanskrit literature the word Samskāra is used in a very wide sense:—in the sense of education, cultivation, training;⁶ refinement, perfection and grammatic

3. Ibid. under the word, 'Sacrament.'

4. प्रोक्षणादिजन्यसंस्कारो यज्ञात् पुरोडाशेष्टिविति इत्ययमर्थः । Vāchaspatya-
Ārhadābhidhāna V. p. 5188

5. स्वानिचमनादिजन्माः संस्कारादेहे उत्पद्यमानाऽपि तदभिमानि जीवे
कल्पन्ते । Ibid

6. निसर्गं संस्कारविनीत इत्यसौ नृपेयः चक्रे युवराजः शब्दभाट्टः ।

Ragh. V. iii. 35.

purity;⁷ making perfect, refining, polishing;⁸ embellishment, decoration and ornament;⁹ impression, form, mould, operation, influence;¹⁰ the faculty of recollection, impression on the memory;¹⁰ a purificatory rite, a sacred rite or ceremony;¹¹ consecration, sanctification and hallowing; idea, notion and conception; effect of work, merit of action etc.¹² ✓

So we find that the word 'Samskāra' has got its own peculiar associations gathered round it through its long history. It means religious purificatory rites and ceremonies for sanctifying the body, mind and intellect of an individual, so that he may become a full-fledged member of the community. But the Hindu Samskāras also combine a number of preliminary considerations and rites and other accompanying regulations and observances, all aiming at not only the formal purification of the body but at sanctifying, impressing, refining and perfecting the entire individuality of the recipient. The Samskāras with

7. संस्कारवत्येष गिरा मनीषी तथा स पृथक् विभूषितश्च । The Kumārasambhava, l 28.

8. प्रयुक्तसंस्कार इवाधिकं बभौ । Ragh V. iii. 18

9 स्वभावसुन्दरं वस्तु न संस्कारमपेक्षते । The Śakuntalā vii. 23.

9a यन्नये भाजने लग्नः संस्कारो नान्यथा भवेत् । The Hitopadesa 1. 8.

10. संस्कारवर्ग्यं ज्ञानं स्मृतिः । The Tarkasamgraha.

11. कार्यः शरीरसंस्कारः पावनः प्रेत्य चेह च । M. S. ii. 26.

12 फलानुमेया प्रारम्भाः संस्काराः प्राक्तना इव । Ragh V. i. 20.

their paraphernalia were regarded as producing a peculiar indefinable kind of merit for the man who underwent them.¹³ It was in this collective sense that the word Samskāra was used.

Though many of the Samskāras originated in, or even before, the Vedic period, as the ritualistically specific hymns¹⁴ of the Vedas indicate, the word 'Samskāra' does not occur in the Vedic literature. The Brāhmaṇa literature also does not mention the word, though some sections of it contain fragments of a few Samskāras like the Upanayana, the funeral etc.¹⁵ The Mimāṃsakas¹⁶ used the word in the sense of not purificatory rites concerning individuals but in the sense of cleansing and purifying sacrificial materials before they were offered into fire.

2. *The Extent and Number of the Samskāras.*

(i) The Gṛhyasūtras. The Samskāras, in the strict sense, fall within the jurisdiction of the Gṛhyasūtras. But here too we do not find the word "Samskāra" used in its proper sense. They too use the word in the sense of the Mimāṃsakas

13. आत्मशरीरान्यतरनिष्ठो बहिरुक्तक्रियाजन्योऽतिशयविशेषः संस्कारः ।

V. M. S. vol. I. p 132.

14. see ante p. 2. footnotes.)

15. ६ Br. Xi-Xiv.

16. श्रीकृष्णदेव यज्ञाहुताप्रदानाय वैदिक मार्गेण प्रोक्षणादिः ।

The Vāchaspatya-brhadabhidhana Vol. V. P. 5158,

and speak of the Pañca-bhūsaṁskāras¹⁷ and the Pāka-Saṁskāras by which they mean sweeping, sprinkling and purifying the sacrificial ground and boiling or preparing food for sacrifice. The hold of sacrifices on the social mind was great. They classify the entire domestic rituals under the names of different sacrifices.¹⁸ The bodily Saṁskāras are included in the list of the Pāka-yajñas.¹⁹ The Pāraskara-Grhyasūtra divides the Pāka-yajñas into four classes, the huta, the āhuta, the prahuta and the prāśita. The Baudhāyana-Grhyasūtra classifies the Pakayajñas under seven heads, the huta, the prahuta, the ahuta, the Śūlagava, the baliharana, the pratyavarohana and the aṣṭakāhoma. It explains them as follows. Where the offerings are thrown into the fire it is called huta. This class includes the Saṁskāras from the Vivaha (marriage) to the Simantonnayana (hair-parting). Where, after making offerings to the fire, presents are given to the Brahmans and others it is called prahuta. This group contains the Saṁskāras from the Jatakarma (birth ceremonies) to the Chaula (tonsure). That kind of sacrifices are called ahuta where after making offerings to the fire and presents to the Brahmans, one receives presents from others.

17. A.G.S. i. 3. i; P.G.S. i. 1. 2; G. G. S.

18, i. 1. 9; Kh. GS i. 2. 1 P. G. S. i. 4. 1; A. G. S. i. 1. 2

19. B.G.S. i. 1. 1-12

The Upanayana and the Samāvartana Samskāras are included in this list. Thus, here what are, later on, called the Samskāras are treated as domestic sacrifices. There seems to be no clear idea about sanctifying the body and perfecting personality. The gods are the centre of religious activities and not individuals. So the sacrifices including even the bodily Samskāras were offered for their propitiation.

In the Vaikhānasa-Smārtasūtras²⁰ we find a clearer distinction between the bodily Samskāras and the sacrifices, that were performed at various occasions to propitiate the gods. Here eighteen bodily Samskāras (Aṣṭadaśa Samskāraḥ Śārīrāḥ), from the Rtusamgamana (conception) to the Vivāha (marriage) are mentioned. Again, the same work mentions the twenty-two sacrifices separately.²¹ These sacrifices include the Pañcamahāyajñas, the seven Pāka-sacrifices, the seven Havis-sacrifices and the seven Soma sacrifices. Properly speaking, these are not personal Samskāras but daily and seasonal sacrifices

The Grhyasūtras generally deal with the bodily Samskāras beginning with Vivāha and ending with Samāvartana. The majority of them omit the funeral. Only a few, e.g. the

20. i. 1.

21 Ibid.

the Pāraskara, Āśvalāyana and the Baudhāyana describe it. The following are the numbers of Samskāras dealt with in the Gṛhyasūtras. They fluctuate from twelve to eighteen and the lists are slightly varying in names of a particular Samskāra or in some additions and omissions.

Āśvalāyana G.S. Pāraskara G.S. Baudhāyana G.S.

I	II.	III.
1. Vivaha	1. Vivaha	1. Vivaha
2. Garbhāmbhana	2. Garbhādhana	2. Garbhādhāna
3. Pūmsavana	3. Pūmsavana	3. Pūmsavana
4. Simantonnayana	4. Simanton- nnayana	4. Simanta
5. Jātakarma	5. Jātakarma	5. Jātakarma
6. Nāmakaraṇa	6. Nāmakaraṇa	6. Nāmakaraṇa
7. Chūḍākarma	7. Niskramaṇa	7. Upaniṣ- kramaṇa
8. Annaprāśana	8. Annaprāśana	8. Annaprāśana
9. Upanayana	9. Cuḍākarma	9. Chūḍākarma
10. Samāvartana	10. Upanayana	10. Karṇavedha (Gṛhya Śeṣa)
11. Antyeṣṭi	11. Keśānta	11. Upanayana
	12. Samāvartana	12. Samāvartana
	13. Antyeṣṭi	13. Piṭṛmedha

(I) Vārāha G. S.

(II) Vaikhānasa G. S.

1. Jātakarma	1. R̥tusamgamana
2. Nāmakaraṇa	2. Garbhādhāna
3. Dantodgamana	3. Simanta
4. Annaprāśana	4. Viṣṇubali
5. Chūḍākarma	5. Jātakarma

(I) Vārāha G. S.	(II) Vaikhānasa G. S.
6. Upanayana	6. Utthāna
7. Veda-Vratāni	7. Nāmakarna
8. Godāna	8. Annaprasāna
9. Samāvartana	9. Pravasāgamana
10. Vivāha	10. Piṇḍavardhana
11. Garbhādhāna	11. Chaulaka
12. Pūṁsavana	12. Upanayana
13. Simantonnayana	13. Pārāyana
	14. Vratibandhavisarga
	15. Upākarma
	16. Utsarjana
	17. Samāvartana
	18. Pānigrahana

(ii) The Dharmasūtras. Being mostly occupied with the Hindu laws and custom, not all the Dharmasūtras care to describe or enumerate the Samskāras. They contain rules about the Upanayana, Vivāha, Upākarma, Utsarjana, Anadhyāyas and Āśancha. The Gautama-Dharmasūtra gives a list of altogether forty Samskāras with eight virtues of the soul (Chatvāriṁśatsamsakarāḥ Aṣṭau Ātmagunāḥ).

1. Garbhādhāna	2. Pūṁsavana
3. Simantonnayan	4. Jātakarma
5. Nāmakarṇa	6. Annaprasāna
7. Chaula	8. Upanayana
9-12. Chatvāri Veda-Vratāni	13. Snāna
14. Sahadharma-chāriṇi-Samyoga	

15-19 Pañca-Mahāyajñas 20-26 Aṣṭakā, Pārvana,
 Śrāddha, Srāvani,
 Āgrahāyaṇi, Chaitri,
 Āsvayujī-iti Sapta-
 Pāka-Yajña-Saṁs-
 thāḥ

27-33 Agnyādheyam,	34 40 Agnistoma,
Agnihotram, Darśa-	Atyagnistoma,
Paurṇamāsyā,	Uktha, Śoḍaśi,
Chāturmāsya,	Vājapeya, Atirātra,
Āgrayāṇeṣṭi,	Āptoryama-iti
Nirūḍha-paśubandha,	Sapt-Somayajña-
Sautramani-iti	Samsthāḥ.
Sapta-Haviryajña-	
Samsthāḥ	

Here too we do not find a clear distinction between the Saṁskaras proper and the sacrifices. All the domestic rites and many Śrauta sacrifices elaborately described in the Brahmanas and the Śrautasūtras, are placed with the Saṁskāras in the above list. The word "Saṁskāra" is used in the sense of religious rites in general. According to Hārīta,²³ a later Smṛti-writer, the sacrifices are to be taken as the Daiva Saṁskaras and other ceremonies, that were performed at the various occasions in the life of an individual, as the Brāhma Saṁskāras. Only the latter are to be taken as the Saṁskāras in the proper sense. No doubt, indirectly

23. द्विविधः संस्कारो ऋषिर्ब्रह्मो देवश्च । गर्भाधानादिः स्मार्तो ब्राह्मः । H.D.S.

the sacrifices were of purificatory nature,²⁴ but their direct purpose was to propitiate gods at different seasons, whereas the main object of the Samskāras proper was to sanctify the personality of the recipient.²⁵ Many of the sacrifices, e.g. Chaitri, Āśvayujī were seasonal festivals that later on crystallised into popular feasts and rejoicings.

(iii) The Smṛtis. When the Smṛtis arose, the sacrificial religion and with them the Daiva Samskāras were on the wane. The Smṛtis generally mean by Samskāras only those sacramental rites that were performed for sanctifying the personality of an individual, though some of them include the Pākayajñas also in their lists. According to *Manu*²⁶ the Smṛta Samskāras or the Samskāras proper are thirteen, from conception to death. Beginning from the conception they are:

- | | |
|-------------------|----------------|
| 1. Garbhādhāna | 2. Pūṁsavana |
| 3. Simantonnayana | 4. Jātakarma |
| 5. Nāmadheya | 6. Niṣkramaṇa |
| 7. Annaprāśana | 8. Chūḍākarma |
| 9. Upanayana or | 10. Keśānta |
| Mauñjibandhana | |
| 11. Samāvartan | 12. Vivāha and |
| 13. Smaśāna | |

24. यज्ञो दानं तपश्चैव पावनानि मनीषिणां । B. G. xviii. 5

25. संस्कारार्थं शरीरस्य । M. S. ii. 66.

26. Ibid. ii. 16, 26, 29; iii. 1-4

The Yājñavalkya Smṛti²⁷ also enumerates the same Saṃskāras except the Keśānta which was omitted from the list owing to the decline of the Vedic studies and its confusion with the Samāvartana. The Gautama-Smṛti²⁸, following the tradition of its school, enumerates the forty Saṃskāras, though it does not seem oblivious of the fact that the Vedic sacrifices had fallen in disuse and consequently the Daiva Saṃskāras were not regarded as the Saṃskāras proper. The list of Angirā²⁹ contains twenty-five Saṃskāras. Here the Pākayajnas are also enumerated with the bodily Saṃskāras mentioned in Manu and Yājñavalkya. The later Smṛtis supply the list of sixteen Saṃskāras. According to the Vyāsa Smṛti³⁰ the Saṃskāras are Garbhādhāna, Pūṃsavana, Sīmānta, Jātakarma Nāmakriyā, Niṣkrama, Annaprāśana, Vapanakriyā, Karnavedha, Vratādeśa, Vedārambha, Keśānta, Snāna, Udvāha, Vivāhāgnipariṣraha and Tretāgnisaṃgraha. In this list Karnavedha and the last two Saṃskāras are added to the number given in Manu and Yājñavalkya. This late addition was due to the fact that Karnavedha was regarded as a Saṃskāra only later, originally being meant for decoration.

27. I. 2,

28. viii. 2.

29. Quoted in VMS. vol. I.

30. i. 13-15.

Jātūkarṇya³¹ also provides a list of sixteen **Saṃskāras**, but he includes the Four Vows of the Vedic study instead of Vedārambha and retains **Antya** or funeral, dropping the last two **Saṃskāras** of **Vyāsa**.

(iv) **Treatises**. The mediaeval treatises generally devote one section to the **Saṃskāras** and in the introduction lists of **Gautama**, **Āṅgirā**, **Vyāsa**, **Jātūkrṇya** etc. are compiled. The majority of them exclude the **Daiva Saṃskāras** or the pure sacrifices from their treatment. For example, the **Viramitrodaya**³² and the **Smṛtichandrikā**,³³ the **Saṃskāramayūkha**³⁴ quote the list of **Gautama** but they deal with only the **Brāhma** or **Smārta Saṃskāras** from **Garbhādhāna** to **Vivāha**. So, by **Saṃskāras** they mean only the bodily **Saṃskāras**. They also, like the majority of the **Smṛtis**, exclude the funeral which was described in separate books. The **Nibandhas**, besides the classical **Smārta Saṃskaras**, describe a large number of minor rites and worships which were either the offshoots of the major **Saṃskāras** or were included in them. They were popularly performed but were

31. Quoted in the **Saṃskāradīpaka**, Part II. p.1.

32. **VMS**. vol. I P. 57.

33. **Āṇhika**, **Prakaraṇa** I.

34. **Saṃskāroddeṣa** p. 10

not elevated to the position of a separate *Saṃskāra*.

(v) The Paddhatis and the Prayogas. The Paddhatis and the Prayogas also deal with only the *Brāhma Saṃskāras* and leave the *Daiva Saṃskāras* altogether, partly because they have now become obsolete and partly the current *Pākayajñas* are described elsewhere. The funeral is always treated separately. The usual number of the *Saṃskāras* in them is from ten to thirteen (from *Garbhadbhāna* to *Vivāha*). Many of the Paddhatis are actually called "The *Daśakarma-Paddhati*,"³⁵ or 'The Manual of Ten Ceremonies.'

3. *The Sixteen Saṃskāras*

At present sixteen are the most popular *Saṃskāras*, though the enumeration differs in different books. The latest Paddhatis have adopted this number. The *Saṃskāra-vidhi*³⁶ of Svāmi Dayanand Sarasvati and the *Ṣoḍaśa-Saṃskāra-Vidhi*³⁷ of Pandit Bhimasena Śarmā contain only the sixteen *Saṃskāras*.

As already pointed out, *Antyeṣṭi* or the funeral *Saṃskāra* is not enumerated by Gautama in his long list of forty-eight *Saṃskāras*, it has been

35. The *Daśakarmapaddhatis* of Gaṇapati, Nārāyaṇa, Prthvidhara, Bhūdeva etc.

36. Published from the Vaidika Yantralaya, Ajmer

37. Published from the Brahma Press, Etawah

generally omitted by the Gr̥hyasūtras, the Dharmasūtras and the Smṛtis and neglected by later works on the Samskāras. The reason underlying this exclusion or indifference was that the funeral was regarded as an inauspicious ceremony³⁸ and it should not be described with auspicious ones. It was, perhaps, also due to the fact that the life history of an individual closes with the advent of death and the post-mortem ceremonies had no direct bearing on the cultivation of personality. Nevertheless, Antyeṣṭi was recognised as a Samskāra. Some Gr̥hyasūtras describe it, Manu, Yājñavalkya, Jātūkarnya enumerate it in the list of the Samskāras. The funeral belongs to the class of ceremonies in which Vedic Mantras were recited³⁹, and these Mantras are mostly taken from Vedic funeral hymns.⁴⁰ In the present thesis, where there is no psychological bias against it, Antyeṣṭi has found its proper place among the Samskāras.

38. M. Williams, *Hinduism*. p. 65

39. निषेकादिमृशानान्तो मंत्रेयस्योदितो विधिः । M.S. 11 16

40. R.V. X. 14, 16, 18; A V, XVIII. 1-4.

CHAPTER III

THE PURPOSE OF THE SAMSKĀRAS

1 *Introductory*

(An investigation into the real purpose and significance of ancient institutions like the Hindu Samskāras is beset with many difficulties). First of all, the peculiar circumstances under which they arose are buried deep under thick crusts of ages, and around them have clustered a mass of popular superstitions. So, at such a distance of time, it requires a well-trained imagination coupled with a thorough knowledge of facts to probe into the problem. The second difficulty is that of national sentiment, which looks only at the bright side of the past and clouds the critical vision so essential for any research work. But a more stubborn difficulty is presented by the a priori tendencies of the modern mind. It is apt to assume that any thing ancient must be superstitious; it is suspicious of spiritual values of life; and it is impatient of understanding strict discipline, which is a great characteristic of ancient religions. A student of ancient culture has to guard himself against credulity on the one hand and the

ultrascepticism on the other. He should study the Samskāras with due reverence to the past and full sympathy with human nature through its various stages of development.

2. Two-fold Purpose

We can broadly divide the purpose of the Samskāras into two classes. The first class is popular and superstitious, which is motivated by unquestioned faith and naive simplicity of the unsophisticated mind. The second class is priestly and cultural. Its origin is due to conscious forces governing the development and evolution of society, when human beings try to improve upon nature. The priest, though not beyond the common run of people, was above the ordinary man in the street, and he introduced considerable refinement and culture into social customs and rites in a variety of ways. Samskāras of both the types have continued to figure in society from the very beginning, they have reacted on each other and they are still represented in Hinduism.

3. The Popular Purpose

To begin with the popular purpose, the ancient Hindus, like other nations of the world, believed that they were surrounded by superhuman influences which were potent enough for good or evil consequences. They thought that these

influences could interfere in every important occasion in man's life. Therefore, they tried to remove hostile influences and attract beneficial ones, so that man may grow and prosper without external hindrances and receive timely directions and help from gods and spirits. Many items and ramifications of the Sāṣkāras arose out of these beliefs.

(i) The Removal of Hostile Influences. For removing the unfavourable influences the Hindus adopted several means in their Sāṣkāras. The first of them was propitiation. Goblins, demons and other uncanny spirits were offered praise, oblations and food, so that they may return satisfied with offerings, without causing injury to the individual. The householder was anxious to protect the life of his wife and children and regarded it his duty to deal with them. During the pregnancy of a woman, at the birth of a child, during childhood etc., such propitiation took place. In the birth ceremonies "if the disease-bringing demon, Kumāra attacks the child, the father murmurs "Kurkura, Sukurkura, who holds fast children, Chet ! Chet ! doggy let him loose. Reverence be to thee, the Sisara, a barkar, a bender¹." The second method was that of deception. Sometimes propitiation was thought unnecessary or purposely

1. P.G.S. i 16 20, A.G.S. i 15; G.G.S. ii. 7. 17. Gadādhara commenting on P.G.S. says. ललस्तुष्टो एनं कुमारं मुञ्च ।

avoided. For example, at the time of tonsure, the severed hair was mixed with cowdung and buried in a cowstall or thrown into a river, so that none could play magic upon it². Deception is also evident in the funeral ceremonies. At the approach of death the image of a man was burnt before his death to deceive it³. The motive underlying this act was that death while haunting the proper body of its victim would mistake him for an already dead person. But when propitiation and deception both proved inefficient a third drastic step was taken. Mischievous spirits were plainly asked to go away, threatened and directly attacked. During the birth ceremonies the father pronounces, 'May Śuṇḍa and Marka, Upavira and Śaundikēya, Ulūkhala and Malimluha, Droṇāsa and Chyavana vanish hence. Svaha'⁴ ! The householder also invoked the help of gods and deities to drive away foul influences. While performing the Chaturthikarma (the Fourth Day after marriage) the husband invites Agni, Vāyu, Sūrya, Chandra and Gandharva to remove the injurious elements from the newly married wife.⁵ But, sometimes,

2. अनुयुतमेतं सकेषां गोमयपिण्डं निधाय गोष्ठे पशवस्तमुदकान्ते वा ।

P.G.S. ii. 1. 20.

3. K.S. xlviii. 54 ff; 39 ff.

4. P.G.S. i. 16. 19; AP. G.S. 4. 15.

5. अग्ने प्राचेद्विषते त्वं देवानां प्राचेद्विषतिरसि ब्राह्मणस्त्वा नायकम्य उपवा-

he himself, by means of water and fire, frightened and drove them off.

Other devices were also used for this purpose. Water was invariably used in every Samskāra. It washed away physical impurities and warded off demons and goblins⁶. Noise was made at the time of burial to scare away lurking spirits. Sometimes the man himself asserted his boldness. He equipped himself with weapons to face any odds that might come in his way. For instance, the student was given a staff.⁷ He was forbidden to part with it and asked always to keep it close to his body. When this staff was thrown away at the end of studentship, he was provided with a stronger bamboo-staff at the time of Samāvartana.⁸ It is clearly stated that it was used not merely for protection against animals and human foes but also against Rāksasas and Pisāchas.⁹ Shaking was also a means to remove evil influences. Combing the hair at the time of the Simantonnayana (Hair-parting) was done for the same purpose.¹⁰. Selfishness of man

नामि यादस्यै पतिघ्नी तनूस्तामस्यै नाशय स्वाहा । etc. P.G.S. i. 11.
2. 1-5.

6. आपो हि वै रक्षोघ्नी । Ś. Br.

7. A.G. , i. 19. 10; P.G.S. ii 5. 16.

8. वैश्वं दण्डमादत्ते । P.G.S. ii. 6. 26

9. विश्वान्यो मा नाष्ट्याभ्यस्परिपाहि सर्वत इति । P.G.S. ii. 6. 26.

10. Āp. G.S. xiv; H.G.S. ii. 2

sometimes compelled him to transfer bad influences from his side to that of others. The marriage costume worn by the bride was given to the Brahman, as it was thought injurious to her. In this case, however, the Brahman was thought too powerful to be attacked by evil influences. The nuptial clothes were also put in a cowpen or hung on a tree.¹¹

(ii) Attraction of Favourable Influences. Just as untoward influences were tried to be got rid of, so the favourable influences were invited and attracted for the benefit of the recipient of a particular Samskāra. The Hindus believed that every period of life was presided over by a deity. Therefore, on every occasion, that deity was invoked to confer boons and blessings on the man. At the time of the Garbhādhāna (Conception) Viṣṇu was the chief deity, at the time of the Vivāha Prajāpati, and at the time of the Upanayana Bṛihaspati and so on. But there was no entire dependence on gods only. Men helped themselves also by various means. Suggestion and reference to analogous phenomena played a great part. Touch exercised a magic power. By touching things that were beneficial in themselves one expected good influences to follow. In the Simantonnayana ceremonies a branch of the Udumbara (fig) tree was

11. A. V. xiv. 2. 48-50; K. S. lxxvi. 1; lxxix. 24,

applied to the neck of the wife.¹² Here touch was believed to bring about fertility. Mounting a stone brought about firmness and was therefore prescribed for a student and a bride.¹³ Touching the heart was thought to be a sure means of union and producing harmony between student and teacher or husband and wife.¹⁴ As breath was a symbol of life, the father breathed thrice on the new-born child to strengthen its breaths.¹⁵ For securing a male child the expectant mother was required to eat a barley corn with two beans and curd attached to it.¹⁶ The reason is obvious. The things which the expectant mother took were symbolical of the male sex and were expected to impart it to the embryo. To produce offsprings the juice of a many-rooted and luxuriant banyan-tree branch was inserted into the right nostril of the wife.¹⁷ Anointment produced love and affection. In the marriage ceremonies the bride's father anointed the couple while the bridegroom pronounced, "May all gods, may water unite our

12. ओदुम्बरेण त्रिवृत्तमाबध्नाति—'अयमूज्जीवतो वृद्धः उज्जीव फलिनी भव ।

P.G.S. i. 15. 4; G.G. S. ii. 7. 1.

13. In the Upanayana and the Vivāha Samskāras.

14. Ibid.

15. In the Jātakarma.

16. H.G.S. ii. 2. 23; A.G.S. i. 13. 2.

17. P.G.S. i. 14. 3.

hearts.....¹⁸ Avoidance of ugly and inauspicious sights, and giving up contact with impure persons preserved the purity of an individual. The Snātaka was forbidden even to pronounce a word beginning with an unlucky letter, or containing a repugnant idea.¹⁹ Sometimes dramatic utterances were also requisitioned to bring about the desired thing. In the Simantonnayan ceremonies the wife was asked to look at a mess of rice whereupon the husband inquired whether she was seeing into its offsprings, cattle, prosperity and long life for him.²⁰

(iii) The Material Aim of the Samskāras. The material aims of the Samskāras were the gain of cattle, progeny, long life, wealth, prosperity, strength and intellect. The Samskāras were domestic rites and naturally during their performance things essential for domestic felicity were asked from gods. It was a belief of the Hindus that by prayer and appeal their desire and wishes were communicated to the deities who responded to them in form of animals, children, corn, a good

18. अथेनौ समजयति—‘समजन्त विश्वे देवाः ममीषो हृदयानि नो । सम्मातरिषा सन्धाता समुदेष्टी दधातु नो । P.G.S. i. 4. 15; G.G.S. ii. 1. 18

19. गर्भिणी विजन्त्येति ब्रूयात् । शकुलमिति नकुलम् । भगालमिति कपालम् । P.G.S. ii. 7, 11-13. A.G.S. iii. 9. 6.

20. किं पश्यसि प्रजां पशन् सौभाग्यं मह्यं दीर्घायुष्टं पश्युः । The Sāmaveda-mantrabr̥hmaṇa i. 5 1-5

physique and a sharp intellect²¹. These material aims of the Samskâras are very persistent and they are found uppermost, even now, in the minds of common people. The priest has always welcomed and blessed the material aspirations of people. He has tried to sanctify and thereby make them legitimate for a householder.

(iv) Samskâras as Self-expression. But the householder was not only an ever terror-stricken man, nor was he a professional beggar of gods. He performed the Samskâras also to express his own joys, felicitations and even sorrows at the various events of life. The possession of a child was a coveted thing, so on its birth the joy of the father knew no bounds. Marriage was the most festive occasion in the life of a man. Every land-mark in the progressive life of a child brought satisfaction and gladness in the household. Death was a tragic scene which brought forth much pathos. The householder expressed his happy feelings in the shape of decoration, music, feast and presents; his sorrows were manifested in the funeral ceremonies.

4. *The Cultural Purpose.*

While fully recognizing the popular purpose of

21. एकमिषे विश्वास्त्वा नयतु द्वे ऊर्जे. श्रीणि रात्रिपोषाय चत्वारि मयोभवाय
 एकव यशुभ्यः षड्भक्तुभ्यः । This verse is recited in the great
 Saptapadi A.G.S. i 7 19; Ś.C.Ś i. 14. 5

domestic sacrifices, also rose in their efficacy. *Hārita*³¹ speaks about the fruits of the Samskāras, "he who is consecrated with the *Brahma Samskāras* attains the status of *Rṣis*, becomes their equal, goes to their world and lives in their close vicinity. One who is consecrated with the *Daiva Samskāras* attains the status of gods etc." As the heaven was regarded the ultimate goal of life by common people in ancient times, the Samskāras naturally became instrumental in the attainment of that coveted state of existence. *Śaṅkha-Likhita* remarks, "Purified by the Samskāras and always practising the eight virtues of the soul, one gets fame, merits and heaven, he goes to the world of Brahman and reaches the state of Brahmanhood from where he never falls."³²

5. *The Moral Purpose.*

In course of time a moralizing feature emerged from the material body of the Samskāras. *Gautama*³³ after enumerating forty Samskāras, gives "eight good qualities of the soul," viz.,

31. Quoted in V.M.S. vol. I. p. 139.

32. संस्कारैः संस्कृतः पूर्वैस्तैरेतुतंस्कृतः ।

नित्यमष्टगुणैर्गुणैः प्राज्ञाद्यो प्राज्ञादीदिकः ।

प्राज्ञा' अस्मयत्योति यस्माच्चव्यवर्ते पुनः ॥ Quoted in V. M. .S. (vol. I. p. 142.

33. G.D.S. viii 24.

mercy, forbearance, freedom from envy, purity, calmness, right behaviour, and freedom from greed and covetousness. He³⁴ further says, "He that has performed forty sacraments but has not the eight good qualities enters not into union with Brahman. But he that has performed only a part of the forty Samskāras and has eight good qualities enters into union with Brahman and into the heaven of Brahman."

The Samskāras were never regarded as ends in themselves. They were expected to grow and ripen into moral virtues. For every stage of life rules of conduct were prescribed in the Samskāras.³⁵ No doubt, in them there is much that is religious and superstitious, but ethical attempt for the moral uplift of an individual is also visible. This stage of the Samskāras marks a great advance over the individual benefits that were solicited in them.

6. *The Formation and Development of Personality.*

The cultural purpose that evolved from the ancient rites and ceremonies of the Hindus was the formation and development of personality. Āngirā³⁶

34. Ibid. viii. 25.

35. Cf. गर्दिनीचर्माः, अनुपनीसुधर्माः, ब्रह्मचरिचर्माः, स्नातचर्माः etc.

36. चित्रकर्मा यथाऽनेकैस्त्वैहमीत्यते सनेः ।

ब्राह्मण्यमपि सङ्गृह्यन्त्यस्मिन्निर्दिष्टपूर्वकम् ॥ Quoted in V. M. S. vol. I. p. 139.

giving the analogy of a painting says, "Just as a picture is painted with various colours, so the character of an individual is formed by undergoing various Samskāras properly". The Hindu sages realized the necessity of consciously moulding the character of individuals instead of letting them grow in a haphazard way. They utilised the Samskāras, already prevalent in the society, for this purpose.

The Samskāras cover the full span of life, and they even try to influence and impress the individual after his death through the cult of soul. They were arranged in such a way that they may produce suitable impressions from the very beginning of one's life. The Samskāras were a guide that directed the life of an individual according to his growth. So a Hindu was required to live a full life of discipline and his energies flowed into a well-guarded and purposive channel. The Garbhādhāna Samskāra was performed at the proper time when the couple were physically fit and in a healthy condition, when they knew each other's heart and had intense desire for possessing a child. Their whole thought was concentrated towards the act of procreation and a pure and congenial atmosphere was produced by means of sacrifices and recital of apt hymns. Throughout her pregnancy the wife was guarded and protected against evil influences physical and superphysical

and her conduct was regulated to influence the growing child in the womb.³⁷ At the time of birth, Āyusya (for long life) and Prajñājanana (for talent) ceremonies were performed when the new-born was blessed to become firm like a stone, strong and crushing like an axe and grow into an intellectual man.³⁸ On every occasion during the childhood joys and felicitations of an optimistic life were thrown into atmosphere which was breathed in by the budding child. After the Chūdākaraṇa or tonsure when the child grew into a boy, his duties were prescribed and his responsibilities explained before him without encumbering his mind and body with book-knowledge and school discipline. The Upanayana and other educational Samskāras formed the great cultural furnace where the emotions, desires and will of the boy were melted and shaped and he was prepared for an austere but a rich and cultured life. The Samāvartana was an entrance and probation for the life of a married householder. The marriage arrangement was a developed code of eugenics and the nuptial ceremony a homily on the life of a married couple. The various sacrifices and vows prescribed for a householder were introduced to remove selfishness clinging to one's individuality and make him realize that he was the part and parcel of the whole community.

37 See the pre-natal Samskāras

38. Āp. G.S. xiv; P G.S. i. 16; J G S. i. 8.

The death of a man was made easy by previous arrangement and his soul was given solace and help in its journey to the other side of life. No doubt, there are many itmes in the Samskāras that may be called a matter of faith. But none can deny the operation of the cultural motive underlying the Samskāras, though one may not concede them a place for a perfect scientific scheme.

By making the Samskāras compulsory, the Hindu sociologists aimed at evolving a type of humanity uniform in culture and character and having the same ideal in life. They were successful to a great extent in their attempt. The Hindus form a peculiar race with a wide cultural background. They influenced and assimilated the people who came in contact with them by their cultural scheme, and they are still living as a nation.

7. *Spiritual Significance.*

Spiritualism is a chief feature of Hinduism and every phase of Hindu religion is tinged with it. This general outlook of the Hindus transformed the Samskāras into a spiritual Sādhana. The spiritual purpose and significance of the Samskāras cannot be given an open demonstration nor can it be evidenced with paper documents. It is the experience of those who have received the

sacraments. To a Hindu the Samskāras conveyed more than their constituents. They were "an outward visible sign of an inward spiritual grace." He looked beyond the ceremonial performances and felt something invisible which sanctified his whole personality. So, for the Hindus the Samskāras were a living religious experience and not a dead formalism.

The Samskāras served a mean between the ascetic and the materialistic conception of the body. The advocates of the first school try to worship the spirit while discarding the body—an absurd procedure in the world of elements³⁹. The upholders of the second view do not go beyond the body and deny the spiritual aspect of man's life, and therefore they are deprived of that peace and joy that are nestled in the calm recesses of the spirit⁴⁰. It was the business of the Samskāras to make the body a valuable possession, a thing not to be discarded, but made holy, a thing to be sanctified, so that it might be a fitting instrument of the spiritual intelligence embodied in it.

The Samskāras were a gradual training in spiritualism. Through them the recipient realized that all life, properly understood, is a sacrament and every physical action should be referred to,

39 The Jains, the Buddhists and the neo-Vedantists.

40. The Chārvākas and the Vāmamārgis.

and connected with, the spiritual reality. It was the way in which an active life of the world was reconciled with spiritual realization. In this system of living the body and its functions ceased to be hindrances, and become helpers in attaining perfection. By performing these Samskāras the life of an ordinary Hindu, with whom the world would have been too much, but for timely intervention of spiritual discipline, was made a grand sacrament. Thus duly celebrating the rites and ceremonies, the Hindus believed that they escaped the physical bondage and crossed the ocean of death.⁴¹

8. *Different Stages*

Such was the purpose of the Hindu Samskāras when they formed the part and parcel of the life of the Hindus, who felt and acted accordingly. The Samskāras in their creative period were true to life, a flexible and living institution and not a fixed rigid ritualism. They were adapted to different localities and different times.⁴² Every Vedic family performed the ceremonies in its own way. Then set in the intellectual classification of the Samskāras when they were codified. At this time the creative period was drawing to its close and

41. विद्यावर्षिणां च यस्तद्वेदीभयं सह ।

अविद्यया नृत्सु तीर्त्वा विद्ययाऽमृतमश्नुते ॥ The Īgopanīṣad, 11,

42. That is why there are so many variations in the Gr̥hyasūtras

an attempt was made to settle every thing finally. There are numerous discussions and options about the various details of the Samskāras. Minutest details were recorded and no departure from them was desired. But change was still possible. The Hindu mind was not stagnant as yet. Then came a third period in the religious life of the Hindus. They thought that their energy was exhausted, they could not create any thing new and their only business was to collect and preserve. They regarded even a slight variation from the fixed course of the Samskāras a sin and they felt that they could not turn even a pebble, or utter a single word without the prescription of the ancient R̥sis. To make the matter worse, the language of the procedure and Mantras became unintelligible in course of time. This was the stage when the true Spirit of the Samskāras departed and their sepulchres were left behind to be worshipped by their blind followers. The Samskāras ceased to be refined, elevated and adapted to the specific needs of the time. Therefore, now they have become, more or less, a defunct institution not serving their real purpose.

CHAPTER IV

THE CONSTITUENTS OF THE SAMSKĀRAS

1. *Introductory*

The Samskāras are a complex combination of various elements. They express beliefs, sentiments and knowledge of the ancient Hindus about the nature of human life and the universe and their relation with the superhuman powers that were supposed to guide or control the destiny of man. The Hindus believed that man requires protection, consecration and refinement. For this, to a great extent, they depended on gods whose existence they seriously felt and whose help they invariably asked. But while they sought aids from gods, they also helped themselves by the knowledge they possessed of natural and supernatural world. So we find a mixture of religious and secular factors in the Samskāras, though they have all assumed a religious garb in course of time.

2. *Fire*

The first and the most permanent constituent of the Samskāras was Agni or Fire which was always kindled in the beginning of every Samskāra. The importance of Agni in the Aryan religion is

as old as Indo-European period. Its equivalents are found in Latin *ignis* and Luthianian *ugni*. During the Indo-Iranian period also it was worshipped as a chief domestic deity. As it is called the "house-lord" in the *R̥gveda*, so *Atar* (Avestan word for fire) is called the "house-lord of all houses" in the *Avesta*.¹ Its contact with man was very congenial in cold winters of northern countries. Consequently, it became the chief domestic deity that was a constant source of help in secular as well as sacred life of the householder. The family hearth was the first "holy of the holies". The fire that was kept burning in every house became a perpetual sign for all influences that bound men with family and social relations, and became the centre of all domestic rites and ceremonies. It was not the case with the Vedic Indians alone. The Romans and the Greeks also made the hearth the centre of religious faith and rite.

We can well appreciate the high position given to *Agni* in the *Samskāras* if we know what beliefs the Vedic Indians cherished about it. By virtue of its services, *Agni* assumed the role of *Gr̥hapati*, "the lord of the house":

Doing his work he dwells in earthly houses,

1. *Yasna*. 17. 11.

Though god he wins the fellowship of mortals²
 Who over the Five Tribes bearing away,
 Has set him down in every home,
 Sage, youthful, master of the house.³

Agni was believed to be a great and renowned protector against illness, demons and other hostile spirits. Therefore, at various Sāmskāras it was propitiated and recognized as such because one of the objects of the Sāmskāras was to ward off evil influences.

To the sage Agni render praise,
 Him of true rules in sacrifice,
*God banisher of illness.*⁴
Agni expells the Rākṣasas,
 God of clear radiance, deathless one,
 Bright cleansing, worthy to be praised.
Agni protect us from distress,
 With hottest flames, unaging god,
 Burn those against our enemies.⁵

2. स चेतयन्मनुषो यज्ञबन्धुः प्र तं मया रशनया नयन्ति ।
 स क्षेत्यस्य दुर्यसु साधन्देवो मर्त्यस्य मदनित्वमापत् ॥ R. V. III
3. यः पञ्च चर्षणीरभि निससाद दमे दमे ।
 कविर्गृहपतिर्युवा ॥ R. V. VIII. 15 2
4. कविमग्निमुपस्तु हि मर्त्यधर्मायमन्त्रे ।
 देव ममीव ज्ञातनम् ॥ Ibid. 12. 7
5. अग्नि रक्षांसि सेधति शुक्रशोचिरमर्त्यः ।
 शुचिः पावक ईक्ष्यः ॥ Ibid.
 अग्ने रक्षाणो धर्हसः प्रति ष्व देव रीषतः ।
 तपिष्ठैरजरो दह ॥ Ibid. vii. 15. 10, 13.

To ancient Hindus Agni was not only the "house-lord" and protector but also the high priest and mediator and messenger between gods and men. In the first capacity it supervised the ceremonies and in the second it bore offerings to gods.

Agni I praise, domestic priest,
God minister of sacrifice,
The Hotar, giver best of gifts.⁶

Through thee who art their mouth the guiltless deathless gods.

All eat the offering which is sacrificed to them.^{6a}

O Agni, mayest thou announce
Among the gods this newest song
Of ours, a potent Gāyatra.⁷
Agni doth send the sacrifice to heaven.⁸
Hotar is he, he knows the work
Of messenger; goes to and for

"Twixt heaven and earth, knows heaven's ascent.^{8a}

6. अग्निं मीळे पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य देवमृत्विजम् ।

होतारं रत्नधातमम् ॥ Ibid. i. 1. 1

6 a. Ibid. ii. 1. 14.

7. इममृषु त्वमस्माकं सवि गायत्रं नव्यासम् ।

अग्ने देवेषु प्रवोचः ॥ Ibid. i. 27. 4.

8. अग्निर्दिवि हव्यमावतान । Ibid. X. 80. 4.

8 a. Ibid. vii. 5. 1.

The Hindus regarded Agni as the director of rites and guardian of morality. Every rite was performed and contract and bond executed by Agni. It was an eternal witness around which, during the Upanayana and the Vivāha ceremonies, the student, and the husband and wife made circumambulations, so that their ties may be valid and permanent.

King of the clans, the wonderful
 Director of the rites, I praise
 This Agni, may he hear our call.⁹
 Thou who art king of holy rites,
 Guardian of rta, shining one,
 Increasing in thy own abode.¹⁰

3. *Prayers, Appeals and Blessings.*

The second class of constituents includes prayers, appeals and blessings. According to Tylor "prayer is soul's sincere desire, uttered or unexpressed, and is the address of personal spirit to personal spirit."¹¹ When, later on, ceremonies and rites evolved, the animistic prayer became co-extensive with ritual prayers. Because prayer

9. विशा राजानमद्भुतमध्यक्षं धर्मणामिमम् ।

अग्नि मीळे स उ श्रवत् ॥ Ibid viii. 43. 24.

10. राजन्तमन्वराणां गोपामृतस्य दीदितम् ।

वर्धमानं हवे दमे ॥ Ibid. i 1. 8

11. Primitive Culture, vol. 1. p. 364.

originated in the early stage of culture and was applied to domestic ceremonies, it was, more or less, unethical in the beginning. Gods were prayed to for the accomplishment of desire, but desire was as yet limited to personal or family interest. The Samskāras, as already said, were domestic rites. During their performance, generally, prayers were offered for protection and prosperity of a family consisting of children, animals, corn, strength and other felicities. For example, the husband, while taking with his wife the great "Seven Steps" (Saptapadi) prayed to Lord Viṣṇu, "One for sap, two for juice, three for the prospering of wealth, four for comfort, five for cattle, six for the seasons. Friend, be with seven steps (united to me). So he thou devoted to me"¹² In more cultural Samskāras like the Upanayana, the worshipper adds to his entreaty for prosperity the claim for help towards virtue and against vice, and prayer became an instrument of morality. In the Upanayana prayers were offered for intellectual stimulation, purity, Brahmacharya etc. The famous and the most sacred Gāyatri mantra says, "Let us meditate on the most excellent light of the Creator (the Sun); may he guide our intellect."¹³

12. P. G. S. i. 8. 1; A. G. S. i. 19. 9.

13. तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि ।

धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात् ॥ G.G.S. ii. 10. 35.

The pupil at the time of making offerings to Fire prays, "May I be full of insight; not forgetful; may I become full of glory, of splendour, of holy lustre etc."¹⁴ While tying the girdle round his loin the student said, "Here has come to me, keeping away evil words, purifying my kinds as a purifier, clothing herself by (power of) inhalation and exhalation, with strength, this sisterly goddess, this blessed girdle."¹⁵

During the performance of the Samskāras blessings were also expressed. They differed from prayers in this that while the prayers were made for one's own good, the blessings conveyed good feelings towards others. These were wishes or appeals on the part of those interested, which were uttered by a spirit or a god. They symbolised the object desired for. The man believed that his blessings would transmit the good and thus influence the individual aimed at. The objects of blessings were almost the same as those of prayers. The husband presenting the under garment to the bride uttered, "Live to old age; put on the garment; be a protectress of the human tribes against imprecation. Live a hundred years full

14. A.G.S. i. 22. 1.

15. इयं दुरुक्तं परिबाधमाना वर्णं पवित्रं पुनती म आगात् ।

प्राणायानाभ्यां बलमादधाना स्वसा देवी सुभगा मेखलेयम् ॥ P.G.S. ii.

of vigour. Cloth thyself in wealth and children. Blessed with life put on this garment ¹⁷¹⁶ The father at the birth rite blessed his child, "Be a stone, be an axe, be imperishable gold. Thou indeed art the self called son; thus live a hundred autumns."¹⁷

4. *Sacrifice*

Another important constituent of the Samskāras was sacrifice. Its origin belongs to the same period of culture and it evolved from the same anthropological belief which gave birth to prayer. They have, moreover, stood in close connection with each other in their long career. Men believed that gods, like men, were propitiated by praise and prayer. It was equally natural to their mind that, like men, they also liked and accepted presents and gifts. The Samskāras with the solitary exception of the funeral, were performed at the blooming and festive occasions in the life of a man. Therefore the recipient of the Samskāras or, if he were a minor, his or her parents offered presents, paid homage or tribute to

16. जरांगच्छ परिधत्स्व नामो भवाकृष्टीनामभि क्षस्तिपावा । शतं च जीव
शरदः सुवर्चो रयिं च पुत्राननुसंव्ययस्यायुष्मतीदं परिधत्स्व वासः ॥
P.G.S. i. 4. 13.

17. अश्मा भव परशुर्भवे हिरण्यमस्तुतं भव । Ibid. i. 16. 14; H. G. S.
ii. 3. 2.

the beneficent gods in token of gratitude, or in anticipations of further blessings. Even at the funeral, sacrifices were made to gods requesting them to help the dead. The sacrifices were offered invariably in the beginning of, and through the course of a Samskāra. Special deities were believed to preside over a particular period of life. So they were specifically invited, placated and feasted. But other gods were also entertained, as their spheres of influence were often overlapping.

5. *Lustration*

The next class of constituents consisted of bath, sipping water and lustration or baptismal sprinkling of water over persons and things. 'The animistic theory of the universe which underlies all ancient religion and philosophy suggested that water was a living being, which in so far as it assisted the process of growth and aided men in other ways, might be presumed to be beneficent.'¹⁸ But, besides this animistic theory, water seemed living to ancient people on account of its motion, sound and power. That is why the Hebrews called it "living water." The purifying effects of water and its invigorating influence were revealed to men, as after having a plunge in its cool waves he found himself purified and refreshed. Other ideas

18. Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. vol. II p. 367.

were also associated with water. Many springs, lakes, wells and rivers had miraculous healing property, so it was thought that some divinity lived in each of them. The water was also supposed to possess the power of removing evil influences and killing demons.¹⁹ It was quite natural that having all these powers it was used by the Hindus as one means of removing the contagion, influence of spirits, and at a higher stage the guilt of sin. Bath was complete washing off of physical, moral and spiritual impurities. Sipping water and lustration were partial or symbolic baths. Ceremonial purification was a universal feature in almost all the Samskāras. The Hindu led a life regularly purified by water from his conception in the womb up to his death and even after it. The father was required to bathe after the Garbhadhana²⁰ and in the Jatakarma (birth ceremonies^{20a}) Bathing was one of the initial steps that preceded the Cūḍakarana and the Upanayana.²¹ At the end of his student career the youth was sumptuously bathed²². The bride and the bridegroom were

19. R.V. vii. 17, 49, X 9. 30.

20. ऋतौ तु गर्भशङ्खित्वास्नानं मैथुनिनः स्मृतम् । Āpastamba, quoted by गदाधर on P. G. S.

20 a. श्रुत्वा जातं पिता पुत्रं सचैलं स्नानमाचरेत् । Vasīṣṭha Ibid.

21. माता कुमारमादायाप्लाव्य । A.G.S. i. 17.

22. P.G.S. ii. 6, G.G.S. iii. 4. 6.

bathed before the nuptial ceremonies²³. The dead body was washed before it was burnt²⁴. Sipping many times in a day as well as ceremonial sipping in every Samskāra are prescribed by the scriptures. Sprinkling was also a common feature of the Samskāras. Entire material was sprinkled with water before a Samskāra began. In the tonsure ceremonies the child's head was sprinkled, a Snātaka was sprinkled with water for fame, glory, learning and holy lustre²⁵, the bride was sprinkled on her head for, health, peace and happiness ect.²⁶.

6. *Orientation*

Orientation was another element of the Samskāras. It was based on the picturesque symbolism of the path of the sun and myths according to which different directions were ruled by different deities. In men's mind the eastern direction was associated with light and warmth, life and happiness and glory; the west with darkness and chill, death and decay. According to Indian mythology, south is the direction of Yama, the god of death, so it was regarded inauspicious. These beliefs gave rise to various

23. G. G. S. ii. 1. 10-17.

24. The B.P.S.

25. तेन नामभिषिञ्चामि श्रियै यशसे ब्रह्मणे ब्रह्मवर्चसाय । P. G. S. ii. 6 9.

26. Ibid. i. 8. 5

practices concerning the position of man in the Samskāras. In all the auspicious Samskāras the recipient faced the east indicating his preparedness to receive light and life. While making circumambulation in the Samskaras, the course of the sun was followed. In inauspicious Samskāras the direction was reversed. During the funeral ceremonies the head of the dead was kept towards the south when it was placed on the funeral pyre and the soul was on its journey to the abode of Yama. At special occasions the position of persons and things was determined by ideas suggested on that time.

7. *Symbolism*

Symbolism played a great part in the Hindu Samskāras. It was a material object to convey mental and spiritual significance. It was mostly suggested by analogous objects. Men believed that like things produce like effects. So, by their contact, it was thought, men were bestowed with similar characteristics. Stone was a symbol of fixity and one who mounted it was supposed to be invested with firmness in his or her character.²⁷ The student in the Upanayana and the bride in the Vivāha ceremonies were required to step on a stone suggesting their steadfastness in their

devotion to the teacher and the husband. Looking at the pole star was productive of similar effects.²⁸ Sesamum and rice were symbols of fertility and prosperity.²⁹ Anointment was symbolic of love and affection; ³⁰ eating together was a symbol of union; ³¹ touching the heart symbolized joining hearts; ³² grasping the hand was a sign of taking full responsibility; ³³ looking towards the sun indicated brilliance and lustre; ³⁴ a male constellation ensured conception and so on.³⁵

8. *Taboos*

Numerous taboos observed at various points of the Samskāras constituted a different category. Taboo is a Polynesian word said to mean "what is prohibited." The ethical conception of man in early times was influenced by magical determination of things injurious. The science of medicine and hygiene were also helped by it. There were many

28. ध्रुवमसि ध्रुवं त्वा पश्यामि प्रवेधिपोष्ये मयि । Ibid. i. 8. 9.

29. इमांल्लान्नानवपाम्यग्नौ समृद्धिकरणं तव । A. G. S. i. 7. 8.

30. समञ्जन्तु विश्वे देवा समञ्जन्तु हृदयानि नौ । G. G. S. ii. 1. 18.

31. अयेनां स्थालीपाकं प्राशयति—'प्राणैस्ते प्राणान्सन्दधामि अहियमिरस्थोनि मांसे मासानि स्वत्वा स्वचम्' । P. G. S. i. 11. 5.

32. मम व्रते ते हृदय दधामि ममचित्तमनुचिन्तं तेऽस्तु । Ibid. i. 8. 8.

33. G. G. S. ii. 2-16.

34. तच्छुद्धौर्बद्धितं पुरस्ताच्छुक्रमुच्चरत् । P. G. S. i. 17. 6.

35. Ibid. i. 11. 3.

taboos connected with the conception of life. Life was the central mystery of the world for early man. He attached mystery and danger with every thing connected with it. Its genesis, growth and end were all mysterious. It was thought necessary to take precautions against dangers and to give vent to the sense of mystery at various occasions of life. This gave birth to various restrictions that later on crystallised into well defined taboos about pregnancy, birth, childhood, adolescence, youth, marriage, death and corpse.

There were taboos connected with lucky and unlucky days, months and years.³⁷ People believed that injurious influences arising from various objects and present in the air associated themselves with some months, days and years when things might or might not be done with safety and advantage. Unfavourable incidents, economic and astronomical, and occasions like death, disease and defeat stamped days, months and years as unlucky. There are many such beliefs, the origin of which is lost in a remote antiquity. Out of the vast experience of a community there evolved a system of taboos connected with them. But there were

37. 'जन्मक्षौ जन्ममासे जन्मदिवसे शुभं त्यजेत् । Ratnakōṣa quoted
 by Godādhara on the
 आश्विनेऽपि च रौषे वा कन्या आश्विने तथा । P.G.Si. 4-8.

चैत्राश्व युक्तातिथेः शुभं त्यजेत् ॥ Vyāsa, Ibid.

अशुभे दुर्भगा नारी शुभे तु विधवा भवेत् । Rājāmārtanda, Ibid.

other prohibitions also that were based on rational grounds. During natural calamity, political revolution, death of a person, monthly course of a woman etc. the Samskāras were postponed.³⁸

Taboos connected with food were also numerous. A particular food was prescribed in a particular Samskāra.³⁹ The object in view was that food should be light, free from injurious ingredients and symbolic of the occasion. Sometimes food was altogether prohibited.⁴⁰ The underlying idea here was that the weakness and impurity of the flesh should be removed before the man could enter into communion with a deity at the time of the Samskāra. Fasting was sometimes also meant for producing ecstasy. By observing abstinence from food man felt elevated and moving in an atmosphere quite different from that of ordinary men.

38. दिग्दाहे दिनमेकं च गृहे सप्तदिनानि तु ।

भूकम्पे च समुत्पन्ने त्र्यहमेव तु वर्जयेत् ॥

उत्क्रापाते त्रिदिवसं धूम्रे पञ्चदिनानि च ।

वज्रपाते नैकदिनं वर्जयेत्सर्वकर्मसु ॥

विवाहव्रतचूडासु यस्य भार्या रजस्वला ।

तदा न मंगलं कार्यं शुद्धौ कार्यं शुभेप्सुभिः ॥ Vrdhhamanu, Ibid.

39. त्रिरात्रमक्षार लवणाशिनौस्याताम् P.G.S i 8. 21.

40. Ibid. iii. 10. 25-26.

9. *Magic*

Magical elements are also found in the Samskāras. Dangers and problems of early life were more acute, in certain directions, than those that confront the civilized society to-day. They demanded constant vigilance, careful investigation and prompt action. As already said, early men recognized supernatural agencies. But they did not always supplicated to these agencies. Sometimes they attempted to avail of, and control, these forces. Magic originated from this tendency of man. It is essentially a directive and coercive procedure and differs in this respect from full-fledged religion, which is essentially submissive and obedient to supernatural powers. The method of magic is based on sequence of incidents and on imitation of nature and man. In the Atharva-Veda there is a large number of magic formulas which are used by Kauśika in his sūtras at various ceremonies. A hymn of the Atharvaveda begins as follows, "Let the up-thruster thrush thee up; do not abide in thine own lair, the arrow of love that is terrible therewith I pierce thee in the heart."⁴¹ This hymn is used by Kauśika⁴² in a charm for winning a woman under one's control, by pushing her with a finger, piercing the heart of

41. iii 25. 1.

42. K. S. xxxv. 22.

an image of her, etc. Other Gr̥hyasūtras also utilize magic formulas in the Samskāras. But here, magic being beneficent is different from black magic. For example, magic was performed for safe and easy delivery,⁴³ for warding off evil spirits etc.⁴⁴

In the Hindu Samskāras religion was more important than magic. On the whole, in the beginning, there was hardly any difference between a priest and a magician. But later on, as a consequence of progress and refinement in religion, conflict arose between the two. Ultimately, though not completely, the priest succeeded in ousting the magician, who was in league with uncanny world. The Buddhist and Jain monks were forbidden to devote themselves to the exorcism of the Atharvaveda and magic. The Brahmanical law-books declared sorcery as a sin; the magicians were classed with rogues and scoundrals and the king was asked to punish them.⁴⁵

10. Divination

Divination also played an important part in the performance of the Samskāras. Divination is the science that seeks to discover the will of

43. The Sosyanti karma.

44. In the Jātu karma Ceremonies

45. उत्कोचकाश्चोपधिः कितवास्तथा ।

मङ्गलदेव वृत्ताश्च भद्राश्चः कृषिकैः सह ॥ M.S ix. 258

अभिचारेषु च सर्वेषु कर्मस्यो द्विषतो दमः । Ibid. ix. 290.

supernatural powers. Men desired to learn the causes of the present and the past misfortunes and the story of the future that they may know at any moment what is the best course to pursue. It was supposed that these things are indicated by appearances and movements of the various objects of the world. Natural phenomena indicated the purpose of the superhuman forces, as it was believed that gods could not but so reveal themselves. It was man's task to discover the laws of phenomenal revelations. The question of rationale did not arise, as it was held that gods were friendly, and anxious to guide the uncertain footsteps of man.

Of all divinatory methods astrology played the greatest role in the history of the Samskāras. It derived its prominence from the splendour and myths of the sidereal heavens and the belief that all heavenly bodies were divine or controlled by divine beings, or abode of the dead⁴⁶. So, it was natural that the astral movements should be looked on as giving signs of the will of the gods. In the early Gṛhyasūtras astrological considerations are very few and simple. With the development of astrology they became amplified and developed. Detailed astrological rules are formulated in the later treatises for every Samskāra. Every care

46. द्यावा पृथिवी are the parent-gods from which the Hindu Pantheon sprang up

was taken that a Samskāra should be performed under an auspicious planet⁴⁷.

Sacredness of human body also lent divinatory power to several marks on body. The *Linga-purāṇa* has exhaustively dealt with this subject and is quoted in the examination of the bride and the bride-groom⁴⁸. Other methods were also adopted for divination. Gobhila admits the limitation of human knowledge and recommends to examine the future of the bride by means of various clods of earth⁴⁹. After the *Annaprāśana*, the occupation of the child was determined by its choosing one of the objects placed before it. And so on⁵⁰.

11. *Cultural Elements*

In addition to the above religious beliefs, rites and ceremonies, the Samskāras contained social customs and usages and rules about eugenics, ethics, hygiene, medicine ect. In ancient times, different spheres of life were not departmentalized. The whole life was a compact

47. A large number of astrological works have come into existence for this very purpose

48. Quoted in the V M S vol II p 752

49. G G S II 1 11

50. कृतप्राशनमुखसंगाद् धात्री बालं समुद्भजेत् ।

कार्यं तस्य परिज्ञानं जीविकायाः अनन्तरम् ॥

Quoted in V.M.X. vol. I

unity saturated with the all-pervading idea of religion. As the Samskāras covered the full life of an individual, his physical, mental and spiritual training was combined with them. The social status of a man played an important role throughout the Samskāras. The right of performance and the procedure of ceremonies were often determined by castes. Marriage settlements were made according to social customs and rules. In selection of bride and bride-groom, in copulation, pregnancy and rearing of children the rules of eugenics and racial purity were followed. The life of a Kṛtachūḍa (one who has undergone the tonsure ceremonies), a Brahmachari, a Snātaka and a householder were regulated according to the moral laws of the time. Life was protected not only against demons and goblins but also against disease and accidents by prescribing rules of health, diet and medicine. Rules of sanitation were also observed during the monthly course of a woman, confinement, and death in a family and on other occasions in life

12. Common-sense Elements

Common-sense elements were also found in the Samskāras, which were not closely connected with the religious idea and they will continue to be there whatever change may occur in the religious ideology of people. Invitations were sent to all the relatives and friends to attend the ceremonies. A new

canopy was erected in the Vivāha, the Chūḍākaraṇa, the Keśānta, the Upanayana and the Simanta ceremonies. Mirth was expressed by decoration of the house with sprouts, leaves, flowers etc. and dressing the recipient with fitting costumes. During the Samāvartana the Snātaka was presented garments, garlands, staf and other necessities and comforts of a householder. In the Vivāha ceremonies both the husband and the wife were dressed and ornamented according to their social status. Music was also employed to echoe the general happiness and to entertain the guests. The Vārāha Grhyasūtra raises the Vādanakarma or instrumental music to the position of a regular constituent of the Vivāha ceremonies.

13. A Spiritual Atmosphere

These rules and regulations and commonsense elements were social in their origin. But in course of time they were given a religious shape. The whole sacramental atmosphere was fragrant with spiritual significance. Under the sacramental canopy the recipient felt himself exalted, elevated and sanctified.

THE PRE-NATAL SĀMSKĀRAS.

1. THE GARBHĀDHĀNA (CONCEPTION)

(i) *The Meaning*

The rite through which a man placed his seed in a woman was called Garbhādhāna.¹ Śaunaka gives the similar definition though in slightly different words; "The rite by the performance of which a woman receives semen scattered (by her husband) is called Garbhālambhanam or Garbhādhāna."² So this is quite clear that this rite was not a religious fiction but a ceremony corresponding to fact, though its adherents, later on, fought shy of, and ultimately, abandoned it.

We know nothing about sentiments and rites, if any, regarding the procreation of children and the ceremonial procedure accompanying it in the pre-Vedic times. It must have taken a very long period for the evolution of this Sāmskāra. In the

1 गर्भः संधार्यते येन कर्मणा तद्गर्भाधानमित्यनुगतार्थं कर्मनानुमेष्यम् ।
The पूर्वमीमांसा अध्याय 1, पाद 4 अक्षि 2, Quoted in V.M.S.
under this Sāmskāra.

2. निषिक्तो यत्प्रयोगेण गर्भः सन्धार्यते स्त्रिया ।
तद् गर्भलम्भनं नाम कर्म प्रोक्तं मनीषिभिः ॥ Quoted in V.M.S.

beginning, procreation was a natural act. A human pair copulated, whenever there was a physical demand for it, without any anticipation of progeny, though it was a usual consequence. The Garbhādhāna Samskāra, however, presupposed a well established home, a regular marriage, a desire of possessing children and a religious idea that beneficent gods helped men in begetting children. So the origin of this Samskāra belongs to a period when the Aryans were far advanced from their primitive conditions.

(ii) *The Vedic Period*

In the Vedic period we see that parental instincts found their expression in many utterances containing prayers for children.³ Heroic sons were regarded as boons conferred by gods on men. The theory of Three Debts was in the process of evolution in the Vedic period.⁴ A son was called "Rinachyuta"⁵ or one who removes debts, which may denote parental and economic both, and the begetting of children was regarded a sacred duty

3 प्रजां च धनं द्रविणं च धत्तम् । R.V viii. 35 10;

पुत्रासो यत्र पितरो भवन्ति । Ibid i. 89 9.

4. जायमानो वै ब्राह्मणश्चित्रमिष्टं यवान् जायते ब्रह्मचर्येण ऋषिभ्यो यज्ञेन देवेभ्यः प्रजया पितृभ्यः । एष वा भूयो यः पुत्री यन्वा ब्रह्मचारी वा स्वादिति ।
the Taittiriya-Samhitā, vi. 3.10. 5

5. R.V. x 142. 6.

binding on every individual. Moreover, there are many similes and references in the Vedic hymns bearing on how to approach a woman for conception." Thus an idea and, perhaps, a simple ceremony regarding conception were coming into existence in the Vedic period.

Though the ritual procedure adopted in the Garbhādhāna must have assumed a fairly ceremonious shape before the codification of the Samskaras in the Gr̥hyasūtras, we do not get an exact information about it in the pre-Sūtra period. But we come across many prayers in the Vedic hymns pointing to the act of conception "Let Visnu prepare the womb; let Tvastar adorn thy form; let Prajāpati pour on; let Dhātār place the embryo. Place the embryo, O Sarasvati; let both the Āśvins garlanded with blue lotus set thine embryo."⁷ "As Āśvattha has mounted the Śamī; there is made the generation of a male; that verily is the obtainment of a son; that we bring into women. In the male indeed grows the seed. That is poured along into the women; that verily is the obtainment of a son; that Prajāpati said."⁸ A verse in the Atharvaveda contains an invitation to wife to mount the bed for conception: "Being happy in

6 शमीमश्वत्थमारुढस्तत्र पुंसवनं कृतम् ।

तद्धै पुत्रस्य वेदनं तत् स्त्रीष्वभिरामसि ॥ etc. A. V. vi. 9.

7. R.V. x. 184

8. A.V. vi. 9. 1, 2.

mind, here mount the bed; give birth to children for me, your husband.”⁹ Descriptions of actual copulation are also found in the pre-Sūtra literature.¹⁰ From the above references we gather that in the pre-Sūtra period the husband approached the wife, invited her for conception, prayed to gods for placing the embryo into her womb and then finished fertilization. The procedure was very simple. No other details are available. It is just possible that some kind of ceremony was performed on this occasion, but we are quite in dark about it. The reason why this ceremony is not described in details seems to be that originally it formed a part of the marriage ritual.

(iii) *The Sūtra period*

The Garbhādhāna ceremonies are, for the first time, systematically dealt with in the Gr̥hyasūtras. According to them, since marriage the husband was required to approach the wife in every month when she was ceremoniously pure after her monthly course. But before the conception, one had to

9. Ibid xiv. 2. 2.

10. वां पूषन् शिवतमामेयस्व यस्यां बीजं मनुष्याः वपन्ति ।

वा न ऊरु उद्यती विभ्रयाति यस्यामुद्यन्तः प्रहराम शेषम् ॥

R.V. x. 85 37.

अथ यामिच्छेत् । गर्भं दधोतेति तस्यामथ निष्ठाय सुखेन मुञ्चं अन्वाया-
चान्यामिप्रारायादिन्द्रियेणा रेतसा रेत आदधामीति गर्भिण्येष भवति ।

The Br̥hadāraṇyakopaniṣad.

observe various vows according to the desire of possessing different types of sons—Brāhmaṇa, Śrotriya (one who has read one Śākhā), Anūchāna (who has read only the Vedāṅgas), Ṛṣikalpa (who has read the kalpas), Bhrūṇa (who has read the sūtras and the Pravachanas), Ṛṣi (who has read the four vedas) and Deva (who is superior to the above).¹¹ At the end of the vow, cooked food was offered to the fire. After this, the pair were prepared for cohabitation. When the wife was decently decorated, the husband recited Vedic verses containing similes of natural creation and invocations to gods for helping the woman in conception.¹² Then embracing began with verses containing metaphors of joint action of male and female forces, and the husband rubbed his own body with verses expressing his fertilizing capacity.¹³ After embracing, conception proper took place with prayers to god Pūsan and an indication to scattering semen.¹⁴ The husband, then, touched the heart of the wife, reclining over her right shoulder with the verse, "O thou whose hair is well parted. Thy heart that dwells in heaven, in the

11. B. G. S. i. 7. 1-8.

12. Ibid. i. 7. 37-41.

13. अयेना परिष्वजति—'अमहमस्मि सा त्वं योरहं पृथ्वी त्वं रेतोऽहं रेतोभृच्चमू' etc. Ibid. i. 7. 42.

14. Ibid. i. 7. 44.

moon, that I know; may it know me. May we see a hundred autumns.”¹⁵

(iv) *The Dharmasūtra, the Smṛti and Subsequent Periods*

The Dharmasūtras and the Smṛtis add little to the ritualistic side of this Samskāra. Rather they lay down rules regulating the performance, e.g. when the conception should take place; recommended and prohibited nights; astrological considerations; how a polygamous man should approach his wives: conception a compulsory duty and its exceptions; the right of performing the Samskāra etc. Only a few Smṛtis like the Yājñavalkya, the Āpastamba and the Śātātapa prescribe bathing for husband after coition,¹⁶ though the wife is exempted from this purification. The last named authority says, “In the bed the husband and the wife both become impure. But after they get up, only the former becomes impure while the latter remains pure”

The Prayogas and the Paddhatis add a few new features to this Samskāra. They introduce the worship of Puranic gods and prescribe Sankalpa

15. P.G.S. i. 12. 9.

16. ऋतौ तु गर्भशक्त्वास्नानं दैयुनिनः स्मृतम् । याज्ञवल्क्य and आपस्तम्ब
इमावप्यशुचौ स्याता दम्पती शयनं गतौ ।

शयनादुत्थिता नारी शुचिः स्यादशुचिः पुमान् ॥ शातातप.

Quoted by Gadādhara on P.G.S. i. 11.

(determination), Mātṛpūjā and Nāndīśraddha, and worship of Gaṇeśa or Vināyaka in the beginning of it.¹⁷ Presents and feasts are also enjoined at the end of the Samskāra.¹⁸ These features, however, are common to almost all the Samskāras.

(v) *The Time of Performance*

The first question that was raised in connection with the Garbhādhāna ceremony was about the time of its performance. The Dharmaśāstras are unanimous at the point that it should be performed when the wife was physically prepared to conceive, that is, in her Rtu. The proper time for conception was from the fourth to the sixteenth night after the monthly course of the wife.¹⁹ The majority of the Grhyasūtras and the Smṛtis consider the fourth night ceremoniously pure for conception. But the Gobhila Grhyasūtra²⁰ takes a more rational view. According to it, conception should take place after the stoppage of the flow of impure blood. The woman, before the fourth night, was regarded untouchable and a man approaching her was polluted and also taken to be guilty of abortion, because his semen was scattered in vain.²¹

17. The Daśakarma-Paddhati.

18. Ibid.

19. M.S. iii. 2; yāj. S. 1 79

20 विरुजा यास्तस्मिन्नेव दिवा । ii. 5

21. व्यर्थीकारेण शुक्रस्य ब्रह्महत्यामवाप्नुयात् । भाष्यकार्यन, quoted in 'the

Only nights were prescribed for conception and day time was prohibited.²² The reason given for it was that the vital airs of one, who cohabits with his wife in the day time, leap out; one approaching his wife in the night time is still a *Brahmachāri*; one should avoid coition in the day time, because from it unlucky, weak and short-lived children are born.²³ Exceptions to this rule however, were recognized. But they were meant for only those who generally lived abroad, separated from their wives, or when their wives were intensely desirous of cohabitation,²⁴ The idea underlying the second exception was that women should be satisfied and protected by every means, so that they should not go astray.²⁵

Among the nights later ones were preferred *Baudhāyana* says that "one should approach his wife from the fourth to the sixteenth night,

V.M.S. vol. I

22 *Yāj. S. I. 79* The *Āgṛalāyana Smṛti*, उपेयान्मध्यरात्रान्ते ।
quoted in V.M.S. vol. I

23. प्राणां वा एते स्कन्दन्ति ये दिवा रत्या संयुज्यन्ते ।

ब्रह्मचर्यमेव तद्यद्रात्रौ रत्या संयुज्यन्ते ॥ The *Praṅnopaniṣad.* 13.

नार्तवे दिवा मैथुनमर्जयेदल्पभारयाः अल्पवीर्याश्च दिवा प्रसूयन्ते-
ऽल्पायुश्चेति । आर्यवङ्गिक भृतिः । quoted in V.M.S. vol. I.

24. अनृतावृतु काले वा दिवा रात्रावथापि वा । प्रोषितस्तु क्षियं गण्डेत्प्रायश्चित्ती
भवेन्न च ॥ व्यासः Ibid.

25. बस्माक्षस्माक्षियः सेव्याः कर्तव्याश्च सुरक्षिता M.S. Ibid.

especially the later ones.²⁶ Āpastamba and others endorsed the same view.²⁷ Children conceived on later nights were regarded more lucky and meritorious: "A son conceived on the fourth night becomes short-lived and without wealth; a girl conceived on the fifth generally gives birth to female children; a son conceived on the sixth becomes mediocre; a girl conceived on the seventh would become barren; a son conceived on the eighth night becomes a lord or prosperous; if the conception takes place on the ninth night an auspicious woman is born and a son conceived on the tenth becomes wise; a girl conceived on the eleventh night becomes an irreligious woman and a son conceived on the twelfth becomes the best man; on the thirteenth an adultress woman is born and on the fourteenth a religious, grateful, self-realized and firm in his vow, son is born; on the fifteenth a mother of many sons and devoted to her husband; and on the sixteenth a learned, auspicious, truthful, selfcontrolled and a refuge of all creatures is born."²⁸ The rationale of this belief was that conception, farther removed from the contact of monthly impurity, was purer and more meritorious.

26. B G S. i 7. 46.

27. तत्राप्युत्तरोत्तराः प्रशस्ताः । Āp D S ii 1

28. ब्यास, quoted. in V M.S. vol. I.

The sex of the would-be child was believed to be determined by the number of night on which the conception took place. Even nights were selected for the birth of a male child and odd ones for a female child.²⁹ It was thought that quantity of semen and menstrual discharge was responsible for the sex of the child.³⁰ Parents were guided by their desire of possessing the child of a particular sex.

Certain dates of the month were prohibited for conception. The eighth, the fourteenth, the fifteenth and the thirtieth, and all the Parvans were specially avoided.³¹ A twice-born householder observing the above rule was regarded to be ever a Brahmachāri. The Visṇupurāṇa³² stigmatizes these nights and damns the persons guilty of approaching their wives on them to hell. Manu³³ taboos the eleventh and the thirteenth days also. These days were

29 युग्मासु पुत्रा जायन्ते स्त्रियोऽयुग्मासु रात्रिषु । M.S. m. 48

30. पुमान्पुंषोऽधिके शुक्ले स्त्री भवत्यधिके स्त्रियाः ।

समेऽपुमान्पुंस्त्रियौ वा क्षीणेऽक्षौ च निर्वर्णयः ॥ *ibid.* m. 49.

31 पर्ववर्जं व्रजेर्ध्वनां तद्वतो रतिकाम्यया । M.S. m. 45, yām. S. I 79.

32 पर्वाण्येतानि राजेन्द्र रविसंक्रान्ति रेव च ।

तैलक्ष्मीमासभोगा पर्वस्त्रेणेषु यः पुमान् ।

विन्मूत्रभोजनं नाम नरकं प्रतिपद्यते ॥ The Visṇupurāṇa, quoted in the V MS. vol. I

33. तासामाचारचतसस्तु निन्दितैकादशो च या ।

अयोदशी च दोषास्तु प्रशस्तः दश रात्रयः ॥ M.S. iii. 47

meant for religious observances, and therefore any sexual act was eschewed on them. But there may be other reasons why these nights were forbidden. The ancient Hindus were well conversant with astrology and astronomy. When they could fix the paths of the sun and the moon, they would have observed that their conjunction on different dates produced different effects on the earth. It is a common-place knowledge of physical geography that, owing to the attraction of the moon and increase of the watery substance, the physical condition of the earth becomes abnormal on the Parvan dates and consequently the health of the animal world is not sound. So it was thought advisable that such an important act as the Garbhādhāna should not be performed on these dates. Most probably, this experience of the astronomers found its place in the Dharmaśāstra, when astrology developed.

(vi) *A Polygamous Householder*

The next question connected with the Garbhādhāna was: How should a polygamous man approach his wives when they were all in their monthly course at once? This question is not raised in the Gr̥hyasūtras, the Dharmasūtras and the majority of the Smṛtis. In very early times polygamy could not have been very common. When the Aryans became well-settled in India and began

to lead a luxurious life, keeping many wives together became a fashion and a sign of greatness. During the mediaeval period polygamy was very popular, specially among the ruling families. So, when this condition obtained, the Śāstrakāras thought it necessary to lay down some provisions in order to avoid the clash of conflicting interest of co-wives. Devala,³⁴ a mediaeval Smṛti-writer, opines that in such a case the husband should approach the wives according to their caste-status, or if they were without any issue, according to the priority of their marriage.

(vii) *The Performer*

Another problem was: Who should perform the Garbhādhāna Samskāra? The later works on the Dharmaśāstra do not discuss this problem, as they suppose that none but the husband could perform this Samskāra. The early writers, however, raise this question. Usually the husband was the natural performer of this Samskāra. But in his absence, substitutes were also allowed. Levirate was current in ancient times, because it was thought necessary to beget children at any cost for the benefit of the family and the dead Fathers. In the Vedic literature we

34. योगपथे तु स्त्रीर्धानां विप्रदिक्कमशःब्रजेत् ।

रक्षयार्थमपुत्राणां ग्रहणक्रमशोऽपि वा ॥ Devala, quoted in V.M.S.
vol. I.

get references where a widow invites her brother-in-law to raise children for her husband.³⁵ *Manu*³⁶ and many other *Smrtis* allow the widow or the wife of an impotent or invalid person to bear children from the brother of her husband, a *Sagotra* or a *Brāhmaṇa*, though elsewhere he does not like this idea.³⁷ In the *Mahābhārata*³⁸ *Bhīṣma* asks *Satyavati* to invite a *Brāhmaṇa* for raising children on her daughters-in-law, and he goes on describing the qualities of a substitute. *Yājñavalkya*³⁹ also permits the substitution: "The brother of the dead husband should co-habit with his wife in her *R̥tu* with the permission of the elders, having rubbed ghee on his body. In his absence a *Sagotra* or *Sapinda* should do this." Another *Smṛti* says, "Father is the best performer of the *Sāmskāras*, the *Garbhādhāna* and others but in his absence

35. को वा शयुत्रा विधवेव देवरं मर्यं न योषा कृणुते सधस्थ आ ।

R V.X 40. 2

36. देवराद्वा सपिण्डाद्वा स्त्रिया सम्यङ्नियुक्तया ।

प्रजेप्सिताधिगन्तव्या सन्तानस्य परिक्षये ॥ M.S ix, 59

37. Ibid. ix. 66-68

38. बीजार्थं ब्राह्मणः कश्चिन्ननेनोपनिमन्त्र्यताम् । The *Mahābhārata* quoted in the V.M.S. vol. I. p. 155.

39. अपुत्रां गुर्वनुज्ञातो देवरः पुत्रकाम्यया ।

सपिण्डो वा सगोत्रो वा धृताभ्यक्त श्रुतावियात् ॥ yaj. S. I. 68.

either a man of his own family or a friend of another family should perform them."⁴⁰

Later on, when the idea of female chastity changed and begetting children was not such an imperative need of the time, substitutes for the husband were discouraged and ultimately disallowed. Protest against substitution is recorded even in Manu, where levirate is called *Paśudharma* or animality.⁴¹ The later *Smṛtis* allow substitutes in the *Sāmskāras* other than *Garbhādhāna*. According to the *Āśvlayana* ⁴² *Smṛti*, if the husband is dead, degraded from the caste, retired from the household life or gone abroad, some elder person of the same *Gotra* should perform the *Sāmskāras*, the *Pūṁsavana* etc."⁴³ Raising children on a widow became tabooed under the *Kalivarjya*. The *Āditya* ⁴⁴ and the *Brāhma Purāṇas* ⁴⁴ both include levirate in the list of usages prohibited in the *Kali* age. At present

40. गर्भाधानादिरांस्कृती पित। श्रेष्ठतमः स्मृतः ।

अभावे स्वकुलीनः स्याद् बान्धवो वाऽन्यगोत्रजः ॥ Quoted in V.M.S.

41. अयं द्विजैर्हि विद्वद्भिः पशुधर्मो विगर्हितः । M.S. vol. I. ix. 66.

42. पत्यो मृते वा पतिते सन्यस्ते वा विदेशगे ।

तद्गोत्रजेन श्रेष्ठेन कार्यो पुंस्सवनादयः ॥ Quoted in V.M.S. vol. I, p. 165.

43. विधवायां प्रजोत्पत्तौ देवरस्य नियोजनम् । Quoted, in N.S. p. 262.

44. Ibid. p. 261.

none but the husband is authorised to perform the Garbhādhāna Samskāra.

(viii) Whether a Garbha-or a Kṣetra-Samskāra

The mediaeval treatises also discuss the question whether the Garbhādhāna was a Garbha-Samskāra or a Kṣetra-Samskāra. There were two schools of opinion on this point. The first school held that it was the Samskāra of Garbha or embryo and based its arguments on Manu⁴⁵ and Yājñavalkya⁴⁶ who were of the opinion that "religious rites of the twice-born from the conception to the funeral should be performed." The Gautama Dharmasūtra⁴⁷ also says that forty Samskāras were meant for Puruṣa or man. According to the second school, Garbhādhāna was a Kṣetra-Samskāra or the consecration of the wife. They supported their views by such authorities as follows; "Having once co-habited with the wife ceremoniously one should approach her in future ordinarily (without any ceremony)". One should recite the verse beginning with "Viṣṇuryonim" after touching the genital organ of the wife. A child born in her

45. निषेकादिः श्रमशान्तो मंत्रैर्यस्योदितो विधिः । M.S. u. 16.

46. निषेकाद्याश्रमशान्तता स्तेषां वै मंत्रतः क्रियाः । yāj. S. I. 10.

47. viii. 24.

without the Garbhādhāna attains impurities'.⁴⁸ They were also of the opinion that this Samskāra should be performed only in the first conception.⁴⁹ as the Kṣetra once consecrated lends purity to every conception in future. Logically speaking, the Garbhādhāna was a Garbha-Samskāra in the beginning, and the second school represents the tendency of simplifying and omitting the Samskāras and, certainly, is of a later origin.

(ix) *A Sacred and a Compulsory Duty*

Approaching the wife during her R̥tu was a sacred and compulsory duty of every married man. Manu⁵⁰ enjoins, "Remaining true to his wife, one should approach her in every R̥tu". Parāśara⁵¹ not only enjoins this compulsion but threatens the non-conformist with sins; "One who, though in good health, does not go to his wife during her R̥tu, attains the sin of causing abortion, without any doubt." The duty of approaching the husband was equally binding on the wife, when she became

48. विष्णुर्योनिं जपेत्सुतं योनिं स्पृष्ट्वा त्रिभिर्व्रती ।

गर्भाधानस्य करणस्य जातस्तु दुष्यति ॥ An anonymous quotation in VMS. vol. I. p. 157.

49. ऋतुमर्यां प्राजापत्यमृतौ प्रथमे ।

50. ऋतुकालाभिगामीत्यास्वदारनिरतः सदा । M.S. iii. 45.

51. ऋतुस्नातां तु यो भार्यां सन्निभौ नोपगच्छति ।

चोरायां ब्रह्महत्यायां युष्मिन्ने नात्र संशयः ॥ P.S. iv. 15.

pure after her monthly course. Parāśara⁵² says, "A woman who having bathed does not go to her husband becomes a swine in her next life." Yama⁵³ goes still further and prescribes punishment to her. "She should be abandoned after having been declared "as one causing abortion" in the middle of the village".

The above compulsion represents the condition of an early society, when a large number of children was a great help to the family, both economically and politically. The Aryans, at their rise in India, were a community seeking expansion. So they prayed to gods for sons, at least, ten in number. In ancient times there was no anxiety about the expansion of the family. Besides, begetting as many children as possible was regarded religiously meritorious. The larger the number of children the more happy the Fathers would be in heaven, being sumptuously feasted by their descendants. The ancestral debt could be paid only in the form of children, and the extinction of the family was regarded to be a sin. These circumstances were responsible for making the Garbhādhāna a compulsory Samskāra.

52. ऋतुस्नाता तु या नारी भर्तारं नानुमन्यते ।

सा मृता तु मवेन्नारी शूरी च पुनः पुनः ॥ Ibid. iv. 14.

53 ऋतुस्नाता तु या भार्या भर्तारं नोपगच्छति ।

सा भ्रामस्ये विध्याप्य ब्रूयाद्वी परित्यजेत् ॥ Quoted in the V.M.S., vol. I. p. 162.

(a) Exceptions

Exceptions, however, on physical, mental and moral grounds were recognized. "A man has no fear of sin, who does not approach a woman who is very old, barren, or corrupt ; whose children have all died, who does not pass menses ; who is a minor girl or a woman with many sons."⁵⁴ The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* says, "One should not approach a woman who has not bathed, who is afflicted, who is still in her menses, who is not praiseworthy, who is angry, who is thinking ill....., who is not generous, who is thinking of another man, who has no passion at all....., who is hungry or overeaten."⁵⁵

In course of time the social and religious ideology of the Hindus changed. When the Aryans spread over the country and became master of the soil, their number increased and there was no need of ten sons either for political or economic purposes for every householder. The fascination of heavenly

54. वृद्धा वन्ध्यामसद्वृतां मृतापश्यामपुष्पिणीम् ।

कन्या च बहुपुत्रा च वर्ज्यन्मुच्यते भयात् ॥ The *Madanaratna* quoted by Gadadara on P.G.S. i 11. 7.

55. नास्नातां तां स्त्रियं गच्छेन्नातुरां न रजस्वलां ।

नाप्रशस्तां न कुपितां नाभिष्टां न च गुर्विणीम् ॥

नादक्षिणां नान्यकामां नान्ययोषितम् ।

क्षुत्क्षामामतिमुक्तां वा स्वयं नैर्गुणैः युतः ॥ The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* quoted by Harihara on P.G.S. i. 11. 7.

enjoyments also, arising from the offerings of many sons, became less important than salvation dependent on the moral life of the individual. Therefore, the compulsion of approaching the wife in every month was loosened and finally removed. It was binding only in case of those who were childless. After the birth of one son, it became ineffective. "A man should approach his wife in every month until a son is born. The Vedic prayer for ten sons is only a praise."⁵⁶ Manu says, "By the birth of the first son alone, man becomes Putrīn (possessing sons) and pays off his ancestral debt. By whose birth one removes the debt of the Fathers, obtains the highest bliss, he alone is the son born of Dharma, or Law. The rest are born of passion."⁵⁷ At present there is no craze for a large number of children in the Hindu society.

(xi) Significance

The study of the Garbhādhāna Samskāra is very interesting from the cultural point of view.

⁵⁶ ऋतुकालाभिगामी स्यादावत्पुत्रोऽभिजायते ।

दशास्या पुत्रानार्धेह इति प्रशंसार्थं श्रुतिः ॥ The Kūrmapurāṇa, quoted in the S. C. Āhnika, Prakaraṇa I.

⁵⁷ ज्येष्ठेन जातमात्रेण पुत्री भवति मानवः ।

पितृयामनृणाश्चैव स तस्मात्सर्वमर्हति ।

यस्मिन्पुत्रं सन्त्यसि येन आनन्द्यमश्नुते ।

स एव धर्मजः पुत्रः कामजा नितरां विदुः ॥ M.S. ix. 106, 107, cf V.S. xviii. 1-3.

Here we do not find a primitive man expressing wonder at the prospects of a child and only seeking the help of gods to secure it, nor conception here is a haphazard accident without any desire for the progeny. Here we come across a people who approached their wives with a definite purpose of procreating children, in a definite manner calculated to produce the best possible progeny and with the religious serenity which, they believed, would censecrate the would-be-child.

2. THE PUMSAVANA (QUICKENING A MALE CHILD)

(i) *The Meaning of the term*

After the conception was ascertained, the child in the womb was consecrated by the Samskāra named Pumsavana. By Pumsavana was generally understood "that rite through which a male child was produced."¹ Vedic hymns recited on this occasion mention Pumān or Putra (a male) and favour the birth of a son.² The word Pumsavana is rendered into English by "a rite quickening a male child."

(ii) *The Vedic Period*

In the Atharvaveda and the Sāmaveda-Mantra-Brahmaṇa³ we get prayers for male children. The husband prays by the wife, "Unto thy womb let a foetus come, a male one, as an arrow to a quiver; let a hero be born unto thee here, a ten-months' son. Give birth to a male, a son; after him let a male be born; mayest thou be mother of sons, of

1. पुमान् प्रसूयते येन कर्मणा तत्पुंसवनमीरितम् । Śaunaka quoted in V.M.S. vol. I. p. 166.

2. पुमांसं पुत्रं जनय तं पुमाननुजायताम् ।

भवासि पुत्राय माता जातार्या जनयाश्चयान् ॥ A.V. iii. 23. 3. 3.

3. i. 4. 8-9.

those born and whom thou shall bear etc.”⁴ We do not know what exact kind of rite was performed. But the above verses bear testimony to the fact that some kind of celebration was made with these prayers. The ceremony is called Prājāpatya in these hymns. “I perform the Prājāpatya (the ceremony of Prajāpati) etc.”⁵ Some sort of medicinal herb was also given to the pregnant woman with the verse, “The plants of which heaven has been the father, earth the mother, ocean the root, let those herbs of the gods favour thee, in order to acquire a son.”⁶ Thus the main features of the later day Samskāra are found in the Vedic period. But the rules regulating the various aspects of the Samskāra cannot be traced in the Vedas.

(iii) *The Sūtra Period*

During the Grhyasūtra period the Pūṁsavana Samskāra was performed in the third or the fourth month of pregnancy or even later, on the day when the moon was on a male constellation on Tīṣya particularly.⁷ The pregnant woman was required

4. आते बनि गर्भं एतु पुमान् वासदेवुषिम् ।

आनीरोज्ज जायताम् पुत्रस्ते दक्षमासस्य ॥ Ibid iii. 23.

5. कुर्वामि ते प्राजापत्यम् । Ibid.

6. वासां धी पिता पृथ्वी माता समुद्रो मूर्धं विदधां वसुध ।

तास्तु पुत्रविधानं देवी प्रावन्त्योवधः ॥ Ibid iii. 23. b

7. P.G.S. i. 14. 2; B.G.8. i. 9. 1.

to fast on that day. After bath she put on new clothes. Then in the night the sprouts of the banyan tree were pounded and the juice was inserted into the right nostril of the woman with verses beginning with "Hiranyagarbha etc." According to some Grhyasūtras Kuśakantaka and Somalata were also to be pounded with the above.⁸ If the father desired that his son should be Viryavan or virile, he should place a dish of water on the lap of the mother and touching her stomach recited the verse "Suparnosi."⁹

(10) *The Later Rules and Considerations*

The Dharmasūtras and the Smrtis do not add anything to the ritual proper. The Prayogas and the Paddhtis solely draw upon the Grhyasūtras of the Vedic School they follow with the only addition of the Mātrīpūja and Ābhyudayika Śraddha.¹¹

(11) *The Proper Time*

The Smrtis deal with the proper time when the Samskāra should be performed. According to Manu¹² and Yājñavalkya¹³ it should be performed before the foetus begins to move in the womb.

8. P.G.S. i. 14. 3.

9. Ibid. i. 14. 4.

10. Ibid. i. 14. 5.

11. Almost all the Paddhatis.

12. 13. गर्भाधानमृती पुंशः सवनं स्पन्दनाद्युप । Yāj. S. i. 14. 1.

Śaṅkha¹⁴ followed them. Brhaspati¹⁵ prescribes the time after the movement. Jātūkarnya¹⁶ and Śaunaka¹⁷ say that it should be performed in the third month of pregnancy after conception becomes manifest.

The time of performance ranged from the second to the eighth month of pregnancy. It was due to the fact that the symptoms of conception became visible in the case of different woman in different months. The Kulācāra or family custom was also responsible for this variation. Brhaspati differentiates between these periods: "In the first pregnancy, the Samskāra should be performed in the third month. In the case of women who have already given birth to children it should be performed in the fourth, sixth or even in the eighth month of pregnancy."¹⁸ In the first conception, the symptoms show themselves earlier than in the others. That is why later periods are prescribed in the second case.

14. The S. S. ii. 1.

15. सवनं ह्यन्वते द्विती । quoted in V.M.S. vol. I, p. 166.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.

18. दुर्लभे मासि कर्तव्यं पुष्टेरन्यथाधीनम् ।

पुष्टेरपुष्टौ, मासे तु कष्टे मासेऽप्यवाऽहमे ॥ Quoted in V.M.S. vol. I, p. 168.

(vi) Whether performed in every pregnancy

The Smṛtis also discuss the question whether this Samskāra should be performed in every pregnancy or not. According to Śaunaka this rite should be repeated in every conception, because by touching and feeding, the foetus becomes purified; moreover by the force of the verses recited in this Samskāra, one obtains the memory of the past lives. So, it is prescribed in every conception. "In the Mitākṣarā on the Yajñavalkya, we find an eliminating tendency where Vijñāneśvara says, "These Pūmsavana and Sīmananta being Kṣetra Samskāras should be performed only once.""

(vii) The Rite and its Significance

The significance of the Samskāra consisted in its main features. It should be performed when the moon was on a male constellation. This time was regarded as favourable for producing a male issue. Inserting the juice of the banyan tree was a device meant for preventing abortion and ensuring the birth of a male child. In the opinion of Suśruta the banyan tree has got the properties of removing all kinds of troubles during pregnancy, e.g. excess

19. Ibid.

20. एते च पुंसवनसीमन्तोच्चयने क्षेत्रसंस्कार कर्मत्वात्सङ्कदेव कार्ये न प्रतिगम्ये ।

On Yāj. S. I. 11.

of bile, burning etc.²¹. He says, "Having pounded with milk any of these herbs, Sulakṣmaṇā Butasūga, Sahadevi and Viśvadeva, one should insert three or four drops of juice in the (right) nostril of the pregnant woman for the birth of a son. She should not spit the juice out."²² Insertion of medicine into nostrils is a common thing in the Hindu system of treatment. Therefore, it is evident that the ritual prescribing it was undoubtedly founded on the medical experience of the people. Putting a dish of water on the lap was a symbolical performance. A pot full of water denoted life and spirit in the would-be child. Touching the womb emphasized the necessity of taking every care by the expectant mother, so that the foetus should be healthy and strong in the womb and abortion may not take place. The hymn "Suparna etc." or "of beautiful wings" expressed the wish that a handsome child should be born.

21. Sūgrata, Sārasaṭhāna, ch. 38

22. लक्ष्मणभोग्याश्चैतेष्वहः सुलक्ष्मणा वटगुह्यसहदेवीविश्वदेवानामव्यतर्ज
हिरण्यमिषुव्य प्रारचतुरो वा विन्दन् दद्याद्विष्णे नासापुटे पुत्रकामायैकव
तन्निष्ठोवेत् । Ibid. Sārasaṭhāna, ch. 2.

3. THE SIMANTONNAYANA (HAIR-PARTING)

(4) *The Definition of the term*

The third Samskāra of the embryo was Simantonnayana. That rite was called Simanta, in which the hairs of a pregnant woman were parted.¹

(ii) *The Purpose*

The purpose of this Samskāra was partly superstitious and partly practical. People believed that a woman in her pregnancy was subject to attacks of evil spirits and some rite should be performed to ward them off. The Āśvalayana-Smṛti has preserved this belief. It says, "Evil demons bent on sucking the blood, come to woman in the first pregnancy to devour the foetus. In order to remove them, the husband should invoke the goddess Śrī, as the lurking spirit leave the woman protected by Her. These invisible cruel flesh-eaters catch hold of the woman in her first pregnancy and trouble her. Therefore, the ceremony

1. लीयन्तः उन्नीयते यस्मिन्कर्मणि तत्प्रीतिमन्तोन्नयनमिति कर्मनामधेयम् ।
V.M.S. vol. I, p 172.

named Simantonnayana is prescribed".² The religious intention of the Sāṃskāra was to bring about prosperity to the mother and long life to the unborn child, as it is indicated by the verses recited. Physiological knowledge of the Hindu was also responsible for instituting this rite. From the fifth month of pregnancy the formation of the mind of the would-be child begins.³ So the pregnant woman was required to take utmost care to facilitate this process, avoiding any physical shock to the foetus. This fact was symbolically emphasized by parting her hair. Another purpose of the Sāṃskāra was to keep the pregnant woman in good cheer. To address her as Rākā or "fullmoon night," Supeśa, or 'of beautiful limbs' and parting and dressing the hair by the husband himself were methods used for it.⁴

(iii) *Early History*

The only pre-Sūtra reference to this ceremony is found in the Mantra-Brāhmaṇa; "As Prajāpati

2. पत्न्याः प्रथमजं गर्भमस्तकामाः सुदुर्भगाः ।

आयान्ति काश्चिद्द्राक्षस्यो रुधिराशनतत्पराः ॥

तासां निरसतानीयं श्रियमावाहयेत्यतिः ।

सीमन्तकर्णी कक्षीस्तामा वहति मंत्रतः ॥ Aśvalāyanāchārya
quoted in V.M.S. vol. I, p 172.

3. पञ्चमे मनः प्रतिबुद्धतरं भवति, षष्ठे बुद्धिः । Suśruta, Śarirasthāna
ch. 33.

4. B.G.S. i. 10. 7.

establishes the boundary of Aditi for great prosperity, so I part the hair of this woman and make her progeny live to a old age.'⁵ In the same Brāhmaṇa reference is also made to the simile between the Udumbara tree and a fertile woman. "This tree is fertile Like it be fruitful etc."⁶ In the Gr̥hyasūtras the Samskāra is described at length and all the features are fully developed.

(iv) *The Time of Performance*

The Gr̥hyasūtras, the Smrtis and the astrological works discuss the proper time of performing this Samskāra. The Gr̥hyasūtras favour the fourth or the fifth month of pregnancy.^{6A} The Smrtis and the astrological books extend the period up to eighth month or up to the birth of the child.⁷ Some writers are even more liberal. According to them, if delivery took place before this Samskāra was performed, it was celebrated after the birth of the child, placing it on the lap of the mother or putting

5. ओ येनादितेः सीमानं नयति प्रत्नपतिर्महते सौभगाय । तेनाहमस्यै सीमानं नयामि प्रजामस्यै जरदष्टि कृणोमि ॥ The S.V.M. Br. i. 5. 2.

6. Ibid. P.G.S. i. 15. 6.

6a. प्रथम गर्भायाश्चतुर्थे मासि सीमन्तोन्नयनम् । B.G.S. i. 10. 1; A.G.S. i. 14. 1; Āp. G.S. xiv. 1.

7. वष्टे अष्टमे वा सीमन्तः । Yj. S. i. 11

it into a box.⁸ The later periods indicate that the original sense of the Samskāra was being lost and it was becoming a farce.

(v) *The Object of Purification*

The authorities are divided in their opinion whether this Samskāra should be performed in every pregnancy or it should be performed only in the first conception. According to Āśvalāyana, Baudhāyana, Āpastamba and Pāraskara, it is a Ksetra Samskāra and should be performed only once.⁹ Hārīta and Devala followed them. "A woman once purified by the Simantonnayana, every child produced by her becomes consecrated".¹⁰ But in the opinion of others it was a Garbha-Samskāra and should be performed in every conception. The difference of opinion was due to the fact that the child in the womb was consecrated through the mother, so the first school thought it enough that the idea of protecting the unborn child was impressed even once on her mind, or protection against evil spirits was once ensured for her.

8. स्त्री यद्यकृतसीमन्ता प्रसूयते कदाचन । एहीतपुत्रा विविधत्पुनः
संस्कारमर्हति ॥ Satyavrata तदानीं पेटके गर्भं स्थाप्य संस्कारमाचरेत् ।

G ārgya quoted in V.M.S. vol. I. p. 177.

9. A.G.S. i. 14 ; B.G.S. i. 10 ; P.G.S. i. 15 1.

10. Quoted in V.M.S. vol. I. p. 176.

11. केचिद्गर्भस्य संस्कारास्त्रि गर्भे प्रसूयते । Viṣṇu, Ibid.

(vi) The Ceremonies

The constellation under which the Sāmskāra was performed, was a male one. The mother was required to fast on that day. The ritual proper began with preliminary rites, e.g. the Mātrpūjā, the Nāndīśrāddha and oblations to Prajāpati.¹² Then the wife was seated on a soft chair on the western side of the fire and the husband parted the hair of the wife upwards (e.g. beginning from the front) with a bunch containing an even number of unripe Udumbara fruits, and with three bunches of Darbha-grass, with a porcupines quill that had three white spots, with a stick of the Viratara wood and with a full spindle, with the mantra "Bhūr Bhuvah Svah" or with each of the three Mahāvāyāhrtis.¹³ Baudhāyana prescribes two other verses at this point.

A later practice of making a red mark on the person of the wife to frighten demons was also prevalent.¹⁴ After the partion of hair the husband tied the Udumbara branch round the neck of the wife with a string of three twisted threads with the words. "Rich in sap is this tree; like the tree

12. The Pāraskara-gr̥hyapaddhati.

13 P.G.S. i. 15 4

14. i. 10. 7-8.

15. V.G.S. xvi.

rich in sap, be thou fruitful.”¹⁶ Baudhāyana recommends barley-sprouts instead of the Udumbara branch.¹⁷ This ceremony was symbolical of fertility of the woman. This idea was suggested by numerous fruits of the Udumbara branch and the barley-sprouts. The next step in the Samskāra was asking the wife by the husband to look at the mess of rice, sesame and ghee and see into it offsprings, cattle, prosperity and long life for the husband.¹⁸ Some authorities provide that Brahman ladies sitting beside the pregnant women should utter the following phrases: “Be mother of heroic sons, be mother of living sons etc.”¹⁹ Then the husband asked the two lute players, “Sing ye the King, or if anybody else is still more valiant.”²⁰ The following stanza was prescribed to be sung. “Soma alone is our King. May this human tribe, dwell on thy bank, O (river) whose dominion is unbroken.”²¹ The Aryans were still a militant race, aiming at further conquest and praying for heroic sons to achieve it. The above stanza was a kind of heroic

16. अयमूर्जीवतो बृक्ष उर्जीव फलिनी भवेति । P.G.S. i. 15. 6.

17. i. 10. 8.

18. किं पश्यसि । प्रजां प्रशुन्सौभाग्यं मह्यं दीर्घायुष्टं पश्युः । S.V.M. Br. i. 5. 1-5; G.G.S. ii. 7 10-12. bid.

19. वीरसूर्जीवपत्नीति ब्राह्मण्यो मङ्गल्यानि वग्निमरुपासीरन् सूर्जीव पत्नीति ii. 7.

20. P.G.S. i. 15. 7.

21. Ibid. i. 15. 7.

ballad meant to create a heroic atmosphere and thereby to influence the unborn child. The ceremony closed with the feasting of the Brahmans. The mother kept silent after the ceremony until the stars appeared in the sky. Then she touched a calf, a performance suggestive of a male issue, uttered the Vyāhṛtis, Bhūr Bhuvah Svah and broke her silence.²²

(vii) *The Duties of a Pregnant Woman*

The Smṛti-writers realized that every conduct of an expectant mother influenced the unborn child. So, after laying down rules and regulations about the pre-natal Samskāras, they prescribed the duties of a pregnant woman and her husband. These duties can be grouped into three classes. The first class is based on the superstitious belief that evil spirits try to injure the pregnant woman and, therefore, she should be protected from them. The second class containing rules aiming at the preventing of physical overexertion, and the third class was calculated to preserve the physical and mental health of the mother.

To begin with the first class, we find in the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa the following observation: "There are terrible fiends and witches bent on devouring the foetus of a pregnant woman.

Therefore, she should be always protected from them by ever observing purity, writing sacred mantras and wearing beautiful garland. O Brāhmaṇa, Virūpa and Vikṛti generally dwell in trees, trenches, ramparts and seas. They are always in search of pregnant women. Hence they should not visit these places. The son of Garbhahantā is Vighna, and Mehini is his daughter. The first enters the womb and eats away the foetus. The second having entered it causes abortion. From the mischief of Mehini are born snakes, frogs, tortoises from the womb of a woman.”²³

Again, there is a long conversation between Kaśyapa and Aditi in the Padmapurāṇa about the duties of a pregnant woman in which the former said to the latter, ‘She should not sit on ordure, a mace or pestle and a mortar; she should not bathe in a river....., nor she should go to a deserted house; she should not sit on an anthill and never be mentally disturbed; she should not scratch the earth with her nails, charcoal and ashes; she should not always be sleeping and dormant; she should avoid exercise; she should not touch husk, coal, ashes and skull; she should avoid quarrel in the family and mutilation of her limbs; she should not leave her hair dishevelled and never remain impure;

23. The Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa. quoted in V.M.S. vol
L p. 180

while sleeping she should not keep her head towards north and downwards and remain naked, disturbed and wetfooted; she should not utter inauspicious words and laugh too much; always busy with good work, she should worship her father-in-law and mother-in-law, and wishing welfare of her husband remain happy.”²⁴ In the *Matsya-purāṇa* Kaśyapa says to Diti, his second wife, “O of beautiful colour, a pregnant woman should not take her meals during twilights; she should not go and remain under a tree; she should not be always sleeping; she should avoid the shade of a tree, bathe with warm water mixed with medicinal herbs, remain protected and decorated, worship gods, and give alms; she should observe Pārvati-vratas on the third day of a month; she should avoid mounting an elephant, horse, mountain and many-storeyed buildings; she should give up exercise, swift-walking, journey in a bullock-cart, sorrows, blood-letting, sitting like a cock, exertion, sleeping in the day, keeping awake in the night, highly saline, sour, hot, stale and heavy food. The son of a woman observing the above rules becomes long-lived and talented; otherwise abortion takes place without doubt.”²⁵

The *Smṛtis*, the *Kārikās* and the *Prayogas* give nothing more but a summary of the above rules.

24. The *Padma-purāṇa*, V. 7. 41-47.

25. The *Matsya-purāṇa* quoted in V.M.S. vol. I. p. 180.

The Vārāha Smṛti-prohibits the taking of meat during pregnancy.²⁶

(viii) *The Duties of the Husband*

The first and foremost duty of the husband was to fulfil the wishes of his pregnant wife. According to Yājñavalkya, "By not meeting the wishes of a pregnant woman, foetus becomes unhealthy ; it is either deformed or it falls down. Therefore, one should do as desired by her."²⁷ The Āśvalāyana-Smṛti lays down other duties of the husband : "After the sixth month of her pregnancy, he should avoid cropping hair, coition, pilgrimage and performing Śrāddha."²⁸ The Kālavidhāna prohibits ".....going in a funeral procession, pairing nails, joining war, building a new house, going abroad, marriage in the family and bathing in the sea, as it would shorten the life of the husband of a pregnant

26. साप्रियमक्षरं यत्प्राप्तमदा परिवर्जयेदतः प्रभृति । Varāha quoted by Harihar on P.G.S. i. 15.

27. दोहदस्याप्रदानेन गर्भो दोषमवाप्नुयात् ।

वैरूप्यं निषनं वाऽपि तस्मात्कार्यं प्रियं स्त्रियः ॥ Yaj. S. III. 79.

28. वपनं मैयुनं तीर्थं वर्जयेद्गर्भिणी पतिः ।

आद्यं च सप्तमान्मासादूर्ध्वं चान्यत्रवेदवित् ॥ Āśvalayana quoted by Harihara P.G.S. i. 15.

woman.”²⁹ Another Smṛti forbids the hewing of a tree also.³⁰

(ix) *The Medical Basis*

The rules laid down for the health of the pregnant woman are based on the medical knowledge of the Hindus. Suśruta³¹ prescribes similar precautions. “From the time of pregnancy she should avoid coition, over-exertion, sleeping in the day, keeping awake in the night, mounting a carriage, fear, sitting like a cock, purgative, phlebotomy and untimely postponement of natural flow of excretion, urine etc.” Thus every possible care was taken to preserve the physical and mental health of the pregnant woman.

29. क्षीरं शवालुगमनं नरवकुन्तनं च युद्धं च वास्तुकरणं त्वतिदूरयानम् ।

उद्वाहमम्बुधितलं हृशनीपयोगमायुः क्षयो भवति गर्भिणिकापतीनाम् ॥

30. सिन्धुस्नानं द्रुमच्छेदं वानं प्रेतवाहनम् । Quoted in V.M.S. vol. I. p. 184.

31. Suśruta, Śarīrosthāna, Ch. 1.

THE SAMSKĀRAS OF CHILDHOOD

1. THE JATAKARMA (BIRTH CEREMONIES)

(i) *The Origin*

The birth of a child was a very impressing scene for the early man. Owing to its wonderfulness, he attributed this event to some spuerhuman agency. He also apprehended many dangers on this occasions, for the avoidance of which various taboos and observances arose¹ The helplessness of the mother and the new born during her confinement required natural care, from which ceremonies connected with the birth of a child originated. Even in very ancient times ordinary human feelings must have been moved at the sight of a mother, who had just given birth to a child. The man, who shared the pleasures in the company of his mate, sought to protect her and the babe, during the critical time, from natural and supernatural dangers. Thus the birth ceremonies had a natural basis in the physical conditions of child-birth. The primitive wonder, supernaturl fear and natural care were, in course of time, combined with the

1. Cf. Gardner and Jewans, *Greek Antiquitus*, p. 299.

cultural devices and aspirations to protect the mother and the child and to consecrate the babe.

(ii) *The History*

The word "Janman" or "birth" occurs twice in the R̥gveda.² But it is used there in the sense of relations.³ Besides, the context in which it is used shows that the passages where the word occurs have nothing to do with any ceremony like it. In the Atharvaveda, however, there is one full hymn containing prayers and spells for easy and safe delivery. The hymn runs as follows: "At this birth, O Pūsan, let Aryaman (as efficient Vedhas) invoker utter Vasat for thee; let the woman rightly engender, be relaxed; let her joints go apart in order to give birth. Four are the directions of sky, four also of the earth; the gods sent together the foetus; let them unclothe her in order to give birth. Let Pūsan unclothe her; we make the Yoni go apart; do thou Sūṣaṇa loosen; do thou Viskala, let go. Not as it were stuck in the flesh, not in the fat, not as it were in the marrow, let the spotted slimy afterbirth come down for the dog to eat; let the afterbirth descend. I split apart thy urinator, apart the Yoni apart the two groins, apart both

2. iii. 15. 2; ii. 26. 3.

3. जनेन विज, जन्मना पुत्रैः ।

the mother and the child, apart the boy from the afterbirth; let the afterbirth descend. As the wind, as the mind, as fly the birds, so do thou O ten months' child, fly along with the afterbirth; let the afterbirth descend".⁴ This hymn is both a piece of prayer and of magic. The husband was moved at the labour-pain of the wife. He wished that she should be free as soon as possible. The help of gods and the will of magicians were requisitioned to ease the mother undergoing the throes of childbirth. The Grhyasūtras employ the third verse of the above hymn in the rite, Sosyantikarma, for speedy delivery. But besides the prayers and spells no details of the ceremonies associated with them can be gathered.

In the Grhyasūtras this Samskāra is fully described. But here, too, the ritual is purely religious, and popular and superstitious elements are hardly given their proper scope. The Dharmasūtras and the Smṛtis do not give any descriptive details. The mediaeval treatises, however, introduce many preliminary items e.g. the arrangement of the maternity house, ceremony accompanying entry into it, presence of desirable persons near the expectant mother, and some other superstitious observances which are otherwise unknown to earlier sources.

4. A. V. I 11; Kauṣika quotes it at the beginning of a long and intricate ceremony for safe delivery

(iii) *Preliminary Precautions and Ceremonies*

We know from the later sources that preparations for delivery began one month before the birth of the child. "On the eve of the month of delivery special arrangement should be made".⁵ The first thing done in this connection was the selection of a suitable room in the house. "On an auspicious day when the sun is in an auspicious zodiacal mansion, a room selected in the convenient direction is called the Sūtikā-bhavana or maternity house by the learned."⁶ Vasiṣṭha does not leave the selection to option but prescribes the room situated in the south-west corner of the house.⁷ "The house should be elegantly built on an even ground by expert architects; it should face either the east or the north and look auspicious and strong."⁸

A day or two before the delivery, the expectant mother entered the Sūtikā-grha which was well protected from all sides, having worshipped the

5 आसन्नप्रसवे मासि कुर्याच्चैव विशेषतः । Ratnākara quoted in the V M S. vol I, p 184

6 वारेऽनुकूले राशौ तु दिने दोषविवर्जिते ।

स्वानुकूलदिशि प्रोक्तं सूतिकाभवनं बुधैः ॥ Garga quoted in V.M S vol. I, p. 184.

7 नैऋत्यां सूतिकागृहम् । Ibid

8 सुभूमौ निर्मितं रम्यं वास्तु विद्याविद्यारदैः ।

प्राग्द्वारमुत्तरद्वारमथवा सुदृढं शुभम् ॥ The Viṣṇudharmottara, Ibid.

gods, the Brahmans and the cows, amidst sounds of conchshells and other musical instruments and the recital of auspicious verses. Many other women, also, who had given birth to children, who were capable of bearing hardships, of pleasing manners and reliable, accompanied the mother. They cheered up the woman, and prepared her for safe delivery by means of useful ointment and regulations about diet and living. When the time for actual delivery came, they made the mother lie on her back.⁹ Some rites were then performed for the protection of the house from evil spirits. The place was anointed to ward off demons. A Brahman loosened all the knots in the house.¹⁰ It symbolized the loosening of the foetus in the womb of the mother. Fire, water, staff, lamp, weapons, mace and mustard seeds were kept in the house.¹¹ Tūryanti plants were also placed before the mother.¹² It was believed that in their absence, terrible bloodsucking demons would kill the new-born.¹³

9. Ibid.

10. A corresponding custom is found in Germany where people open all the doors and locks of the house

11. The Mārakandeya-purāṇa quoted in V M.S. vol. I. p. 185.

12. Āp. G.S xiv, 14; H. G. S ii, 2-8.

13. सा जातहारिणी नाम सुषोरा विशिताक्षना ।

तस्मात्संरक्षणं कार्यं यत्नतः सुविकाष्टहे ॥ The Mārakandeya-purāṇa, V.M.S. vol. I, p. 185.

Before the Jātakarma proper, a ceremony named Soṣyanti-karma was performed to expedite the delivery by force of the Atharvan verso "Not as it were stuck in the flesh, not in the fat, not as it were in the marrow, let the spotted slimy afterbirth come down, for the dog to eat." Special rites were prescribed if the child died in the birth. If the delivery was safe and the child was born alive a fire was lighted in the room to warm utensils and to smoke the child and the mother.¹⁴ This fire was kept burning for the days. Grains of rice and seeds of mustard were thrown into it with appropriate formulas to drive away various kinds of evil spirits. The Sūtākā fire was regarded impure and it disappeared on the tenth day when the domestic fire came into use after the purification of the mother and the child was performed.

(iv) *The Time of Performance*

The Jātakarma ceremony was performed before the severing of the navel cord.¹⁵ This seems to

14. S.G.S. i. 25. 4; P.G.S. i. 16. 23 g.b.s. i. 8. The purifying influence of fire is recognized in the Greek ritual also. Here the child is swiftly carried round the fire in an awphiobornia for strength and speed.

15. प्रादनाभिवधेनापुंसो जातकर्म निधीयते ।

संज्ञतः प्राशनं चास्य द्विरप्यमधुसर्पिषाम् ॥ Saiuyarta quoted in V.M.S. vol. I p. 187.

have been the original time, but later writers state that if the time expired it was performed at the end of the ceremonial impurity of ten days, or, if the birth took place during the impurity caused by a death in the family, the ceremony was postponed until its expiry.¹⁶ In later times the moment of birth was noted with meticulous care for preparing horoscope, as it was thought to be a determining factor in the life of the child. Then the good news was brought to the father. Different sentiments were expressed at the birth of a boy and a girl, as different prospects were depending on them. The firstborn was liked to be a boy, as he freed the father from all ancestral debts. But for a sensible man a girl was not less meritorious, because her gift in marriage brought merits to the father. After this, the father went to the mother in order to see the face of the son, because by looking at the face of the newborn son the father is absolved from all debts and attains immortality.¹⁷ Having seen the face of the child, he bathed with his clothes on, invited the elders and performed the Nāndi-

16. मृताशौचस्य मध्ये तु पुत्रजन्म यदा भवेत् ।

अशौचापगमे कार्यं जातकर्म यथाविधि ॥ The Smṛti-Saṁgraha
quoted by Gadādhra on P.G.S.

17. श्रद्धास्मिन्सन्नयति अमृतत्वं च गच्छति ।

पिता पुत्रस्य जातस्य पश्येच्चैज्जीवितो मुखम् ॥ V.S. xvii. 1.

Śrāddha¹⁸ and the Jātakarma ceremonies.¹⁹ Generally speaking. Śrāddha is an inauspicious ceremony. But the one performed here was an auspicious Śrāddha. It was meant for entertaining the Fathers. Hārita says, "Merits arise from the happiness of the Fathers at the birth of a son. Therefore, one should offer Śrāddha to them with pots full of sesame and gold, after having invited the Brāhmanas."²⁰ The Brāhma-purāṇa also enjoins to perform the Nāndī Śrāddha at the birth of a son.²¹

(v) *The Ceremonies and their Significance*

(a) Medhā-janana. Now the Jātakarma ceremonies proper commenced.²² The first ceremony was the Medhājanana or production of intelligence. It was performed in the following way. The father with his fourth finger and an instrument of gold gave to the child honey and ghee or ghee alone. Others add to it sour milk, rice, barley and even whitish black and red hairs of a black bull. The formula employed was, "Bhūh I put into thee:

18. 19. जातं कुमारं स्वं दृष्ट्वा स्नात्वाऽऽनीय गुरुन्पिता ।

नान्दी आह्वायसाने तु जातकमे समाचरेत् ॥ The Brahma-purāṇa quoted in the V. M. S. vol. I, p. 188.

20. जाते कुमारे पितृणामामोदाऽपुण्यम् etc. हारीत Ibid.

21. Ibid. p. 191.

22. P.G.S. i. 16; G.G.S. I. 7. A.G.S. i. 15. S.G.S. i. 24; M.G.S. i. 17; H.K.G.S. ii. 3; Bh. G.S. i. 24; B.G.S. ii. 1.

Bhuvah I put into thee ; **Svah** I put into thee: **Bhūr bhuvah svah** every thing I put into thee." The **Medhājanana** ceremony speaks of the high concern of the Hindus about the intellectual well-being of the child, which they thought their first business with it. The **Vyāhrtis** uttered on this occasion were symbolical of intelligence; they were recited with the great **Gāyatrī** mantra which contains prayer for stimulating talent. The substances, with which the child was fed, were also conducive to mental growth. According to **Suśruta**, the following are the properties of ghee: "It is producer of beauty; it is greasy and sweet; it is remover of hysteria, headache, epilepsy, fever, indigestion, excess of bile; it is increaser of digestion, memory intellect, talent, lustre, good sound, semen and life".²³ The properties of honey and gold are equally favourable to the mental progress of the child. According to the **Gobhila Grhyasūtra**,²⁴ at this time, a name was given to the child, while the phrase, "Thou art the Veda," was being uttered in its ear. This was the secret name known to the parents only. It was not made public, as they were afraid that enemies might practise magic on it and thus injure the child.

(b) **Āyusya**. The next item of the **Jātakarma** ceremonies was the **Āyusya** or the rite for ensuring

23. **Śarirasth** na, Ch. 45.

24. 1 7.

a long life for the child. Near the navel or the right ear of the babe the father murmured, "Agni is longlived; through the trees he is longlived. By that long life I make thee longlived. Soma is long-lived; through the herbs etc. The Brahman is long-lived; through ambrosia etc. The Rsis are longlived; through observances ect. Sacrifice is longlived; through sacrificial fire etc. The Ocean is longlived; through the rivers etc".²⁵ Thus all the possible instances of long life were cited before the child, and by the association of ideas it was believed that through the utterance the life of the babe would be also lengthened. Other rites were also performed for long life. The father thrice recited the verse, "The threefold age," thinking that it would three times lengthen the span of child's life. If the father desired that the son may live the full term of his life, he touched him with Vātsapra hymn. Not satisfied with the single will of his own, the father invited five Brahmins, placed them towards five regions and requested them to breathe upon the child. The Brahmins helped the infusion of life into the child in the following way. The one in the south said, "Back-breathing; the one to the west, "Downbreathing!" the one to the north, "Out-breathing!" and the fifth one looking upwards said "On-breathing!"²⁶

25. P.G.S. i, 16. 6.

26. P.G.S. i. 16, 10-12.

If the help of the five Brahmans could not be secured the father himself recited the above phrases, going round the child. The breathing was thought to be productive of life. Therefore, this magical ceremony was performed to strengthen the breath of the child and prolong its life.

The earth, where the child was born, was naturally believed by the simple folk to be instrumental in the safe delivery of the child, and therefore revered. So the father offered his grateful thanks to it: "I know, O Earth, thy heart, thy heart that dwells in heaven, in the moon. That I know; may it know me". He further prayed to it: "May we see a hundred autumns; may hear a hundred autumns."²⁷

(c) Strength. The father next performed another rite for the hardy, martial and pure life of the child. He asked the babe, "Be a stone, be an axe, be an imperishable gold. Thou indeed art the self called son; thus live a hundred autumns."²⁸

After this the mother was praised for bearing a son, the hope of the family. The husband recited the following verse in her honour: "Thou art Idā, the daughter of Mitra and Varuṇa; thou strong woman hast borne a strong son. Be thou blessed

27. P.G.S. i. 16. 13

28. अज्ञा नव परशुर्भव हिरण्यमस्तं नव । Ibid. i. 16. 14.

with strong children, thou who hast blessed us with a strong son."²⁹

Then the navel-cord was severed and the child washed and given the breasts of the mother. The father put down a pot of water near the head of the mother with the verse, "O waters, you watch with the gods. As you watch with the gods, thus watch our this mother, who is confined, and her child." The waters were supposed to ward off demons. Hence the mother was commended to their protection. Having ceremoniously established near the door of the maternity house the fire that had been kept burning from the time of the wife's confinement, the husband offered into that fire mustard seeds mixed with rice-chaff, every morning and evening until the mother got up from the child-bed, in order to scatter away goblins and demons. The following magical formula was used. "May Śuṇḍa and Marka, Upavira and Śaundikeya, Ulūkhala and Malimlucha, Droṇāsa and Chyavana, vanish, hence. Svāhā ' May Ālikhata, Animiṣa Kimbadanta, Upaśruti, Haryakṣa, Kumbhina Śatru, Pātrapāṇi, Nrmani, Hantṛmukha, Sarṣapāruṇa, Chyavan Vanish, hence Svāhā !"³⁰ The above are the names of diseases and deformities

29. इडासि मैत्रावरुणी वीरे वीरमजीजनयः ।

साखं वीरवली भव याऽस्मान्वीरवतोऽकरदिति ॥ Ibid. i. 16. 15.

30 Ibid. 16. 19.

that attack an infant. They were conceived and addressed as goblins and demons by early people. Here, as their conception is fantastic but picturesque, so their remedies were magical but useful.

If the disease-bringing demon Kumāra attacked the child, the father covered it with a net or with an upper garment, took him on his lap and murmured, "Kurkura, Sukurkura, Kurkura, who holds fast children. Chet! Chet! doggy! let him loose. Reverence be to thee, the Sisara, barker, bender etc".³¹ It was an euphamism to placate the supposed demon. The father at the ceremonies expressed his last wish with the words, "He does not suffer, he does not cry, he is not stiff, he is not sick when we speak to him and when we touch him".³² It was the expression of the heartfelt solicitude of the father for the child.

When the ceremonies were over, presents were offered to the Brahmans and gifts and alms distributed. The Brāhma and the Āditya-purāṇa say, "On the birth of a son the gods and the Fathers come to witness the ceremonies at the house of a twice-born. Therefore, that day is auspicious and important. On that day should be given gold, earth, cows horses umbrella, goats, garlands,

31. Ibid. i. 16 20.

32. Ibid. i. 16. 21.

bedding, seats etc".³³ According to Vyāsa the merits of alms given on the day of a son's birth are eternal.³⁴

33. Quoted in V.M.S vol I. p. 199.

34. पुत्रजन्मनि यात्रायां शर्व्वेयं दत्तमक्षयम् । व्यास, *Ibid*

2. THE NĀMAKARANA (NAME-GIVING)

(i) *The Importance of Naming*

Ever since men evolved a language, they have tried to give names to things of daily use in their life. With the progress of social consciousness men were also named, because without particular names of individuals it was impossible to carry on the business of a cultured society. The Hindus very early realized the importance of naming persons and converted the system of naming into a religious ceremony. Brhaspati with a poetic exaggeration remarks about the desirability of naming: 'Name is the primary means of social intercourse, it brings about merits and it is the root of fortune. From name man attains fame. Therefore, naming ceremony is very praiseworthy.'¹

(ii) *The Origin*

The origin of name-giving is a linguistic problem beyond the scope of the present work. We are here concerned with ceremonial naming of persons only. It is generally found that the choice

1. नामास्त्रिकस्य व्यवहारहेतुः शुभापहं कर्मसु भाग्यहेतुः ।

नाम्नेन कीर्तिं कर्मते मनुष्यस्ततः प्रशस्तं खलु नामकर्म ॥ Brhaspati,
quoted in V.M.S. vol. I. p. 241.

of a name for the child is often connected with religious ideas. The child is frequently named after a god who seems to be regarded its protector or it is named after a saint whose blessings are sought for it. Secular ideas are also responsible for determining names. They denote a particular quality in the person named. New names are also given to a novitiate when he enters a secret society.² The adoption of the father's name is prevalent, which is based on the family attachment and pride. The assuming of a secret name is also found. It involves the personality of a man and is, therefore, withheld from enemies. Thus there are so many factors working behind the system of giving name to a person.

(iii) *The Vedic Period*

'Nāman' or name is a word of common occurrence in the Sanskrit literature and is found even in the earliest work of the Indo-Aryans, the Rgveda.³ Names of objects and persons are found in the Vedic literature. Other peculiar names suggested in the Sūtras and the Smṛtis are also found in the Vedic and the Brāhmaṇa literatures. The Rgveda⁴ recognizes a secret name, and the Aitareya⁵ and

2. H. Webster, *Primitive Sacred Societies*, pp. 40 ff.

3. X, 55. 2; 71. 1.

4. Ibid.

5. i, 3, 3.

the Śatapatha⁶ Brāhmanas refer to it. But the practice, as given in the Sūtras, of giving a secret name after the Nakṣatra-name is nowhere instanced in the Vedic literature. The adoption of a second name is assumed for success and distinction in life. The common fashion was to adopt two nemes. The one name was the popular one, the other being a patronymic or matronymic. For example, in Kāksivanta Auśija,⁸ the first is the popular name and the second is the name derived from Uśijā (the name of mother); in Bṛhaduktha Vāmneya⁹ the second name is derived from Vāmanī. In such cases, however, it should be noted that parentage was not necessarily direct. A person could be named even after a remote ancestor. Some local names, although not prescribed by scriptures, are found in the Brāhmaṇas, e.g., Kauśāmbeya (named after Kośāmbi) and Gāṅgeya (named after Gaṅga).¹⁰ Besides the incidental references, one positive rule is also found in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa¹¹ for performing the naming ceremony of a newborn child. "One should give a name to the newborn son."

6. vi. 6. 1. 3, 9, iii. 6. 2. 24; v. 4. 3. 7; Br. U., vi. 4. 5.

7. Ś. Br. iii. 6. 24; V. 3. 3. 14.

8. The P. Br. xiv. 11. 17.

9. Ibid. xiv. 9. 38.

10. Ibid. viii. 6. 8.

11. ऋष्यास्तुतस्य जातस्य नाम कुर्यात् । vi 1. 3. 9.

(iv) The Sūtra and later Periods

From the study of the Brāhmaṇas it is evident that there was a system of naming in the pre-Sūtra period. But we do not precisely know what ceremonies were associated with it. Even the Grhyasūtras, except the Gobhila, do not quote Vedic verses to be recited on this occasion, though they lay down rules for the composition of the name. It seems that the Nāmakaraṇa was more a custom than a ceremony in the beginning. But being the occasion of a great social importance, it was later on included in the Samskāras. It is only in the Paddhatis that the common preliminary ceremonies are prescribed, and the Vedic verse "Aṅgat (form body)" is quoted for recital

(a) The Composition of the Name. The first question which has been discussed from the time of the Grhyasūtras onwards is the composition of the name. According to the Pāraskara Grhyasūtra,¹² the name should be of two syllables or of four syllables, beginning with a sonant, with a semivowel in it, with the long vowel or the Visarga at its end, with a Krt suffix, not with a Taddhita. In the opinion of Baijavāpa¹³ there is

12. i. 17. 1.

13. पितृ नाम करोति एकाक्षरं द्व्यक्षरं त्र्यक्षरम् अपरिमिताक्षरं वा ।

Quoted in V.M.S. vol. I. P. 241.

no restriction of syllables. "The father should give a name to the child containing one syllable, two syllables, three syllables, or an indefinite number of syllables." But Vasiṣṭha¹⁴ restricts the number to two or four syllables and asks to avoid names ending in l and r. The Āśvalāyana Grhyasūtra¹⁵ attaches different kinds of merits to different number of syllables: "One who is desirous of fame, his name should consist of two syllables, one who desires holy lustre, his name should contain four syllables." For boys even number of syllables were prescribed.

(b) Naming a Girl. The naming of a girl had a different basis. The name of a girl should contain an uneven number of syllables, it should end in ā and should have a Taddhita.¹⁶ Baijavāpa¹⁷ says, "The name of a girl should contain three syllables and end in i" Manu¹⁸ gives further qualifications of the name of a girl: "It should be easy to pronounce, not hard to hear, of clear meaning, charming, auspicious, ending in a long vowel and containing some blessings" She

14. तद् द्व्यक्षरं वा चतुर्क्षरं वा त्रिवर्जयेदस्य लकारेणम् V.D.S iv.

15. द्व्यक्षरं प्रतिष्ठाकामश्चतुर्क्षरं ब्रह्मश्चैवकामः । i. 15. 5.

16. अयुजाक्षरमाकारान्तं स्त्रियै तद्धितम् । P.G S. i. 17. 3.

17. त्र्यक्षरमीकारान्तं स्त्रियाः । Quoted in V.M.S vol. I. P. 2. 43.

18. स्त्रीषां च सुखमद्गुरं विस्पष्टार्थं मनोहरम् ।

आशुभ्यं दीर्घवर्णान्तिमास्त्रीर्वादाभिधानवद् ॥ M.S. ii. 33.

should not be given an awkward name indicating "a constellation, a tree, a river, a mountain, a bird a servant, and a terror."¹⁹ Manu forbids to marry girls who were named after these objects. The most probable reason seems to be that such names were current in the non-Aryan peoples with whom the Aryans were not willing to form matrimonial relations.

(c) Status a Determining Factor. The social status of the person to be named was also a determining factor in the composition of the name. "The name of a Brāhmana should be auspicious, that of a Kṣatriya should denote power, that of a Vaiśya, wealth and that of a Śūdra contempt."²⁰ For example, a Brahman should be named Lakṣmidhara, a Kṣatriya Yudhiṣṭhira, a Vaiśya Mahādhana and a Śūdra Naradāsa." Further, "the name of a Brāhmana should contain the idea of happiness and delight, the name of a Kṣatriya should denote strength and ruling capacity, the name of a Vaiśya wealth and ease and that of a Śūdra should contain the idea of obedience and servitude".²¹ Different castes should have different surnames "Śarman was added to the name of a Brāhman, Varmana to that of a

19, Ibid. iii, 9.

20. ब्रह्मस्य ब्राह्मणस्य तस्यास्त्रियस्य बलान्वितम् ।

वैश्यस्य धनसंयुक्तं शूद्रस्य तु जुगुप्सितम् ॥ M.S. n. 31

21, Ibid ii, 32.

Kṣātriya, Gupta to that of a Vaiśya and Dāsa to that of a Śūdra."²² The idea of caste was deeprooted in the Hindu mind, and the birth in a family determined the future career of a child. What a man would be in the world was a foregone conclusion and, accordingly, he was provided with privileges of social significance. But this caste complex was not peculiar to the Ancient Hindus alone. It was prevalent, and is still common, in other Indo-European peoples also.²³

(d) Fourfold Naming There was current fourfold naming, according to asterism under which the child was born, the deity of the month, the family deity, and the popular calling. This system was not fully developed in the pre-Sūtra or the Sūtra period. The Grhyasūtras knew the Nakṣatra name and the popular name. The rest were unknown to them. The system was fully worked out by the latter Smrtis and the astrological works. This development was due to the rise of religious sects and astrology. The sectarian religions gave birth to the family deities. Astrology brought the people under the influence of astral world, and every period of time was believed to be presided over by a deity or a spirit.

22. क्षमेति ब्राह्मणस्योक्तं वर्मेति क्षत्रियस्य तु ।

गुप्तदासात्मकं नाम प्रचर्तुं वैश्यब्राह्मणयोः ॥ Vyāsa.

23. Kultur der Indo-german, pp. 302 ff.

The gods of days, months etc. arose out of this belief.

(1) *Nakṣatra-name*

To begin with the Nakṣatra name, it was a name derived from the name of a Nakṣatra (a lunar asterism) under which the child was born, or from its presiding deity.²⁴ Śaṅkha and Likhita prescribe that "the father or an elderly member of the family should give the child a name connected with the constellation under which the child is born".²⁵ The following are the names of the constellations and their deities: Aśvinī—Aśvi, Bharanī—Yama, Kṛttikā—Agni, Rohiṇī—Prajāpati, Mṛgaśīrā—Soma, Ādra—Rudra, Punarvasu—Aditi, Puṣya—Bṛhaspati, Aśleṣa—Sarpa, Maghā—Pitṛ, Pūrvāphālgunī—Bhaga, Uttarāphālgunī—Aryaman, Hasta—Savitr, Chittā—Tvāṣṭrā, Svātī—Vayu, Viśākhā—Indragni, Anurādhā—Mitra, Jyēṣṭhā—Indra, Mūla—Nīti, Pūrvāṣādhā—Āp, Uttaraṣādhā—Viśvedevā, Śravaṇa—Viṣṇu, Dhaniṣṭhā—Vasu, Śatabhik—Varuṇa, Pūrvabhādrapada—Ajaikapāda, Uttarabhādrapada—Ahibudhnya and Revatī—Pūṣan. If a child was born under the constellation Aśvinī, he was named Aśvinikūmara, if under

24. A.G.S. i. 15. 4.

25. बह्वर्णनामसम्बद्धं पिता वा कुर्यादन्यो कुलवृद्ध इति । Quoted in V.M.S. vol. I. p. 237.

Rohiṇī, Rohiṇikumāra etc. Another method of naming the child after the constellation was also current. The letters of the Sanskrit alphabets are believed to be presided over by different constellations. But as there are fifty two letters and only twenty-seven constellations, each constellation has more than one letter under its influence. The first letter of the child's name should begin with one of the letters ruled over by a particular asterism. A child who was born under Aśvini, which presides over the letters Chu-Che-Cho-la was named Chūḍāmaṇi, Chediśa, Choleśa or Lakṣmaṇa according to the different steps of the constellations.

According to Baudhāyana, the name derived from the constellation was kept secret.²⁶ It was the second name for greeting the elders and was known to the parents only up to the time of the Upanayana. In the opinion of some authorities the secret name was given on the birth day. About the greeting name Āśvalāyana also says that it should be selected on the naming day and should be known to the parents only.²⁷ Śaunaka is of the same opinion, "The name by which he should greet the elders after being initiated, should be

26. नक्षत्रनामधेयेन द्वितीयं नामधेयम् गृह्यम् । B.G.S. quoted in V.M.S. vol. I, p. 238.

27. अभिवादनार्थं च समीक्षितं तन्नामोपान्तरी विद्यातामुपपन्नम् । A.G.S. i, 15.9.

given to him. Having thought over it, the father should pronounce it closely to the child so that others may not know it. The parents should recollect this name at the time of initiation'.²⁸ The name derived from the Nakṣatra was vitally connected with the life of the individual. So it was kept secret lest enemies may do mischief to the man through it.

(2) *Name after month-deity*

The second mode of naming was based on the deity of the month in which the child was born. According to Gārgya, the names of the deities of months beginning from Mārgaśīrṣa are Kṛṣṇa, Ananta, Achyuta, Chakri, Vaikuntha, Janārdana, Upendra, Yajñapurusa, Vāsudeva, Hari. Yogiśa and Pundarikakṣa.²⁹ The child was given a second name connected with the deity of the month. The above names are all of Vaiṣṇava secty and they originated much later than the Sūtra period.

(3) *Name after family-deity*

The third name was given according to the family deity.³⁰ A family deity was a god or

28. Quoted in V.M.S. vol I. p. 238.

29. कुण्डोऽनन्तोऽच्युतश्चक्री वैकुण्ठोऽथवा जनार्दनः ।

उपेन्द्रो यज्ञपुरुषो वासुदेवस्तथा हरिः ।

योगीशः पुण्डरीकाक्षो मासनामान्युक्रमात् ॥ Ibid. p. 237.

30. कुलदेवतासम्बद्धं पिता नाम कुमोदिति । Śaṅkha, Ibid.

goddess worshipped in a family or tribe from very early times.³¹ The people naming a child after it thought that the child would enjoy special protection of the deity. The deity may be Vedic e.g. Indra, Soma, Varuṇa, Mitra, Prajāpati, or Puranic e.g. Kṛṣṇa, Rāma, Śaṅkara, Gaṇeśa etc. While naming the child, the word Dāsa or Bhakta "a devotee" was added to the name of the deity.

(4) *Popular Name*

The last mode of naming was popular. The popular name was meant for general use in the society and was very important from the practical point of view. The rules of the composition given above were consulted in framing this name. The formation of this name mainly depended on the culture and education of the family. This name was desired to be auspicious and significant.³²

The principles followed in naming were the following. First of all, the name should be easy to pronounce and sweet to hear. Particular letters and syllables were chosen for this purpose. Secondly, the name should indicate the sexual difference. Nature has differentiated sexes by

31. कुल देवता कुलपूज्यः देवता तया सम्बन्धं तत्प्रतिपादकमित्यर्थः ।

अस्मिन्नेव व्याख्याने अनादिरवच्छिन्नः सिद्धाचारो मूलम् । V.M.S. vol. I.
p. 237.

32. बृहस्पति । Ibid. p. 241.

physical formation. Men are hardy and robust; women are tender and lovely. Therefore, the names of men and women were to be so selected as to be indicative of their natural built and disposition. It is why female names end in feminine ā and ī. The uneven number of letters in the name of a female was also meant for the same purpose. The third principle was that the name should be significant of fame, wealth, power etc. Lastly, the name was suggestive of one's own caste. It made quite clear the social status of the person bearing it without any other inquiry. The system of naming shown above is a sensible one, and cannot be profitably neglected, even if superstitious and religious aspects of the Samskāra may be ignored. The meticulous attention paid to the naming of a child was due to the fact that it was a life-long suggestion to the man. It was a constant reminder of an ideal to which the man was asked to be true.

(5) *Repulsive Name*

This is so far as the scriptural methods of naming were concerned. But the common people must have taken many other things into consideration, as they do even now. The unfortunate parents who had lost their previous issues gave the child an awkward name, repulsive and disgusting, to frighten away demons, diseases and death.

(v) Ceremonies and their Significance

According to the general rule of the *Grhyasūtras*,³³ the *Nāmakaraṇa* ceremony was performed on the tenth or the twelfth day after the birth of the child with the single exception of the secret name which was given, in the opinion of some, on the birth-day. But the later options range from the tenth up to the first day of the second year. One authority says, "The naming ceremony should be performed on the tenth, twelfth, hundredth day or at the expiry of the first year".³⁴ This wide option was due to the convenience of the family and health of the mother and the child. But the option from the tenth up to thirty second day was due to the different periods of ceremonial impurities prescribed for different castes. In the opinion of *Bṛhaspati*, "The naming ceremonies should be performed on the tenth, twelfth, thirteenth, sixteenth, nineteenth or thirty-second day after the birth of the child".³⁵ But according to astrological works even these dates were to be postponed if there was any natural abnormality or lack of religious propriety. "If there be a

33. *Ś.G.S.* i. 24. 4; *A.G.S.* i. 15. 4. *P.G.S.* i. 17. *G.G.S.* ii. 7 15. *Kh. G.S.* ii. 2. 30; *H.G.S.* ii. 4. 10. *Āp. G.S.* 152.

34. *The Gobhila-grhyasūtra-pariśiṣṭa*.

35. द्वादशैः दशहै वा जन्मतोऽपि त्रयोदशे ।

चौदशैः कोनविशे वा द्वाविंशे वर्णतः क्रमात् ॥ Quoted in *V. M.S.* vol. I. p. 234.

Samkrānti (the passage of the sun from one zodiac to another), and eclipse or Śrāddha, the ceremony cannot be auspicious".³⁶ There were other prohibited days also which should be avoided.

At the expiry of impurity caused by birth, the house was washed and purified, and the child and mother bathed. Before the proper ceremony, the preliminary rites were performed. Then the mother, having covered the child with pure cloth and wetted its head with water, handed it over to the father.³⁷ After this, offerings were made to Prajapati, date, constellation, their deities, Agni and Soma.³⁸ The father touched the breaths of the child, most probably, to awaken its consciousness and to draw its attention towards the ceremony. Then the name was given, How it was done is not described in the Gr̥hyasūtras, but the Paddhatis³⁹ contain the following porcedure. The father, leaning towards the right ear of the child, addressed it, "O child! thou art the devotee of the family deity, so thy name is.....; thou art born in such and such month, so thy name is.....; thou art born under such and such constellation, so thy name is.....and thy popular name is....."

36. An anonymous authority, quoted, in V.M.S. vol. I. p. 234.

37. G.G.S. ii, 7. 15.

38. The Samskāra-vidhi by Svami Dayānanda Sarasvati.

39. Sodaśa-samskāra-vidhi by Pandit Bhimasena Śarma.

The Brahmins assembled there said, "May the name be established". After it the father formally made the child salute the Brahmins who blessed it, repeating its name every time, "Be long-lived, beautiful child." They also recited the verse. "Thou art Veda etc." The name for greeting was given last. The ceremonies terminated with feasting the Brahmins and respectfully dismissing the gods and the fathers to their respective places

3. THE NIṢKRAMAṆA (FIRST OUTING)

(i) *The Origin*

Every important step in the progressive life of the child was a festive occasion for the parents and the family, and it was celebrated with appropriate religious ceremonies. When the taboos of the maternity house were withdrawn, the mother came out of the small room and began to take part in the family life again. The child's world also widened. It could be carried to any part of the house. The parents and senior members of the family fondled it and the small children played with it. The curious little eyes of the babe gazed at the inmates of the house very closely and never let any thing pass without being observed. But within a month or two the universe of the child was found too small. The curiosities of the child and the movements of its limbs required wider scope to satisfy themselves. So it was thought proper that it should be introduced to the outer world. Indeed, it was a land-mark in the life of the child and the parents gave expressions to the sense of joy at this occasion. Life outside the house, however, was not free from natural and supernatural dangers. Therefore, for the protection

of the child, gods were worshipped and their help was sought.

(ii) *Its History*

The custom of taking the child out ceremoniously may be very old, but we do not get any reference to it in the Vedic literature. Even the Vedic verse, "That eye etc."¹ recited in this Samskāra is of general applicability and is used every where, when one has to look at the sun. Hence it has no specific significance here. The procedure given in the Grhyasūtras is very simple. It consisted in taking the child out by the father and making it look at the sun with the verse, "That eye"²

The later Smṛtis and the Nibandhas elaborate the rituals and customs relating to it.

(iii) *The Time of Performance*

The time for performing the Niṣkramaṇa Samskāra varied from the twelfth day after the birth to the fourth month.³ The twelfth day is recommended by the Bhaviṣya-pūrāṇa and the Brhaspati-Smṛti only.^{3a} Perhaps it was only possible when this Samskāra was performed with

1. P.G.S. i, 17, 5, 6.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid. ; M.S. ii, 134.

3a. Quoted in the V.M.S. vol. I, p. 250.

the Nāmakaraṇa, when the child was brought out of the Sūtikā-grha for giving it a name. The general rule, however, according to the Grhyasūtras and the Smṛtis was that this Samskāra took place either in the third or in the fourth month after the birth. The rationale of the option between the third and the fourth month is supplied by Yama, who says, "The ceremony of looking at the sun should be performed in the third, and that of looking at the moon in the fourth month".⁴ For taking out the child in the night a longer period was required. In course of time when the ceremony could be performed even later the two ceremonies blended together. If the above prescribed dates expired, the Niṣkramaṇa was performed with the First Feeding in the opinion of Āśvalāyana.⁵ There are many astrologically objectionable dates when the ceremony should be postponed. The above options were based on the convenience of the parents, the health of the child and suitability of the weather.

(iv) *The Performer*

According to the Grhyasūtras, the father and the mother performed the ceremony. But the

4. ततस्तृतीये कर्तव्यं मासि सूर्यस्य दर्शनम् ।

चतुर्थमासि कर्तव्यं शिशोश्चन्द्रस्य दर्शनम् ॥ Yama, quoted in the V.M.S. vol. I. p. 250.

5, Ibid. p. 251,

Purāṇas and the astrological works extend this privilege to others also. In the opinion of the *Muhūrtasamgraha* it was desirable that the maternal uncle should be invited to perform the ceremony.⁶ It was due to the affectionate feelings that he cherished for the children of his sister. The *Viṣṇudharmottara* recommends that the solicitous nurse should take the child out.⁷ This custom probably arose when the respectable ladies could not come out of the house owing to the *Purdah* system. But in practice it was confined to the rich families only. These customs are non-Vedic and popular. When the Samskāra was regarded a domestic sacrifice, only the father could properly perform it. But when it ceased to be so, the right of performance was transferred even to persons other than him.

(v) *The Ceremonies and their Significance*

On the day of performing the Samskāra, a square portion of the court-yard, from where the sun could be seen was plastered with cowdung and clay, the sign of Svastika was made on it and

6. उपनिष्क्रमणे सास्ता मातुलो वाहयेच्छिशुम् । The *Muhūrta-Samgraha*, quoted in the V.M.S. vol. I, p. 253.

7. सतत्सर्वलक्षणा धात्री बालमाश्रय पूजितम् ।

बहिर्निष्क्रान्तयेद् गेहान् संसृज्याह निस्त्रये ॥ The *Viṣṇu-dharmottara* Ibid.

grains of rice scattered by the mother. In the Sūtra period the ceremony ended when the father made the child look at the sun. But more details are available from later sources.⁸ The child was fully decorated and brought to the family deity in the house. Then the deity was worshipped with instrumental music. The guardians of eight directions, the sun, the moon, Vāsudeva and sky were also propitiated. The Brahmins were fed and auspicious verses recited. The child was carried out with sounds of conchshell and recital of Vedic hymns. At the time of outing, the father repeated the Śakunta hymn or the following verse, "Whether the child is conscious or unconscious, whether it is day or night, let all the gods led by Indra protect the child." Then the child was brought to the temple of a god, who was worshipped with incense, flowers, garlands etc. The child bowed to the deity and the Brahmins gave blessings to it. After this the child was taken out of the temple to the lap of the maternal uncle who brought it home. In the end the child was given presents, e.g., toys, gifts etc. and blessings.

Brhaspati¹⁰ gives different procedure. According to him, having properly decorated the

8. Āgvalāyanāchārya and the Viṣṇu-dharmottara, *Ibid.*

9. अन्नमसं प्रमर्शं वा दिवा रात्रौवापि वा ।

एकमु सततं सर्वे देवाः सकपुुरोगमाः ॥ The Viṣṇu-dharmottara, *Ibid.*

10. Quoted in the V.M.S. vol. I, p. 254.

child, the father should take it out on a carriage, or the maternal uncle should carry the child himself. The friends and relations accompanied the child amidst sounds of musical instruments. Then the child was placed on a pure plot of ground plastered with cowdung and bestrewn with grains of rice. After performing the Rakṣā (Protection) ceremony the father repeated the Mṛtasañjivana (reviving even the dead) mantra, "Tryambakam yajāmahe." In the last Śiva and Gaṇeśa were worshipped and the child was given fruits and other eatables.

The significance of the whole ceremony lay in the physical necessity of the child and impressing on it the sublime grandeur of the universe. The Samskāra implied that after a certain period of time the child must be taken out in the fresh air and from thence the practice should be continued. It also emphasized on the budding mind of the child that this universe is a sublime creation of God and it should be respected duly.

4. THE ANNAPRĀŚANA (FIRST FEEDING)

(i) *The Origin*

Feeding the child with solid food was the next important stage in the life of the child. So long it was fed on the mother's milk. But after six or seven months its body developed and required greater amount and different types of food, while the quantity of the mother's milk diminished. So, for the benefit of the child and the mother both, it was thought necessary that the child should be weaned away from the mother and some substitute for her milk should be given to the babe. Thus this Samskāra was connected with the satisfaction of the physical need of the child. This fact is endorsed by Suśruta,¹ who prescribes the weaning of a child in the sixth month and describes the types of food to be given. It was only later on that this system of feeding the child for the first time assumed a religious shape. Food was a lifegiving substance. People thought that there was something mysterious about it from which life emanated. That source of energy was to be infused into the child with the help of gods.

1. अन्नासं चैनमन्नं प्राशयेत्सुहितं च । The Suśruta, ħarirasthāna, Ch. 10, 64.

(ii) Its History

The corresponding Parsi custom of feeding the child ceremoniously indicates that the Annaprāśana was a common Indo-Iranian ceremony and it originated when both the peoples were living together. Praises of food are found in the Vedas² and the Upaniṣads,³ but whether they were sung at an ordinary dinner or on the occasion of the first feeding of the child is doubtful. It seems that the ceremony of feeding the child for the first time put on its proper ritualistic garb during the Sūtra period. The Sūtras contain prescriptions about the time of performance, the types of food and the verses to be recited. The later Smṛtis, the Purāṇas and the treatises supply a few changes in regulations which took place in subsequent times, while the Paddhatis follow the same ritual.

(iii) The Time of Performance

According to the Gr̥hyasūtras,⁴ the ceremony was performed in the sixth months after the birth of the child. Early Smṛtis like Manu⁵ and Yajñavalkya⁶

2. Y. v. xvii. 33.

3. The T. U. iii. 7. 9.

4. A. G. S. i. 16; P. G. S. i. 19. 2, 4 G. S. i. 27 B. G. S. ii. 3; M. G. S. i. 20; Bh. G. S. i. 27.

5. M. S. ii. 34.

6. Yaj. S. I. 12.

are also of the same opinion. Langākṣī,⁷ however, differs from the mathematical determination of the time and prescribes an individual test when the child could digest solid food. He gives the option, "Or after teeth come out." Teeth were visible signs that the child was able to take solid food. Giving food before the fourth month was strictly prohibited. For weak children further extension of time was allowed. "The feeding ceremony should be performed in the sixth solar month after the birth, if postponed, in the eighth, ninth or tenth month; but some learned people are of the view that it might be performed even at the expiry of one year."⁸ The last limit was one year, because further postponement would have told on the physical well-being of the mother and the digestive capacity of the child. The even months for boys and odd ones for girls were prescribed. This difference based on sex was sentimental that even in ceremonies some sort of discrimination should be made about different sexes.

7. वष्टे अन्नप्राशनं जातेषु दन्तेषु वा । Quoted in the V.M.S. vol. I.P. 267.

8. जन्मतो मासि वष्टे वा सौरेणोत्तममन्नदम् ।

सदभावेऽष्टमे मासे नवमे दशमेऽपि वा ॥

द्वादशे वाऽपि कुर्वीत प्रथमप्राशनं परम् ।

सम्बन्धे वा सम्पूर्णे केचिद्विच्छन्ति पण्डिताः ॥ Nārada, Ibid.

(10) *Different kinds of Food*

The types of food were also determined by the scriptures. The simple prescription was that food of all kinds and of different sorts of flavours should be mixed together and given to the child to eat.⁹ Some prescribe a mixture of curd, honey and ghee. Different kinds of food, including meat, were recommended for different ends. The father fed the child with the flesh of the bird Bhāradvāja, if he wished to the child fluency of speech, with flesh of Kapiñjala and ghee if abundance of nourishment, with fish if swiftness, with the flesh of the bird Kṛkasā or rice mixed with honey if long life, with the flesh of the bird Aṭi and partridge if he desired holy lustre, with ghee and rice if brilliance, with curd and rice if strong senses, and with all if he desired every thing for the child.¹⁰ From the above it is evident that the Hindus were no Jains in the Gṛhyasūtra period. They would not refrain from taking meat if it brought physical and mental strength to them. The Gṛhyasūtras were still saturated with the Vedic idea of animal sacrifice and animal food, so they did not feel any hitch in recommending meat and flesh. The later-day tendency, however, was

9. P.G.S. i. 19. 4.

10. Ibid; Ś.G.S.; i. 27; Āp. G.S. i. 16. 1. A.G.S. i.10; H.G.S. ii.5;

towards vegetarianism. It was due to the cults of non-voilence which influenced the Hindu diet to a great extent. But animal products like curd, ghee and milk were still retained and regarded as the choicest articles of food for the child. The Markandeya-Purāṇa¹¹ recommends a mess of milk and rice with honey and ghee. The popular practice that at last became current was of giving milk and rice. Books on ritual, however, still insist on animal food. Many of the Paddhatis contain the prescriptions given in the Grhyasūtras. The reason is that though the higher religion of the Hindus forbids animal food and they have general regard for animal life, the lower customs are not particular about it.

Whatever the type of food may be, one thing was kept in mind that it should be light and conducive to the health of the child. Suśruta says, "One should feed the child in the sixth month with light and suitable food".¹²

(v) *The Ritual and its Significance*

On the day of the feeding ceremony the materials of sacrificial food were first of all cleansed and then cooked with appropriate Vedic

11. मन्वाज्य कनकोपेतं प्राशयेत्पायसं तु तम् । Quoted in the V.M.S. vol. 1. p. 275.

12. बभ्यासं चैतन्नं प्राशयेत्तदुदितं च । Śārīrasthāna, Ch. 10. 64.

verses. When food was prepared, one oblation was offered to Speech with the words, "The gods have generated the goddess, Speech; manifold animals speak her forth. May she, the sweet-sounding, the highly praised one, come to us. Svāhā!"¹³ The next oblation was offered to vigour, "May vigour come to us to-day". Having made the above sacrifices, the father offered further four oblations with the following phrases: "Through up-breathing may I enjoy food, Svāhā' Through downbreathing may I enjoy food. Svāhā! Through my eye, may I enjoy, visible things. Svāhā! Through my ear, may I enjoy fame. Svāhā'"¹⁴ Here the word "food" is used in a wide sense. The prayer was offered that all the senses of the child should be gratified so that he may live a happy and contented life. But one thing was kept in mind. One in search of gratification should not violate the rules of health and morality, because it would spoil the fame of the man. In the end the father set apart food of all kinds and flavours for feeding the child and fed it silently or with the syllable "Hant (well!)". The ceremony terminated with the feasting of the Brahmans.

The significance of the Annaprāśana-Samskāra was this that children were weaned away

13. P.G.S. i, 19. 2

14. Ibid. i, 19. 3,

from their mothers at proper time. They were not left at the caprice of their parents who often injure their children by overfeeding them without taking into consideration their digestive capacity. The feeding ceremony also warned the mother that at a certain time she should stop suckling the child. The ignorant mother, out of love for her child, goes on suckling it up to a year or more. But she little realizes that thereby she allows her own energy to be sapped away without doing real good to the child. A timely caution was given by the ceremony for the benefit of both the child and the mother.

5. THE CHUDĀKARAṆA (TONSURE).

(i) *The Origin*

It was after a long stride in the march of civilization when men came to realize the necessity of keeping short hair for health and beauty. Ring-worms were a great trouble to primitive People. To keep the head clean some device was bound to be invented. Cutting the hair was meant to meet this end. But being a novel thing, it was regarded an important event in the life of an individual. Chopping the hair by means of an iron instrument was a new and exciting scene people knew that it would clean the head, but at the same time they were afraid that it may injure the person whose hair was cut. Necessity and fear both mingled together and gave rise to the Chūḍākarāṇa ceremonies. The practical and beneficent aspects found their expression in the accompanying verses. The sharp razor coming into contact with the child naturally inspired terror in the father of the child, who requested the sharp and hard iron razor to be mild and harmless to it. These sentiments were responsible for giving the Chūḍākarāṇa a religious shape.

(ii) *The Purpose of the Samskāra*

The purpose of the Samskāra as given in the scripture was the achievement of long life for the

recipient.¹ "Life is prolonged by tonsure; without it, it is shortened. Therefore, it should be performed by all means."² The scriptural object of the Chūḍākarana is supported also by medical books of the Hindus. According to Suśruta,³ shaving and cutting the hair and nails remove impurities and give delight, lightness, prosperity, courage and happiness. Charaka⁴ opines, "Cutting and dressing of hair, beard and nails give strength, vigour, life, purity and beauty." At the basis of the tonsure ceremony the idea of health and beauty was prominent. In the opinion of some anthropologists,⁵ however, this ceremony had a dedicative purpose in its origin, that is, hair was cut off and offered as a gift to some deity. But this supposition is not correct, at least so far as the Hindu tonsure is concerned. The dedicative purpose was unknown to the Grhyasūtras and the Smṛtis. No doubt, at present, the tonsure ceremony is sometimes performed at the temple of a deity, but so are some other Samskāras e.g. the

1. तेन ते आयुषे वर्षादि सुश्लोकाय स्वस्तये । Ā. G. S. i. 17. 12.

2. Vasiṣṭha, quoted in the V.M.S. vol. I. P. 296.

3. पापोपशमनं केशनखरोमापमार्जनम् ।

हर्षश्चवसौभाग्यकरमुक्ताहवर्धनम् । Cikitsāsthāna, Ch. 24. 72.

4. पौष्टिकं दृढ्यमायुष्यं शुचिरूपं विराजनम् ।

केशरमन्त्रनखादीनां कर्तनं सम्प्रसाधनम् ॥

5. Crawford Howell Toy, Introduction to the History of Religions, p. 81.

Upanayana. The Samskāras of only those children are performed at the place of a deity who are born after a long disappointment or the death of previous children. Moreover, this practice is not universal. Thus, there is not an innate connection between the tonsure ceremony and its dedication to a deity.

(iii) The Vedic Period

Almost all the verses that are used in the Gr̥hyasūtras at the tonsure ceremony are found in the Vedic literature and they are all of specific character which shows that they were composed for the purpose of cutting the hair only. Wetting the head for tonsure is mentioned in the Atharvaveda.⁶ The shaving razor is praised and requested to be harmless: "Thou art friendly by name Thy father is hard iron. I salute thee; do not injure the child."⁷ Cutting the hair by the father himself for abundance of food, progeny, wealth and strength is also referred to.⁸ The barber, an impersonification of Savitā or the sun, is also welcomed.⁹ Many other mythological

6. vi.68.1.

7. ओं शिवो नामासि स्वधितस्ते पिता नमस्ते मा मा हिँ सीध
Y.V. iii. 63.

8. ओं निवर्तयाम्याशुषेऽन्नायाय प्रजननाय रायष्वाय सुप्रजारवाय सुवीर्याय ।
Y. V. iii. 33.

9. A.V. vi. 68. 2.

allusions to hair-cutting are given in the Vedas.¹⁰ So it is quite clear that the Chūḍākarṇa was a religious ceremony as early as in the Vedic period, consisting of wetting the head, prayer to the razor, invitation to the barber, cutting the hair with Vedic verses and wishes for long life, prosperity, valour and even progeny for the child.

(iv) The Sūtra and the Subsequent Periods

The tonsure ceremonies assumed a systematic form in the Sūtra period. The Gṛhyasūtras^{10a} give the procedure and lay down rules for particular performances. In the subsequent period many Puranic elements entered the ceremony. It is evidenced by the Smṛtis, commentaries and the mediaeval treatises. They represent a new phase of the Samskāra and supply many social and astrological details, though still later Paddhatis followed the ritual procedure as given in the Gṛhyasūtras.

(v) The Age

In the opinion of the Gṛhyasūtras the Chūḍākarṇa ceremony took place at the end of the

10. Ibid. vi. 68. 3; viii 4. 17.

10a. १ G.S.i. 28; Ā.G.S. i. 17; P.G.S. ii. 1; G.G.S. ii. 9; Kh. G.S. ii. 3-16; the B.G.S. ii. 6; Āp. G.S. 16. 3; B.G.S. ii. 4.

first year or before the expiry of the third year.¹¹ The earliest Smṛti, Manu also prescribes the same: "According to the rules of the Vedas, the Chūḍākarana of all the twice-born should be performed either in the first or the third year of the child."¹² The later authorities extend the age up to the fifth and the seventh year some say that it could be performed with the Upanayana which might take place even later. "Chūḍākarana is praiseworthy in the third or the fifth year; but it can be performed even in the seventh year or with the Upanayana."¹³ The tendency of prescribing later periods for performing the ceremony was due to the fact that in times subsequent to the Sūtras, its purpose became ceremonial instead of real. In practice, hair was cropped early in the life of the child, but its ceremonial performance was postponed up to the time of the Upanayana when it was performed a few minutes before the initiation with all the formulas of the scripture. This is the custom which is generally followed at present. However it is not liked and an early age is regarded more meritorious. "Chūḍākarana performed in the first year prolongs life and

11. P.G.S. ii, 1, 1-2.

12. M.S. ii, 35.

13. द्वितीये पक्षे वाऽपि चौकर्म प्रचस्यते ।

प्रथमाऽपि सप्तमे वा सप्तोपनयने वा ॥ Āśvalāyana, quoted in the V.M.S. vol. I, 296;

increases holy lustre. In the third year it fulfils all the desires. One who desires cattle should perform it in the fifth year. Its performance in the even-year is prohibited.”¹⁴ “Chūḍākarāṇa performed in the third year is regarded as the best by the learned; in the sixth or the seventh year it is ordinary; but in the tenth and eleventh year it is worst.”¹⁵

(vi) *The Time of Performance*

Astrological and other factors, though unknown to the Gr̥hyasūtras, were also taken into consideration in fixing the time of the Chūḍākarāṇa in the later Smṛti period. It was performed when the sun was in the Uttarāyaṇa. According to the Rājamārtanda, Chaitra and Pauṣa, but according to the Sārasaṃgraha Jyeshṭha and Mārgaśīrṣa were prohibited for the Samskara.¹⁶ It was performed only in the day time. The obvious reason was that hair-cutting in the night was dangerous. The Chūḍākarāṇa was prohibited during the pregnancy of the child's mother,¹⁷ as she could not take part

14. तृतीये वर्षे बौले तु सर्वकामार्थसाधनम् ।

संवसरे तु बौलेन आयुष्यं ब्रह्मवर्चसम् ॥

पञ्चमे पशुकामस्य युग्मे वर्षे तु गर्हितम् ॥ Atri Ibid, p. 298.

15. N. S. quoted in the V.M.S. vol. I, p. 296.

16. Ibid, p. 300.

17. गर्भिण्यां मातरि क्षिप्तो क्षौरकर्म न कारयेत् । Bhṛaspati Ibid. p. 312.

in the ceremony. But this rule was applicable after the fifth month of pregnancy¹⁸ Moreover, it was not binding in the case when the ceremony took place after the fifth year of the child.¹⁹ When the mother of the child was in the monthly course the ceremony was postponed until she became pure. Bad results were apprehended if the Sāmskāras were performed during this period. "If the marriage, the initiation and the tonsure were performed during the monthly course of the mother, the girl becomes widow, the student dunce and the child dead..."^{19a} The above statement, no doubt, contains threats for ignorant half civilized people, but the underlying idea of this prohibition was that the mother was half sick during her monthly course and therefore she could not participate in the ceremony 'without' which half its mirth and joyousness would have been lost. This question is not raised in the case of the Sāmskāras preceding the tonsure. The reason is that this question did not arise at all, because the monthly course stops during pregnancy and a few months after delivery.

18. Vasistha Ibid, p. 312.

19. N. S. Ibid.

19a विवाहे विधवा नारी जडत्वं ब्रतबन्धने ।

बौले चैव शिशोर्मृत्युस्तस्मादेतत्त्रयं त्यजेत् ॥ Vṛddha-gāṅgya,
quoted in the V. M. S. vol. I. p. 312.

(vii) The Choice of the Place

Another development not found in the Gr̥hyasūtras and evolved only from later customs is the choice of the place where the ceremony should be performed. During the Vedic and the Sūtra periods, home was the theatre of all domestic sacrifices including the Samskāras. But in subsequent times sacrifices fell into disuse and the domestic fire was not always kept burning in every house. So the householder could transfer the stage of performing the ceremonies to the outside of the home also. When the ritualistic religion declined and devotional cult embracing idol worship developed, the temple of gods became the centre of religious activities. After disappointments and deaths of children the parents prayed to gods for progeny. If they were blessed with children they believed that the child was a gift from them. They also regarded it obligatory to perform some of its Samskāras in the honour of the deity prayed to. Every family has at present its favourite deity where the Chūḍākaraṇa and the Upanayana Samskāras are performed.¹⁹⁸

(viii) The Arrangement of the Top-hair

The arrangement of the top-hair or Śikhā was the most important feature of the Chūḍākaraṇa, as the

19b. This custom, however, is not universal.

very name of the Samskara suggests. The hair on the top was arranged according to the family custom: "One should arrange the hair in accordance with one's family tradition."²⁰ The number of tufts was determined by the number of the 'Pravara in the family, as it may be three or five. Jaugāksi²¹ gives examples of different families following different fashions: "The descendants of Vasistha keep only one tuft in the middle of the head; the descendants of Atri and Kāsyapa two on either sides, the descendants of Bhṛgu remain without any tuft (Munḍita); the descendants of Aṅgiras keep five. Some keep one line of hair and others but one Śikhā." Later on keeping of only one tuft became universal in northern India, probably due to its simplicity and decency, though in the Deccan and the South the ancient traditions are kept alive to some extent. The fashion of the Bhārgavas is followed at present by the Bengalis who are not very particular about keeping tufts.

This system of keeping special number of tufts was a tribal fashion and the insignia of the family.

Keeping the top hair, in its course of evolution, become an indispensable sign of the Hindus.^{21a}

20. बभ्राकुलधर्मं केशवेष्टान्कारयेत् । A.G.S. i. 17.

21. Quoted in the V.M. Ś. vol I, p. 315.

21a. It may be a reaction against Buddhism and Sanyāsa.

The tuft and the sacred thread are the compulsory out-ward signs of the twice-born. A man not keeping the tuft does not get the full merit of religious ceremonies. "One should always remain with the sacred thread and the tuft; without them performance of religious ceremonies is tantamount to non-performance."²² Atonement is prescribed for chopping off the tuft: "The twice-born, who out of infatuation, ignorance or hatred cut off the top-hair, become purified by undergoing the Taptakṛcchra vrata."²³ The fashion of keeping sacred top-hair is passing through a very critical period of its life at present. A large number of English-educated young men of to-day have dispensed with it. But even in their zeal for fashion they are still walking in the footsteps of their ancestors, the Bhārgavas.

(ix) *The Ceremonies*

An auspicious day was fixed for the performance of the Chūdākarana.²⁴ In the beginning,

22. विशिखो व्युपवीतश्च यस्कोति न तत्कृतम् । Devala, quoted in the V. M. S. vol. I, p. 315.

23. शिखां छिन्दन्ति ये मोहात् द्वेषादज्ञानतोऽपि वा ।

तप्तकृच्छ्रेण शुष्यन्ति त्रयो वयाः द्विजातयः ॥ Laghu-Hārīta 4. Ibid

24. पापघ्नहाणां वारादौ विप्राणां शुभदं रवेः ।

कन्रियाणां वामासुनोर्विदग्धशालां वानौ शुभम् ॥ Bṛhaspati quoted, by Gadādhara on the P. G. S. ii, 1. 4.

preliminary ceremonies e.g. Sankalpa, worship of Gaṇeśa, Mangala-Śrāddha etc. were performed. Then food was distributed among the Brahmans. After this the mother took the child, bathed it, put on it a new garment which had not yet been washed, put it (child) on her lap and sat down to the west of the sacrificial fire. The father, taking hold of her, sacrificed Ājya oblations, and after he had partaken of the sacrificial food, looking at the barber he poured down warm water into cold one with the words, "With warm water come hither, Vāyu! Aditi, cut the hair". He mixed a piece of fresh butter or ghee or some curd with the water and taking some of it he moistened the hair near the right ear with, "On the impulse of Savitr may the divine waters moisten the body in order that long life and splendour may be thine". Having dishevelled the hair, with a porcupine's quill that had three white spots he put three young kuśa shoots into it with the formula, "Herb, protect this child. Do not inflict pain on it". The father then took an iron razor with the formula, "Thou art friendly by name. Thy father is iron; Salutation be to thee. Do not hurt the child," and cut the hair with the words, "I cut off the hair for long life, properly digesting food, productivity, prosperity, good progeny and valour. The razor with which Savitr, the knowing one has shaven the beard of the kings Soma and Varuṇa, with that

ye Brahman, shave his head, in order that he may be blessed with long-life and may reach old age”.

Cutting of the Kuṣa shoots together with the hair, he threw them on a lump of bull's dung which they kept northward of the fire. In the same way two other tufts were chopped off silently. He cut the hair behind with the verse, ‘The three fold age’. Then on the left side with the verse, “By that prayer by which mayest thou, a mighty one, go to heaven, and long mayest thou see the sun: With that prayer I shave thee for the sake of life, existence, glory and welfare”.

The head was three times shaved round from left to right with the verse, “when the shaver shaves its head with the razor, wounding, the well shaped, purify his head, but do not take away his life”. With that water the father moistened the head again and gave the razor to the barber with the words, “Without wounding him, shave him”. The locks of hair that were left over were arranged according to the family tradition. In the end the lump of the dung with hair was hidden in a cowstall, or thrown into a small pond or covered in the vicinity of water. The ceremonies ended with giving of presents to the teacher and the barber.

(a) The Main Features of the Ceremonies

In the Cūḍākaraṇa ceremonies the following main features can be distinguished. The first is

the moistening of the head. It was done for facilitating the shaving. The second feature is actually cutting the hair with prayers for non-injury to the child. An iron razor on the tender head of the child inspired fear in the father, who praised the instrument and requested it not to harm the babe. The third feature is hiding or throwing away the severed hair with cow-dung. The hair was regarded as a part of the body and was therefore subject to magic and spell by enemies. So it was kept away from their reach. The fourth feature is the keeping of top-hair. It was a racial fashion and widely differed in different families. Many ancient peoples kept tuft of hair on their head and some Asiatic peoples even now follow this custom.²⁵

(xi) *The Association of Top-hair with long life*

The most striking characteristic of the prayers cited in this ceremony is that they were meant for long life of the child. The question may be asked why did the Hindu sages suppose that the Chūḍākarana would prolong one's life? Is there any connection between longevity and the top-hair? Sūśruta,²⁶ again, helps us in tracing the connection

25. The people, who migrated from Asia to Alaska, shaved their heads except one lock called a scalplock (The Book of knowledge, Part I, pp. 15, 16). The Chinese and the Tibetans still keep tufts of hair on their heads.

26. मस्तकान्धश्चरोपरिच्छात् शिरसन्विद्धविषाहो रोमावर्तोऽभिपतितस्तत्रापि सशो मरुत् । Śarirasthāna, Ch. 6, 83.

between the two. According to him, "Inside the head, near the top, is the joint of a Śirā (artery) and Sand'hi (a critical juncture). There in the eddy of hairs is the vital spot called Adhipati (Overlord). "Any injury to this part causes sudden death". The protection of this vital part was thought necessary and keeping a tuft of hairs just over the vital part served this purpose.

6. THE KARṆAVEDHA (BORING THE EARS)

(i) *The Origin and Early History*

Boring of different limbs for wearing ornaments is current among savage peoples all over the world. So its origin is very ancient. But even when civilization progressed, ornamentation continued, though it was refined. In the case of boring ears, it was undoubtedly ornamental in its origin, but later on it proved to be useful, and for emphasizing its necessity, it was given a religious colouring. Suśruta says, "Ears of a child should be bored for protection (from diseases in his opinion) and decoration".¹ He, again, explicitly prescribes the boring of ears for preventing hydrocele and hernia.² Thus it was a precaution taken early in life, so that the chances of the above diseases may be minimized.

The recognition of the Karṇavedha as a Saṃskāra and the ceremonies attached to it are of a late origin. Almost all the Gṛhyasūtras omit it. It is described only in the Kātyāyana-Sūtras

1. रजामृग्यनिमित्तं बालस्य कर्णौ विष्येत् । Śarirasthāna, Ch. 16. 1.

2. कङ्कोपरि च कर्णान्ते त्यक्त्वा यत्नेन सेवनीम् ।

अप्याद्याह्ना शिरां विष्येदन्त्रद्वित्रिङ्गुलतये ॥ Ibid Cikitsāsthāna, Ch. 19. 21,

incorporated in the *Parīṣiṣṭa* of the *Pāraskara Gr̥hyasūtras*. The later-day *Paddhatis* describing this *Samskāra* quote their authorities, "The *Yājñikas* say so," which suggests it had no scriptural authority in the origin. The cause of the late inclusion of this ceremony in the list of the *Samskāras* is that its original purpose was decorative and there was the absence of any religious idea associated with it. It was only in a very wide sense that it entered the holy precincts of the *Samskāras*.

But there is one hymn in the *Atharvaveda*³ which refers to ear-boring. This hymn is, however utilized by *Kauśika*⁴ in the ceremony of marking the ears of cattle, and it is never quoted on the occasion of the *Karṇavedha* ceremony by any later authority.

(ii) *The Age and Time of Performance*

This ceremony was performed on the tenth the twelfth or the sixteenth day after the birth of the child according to *Bṛhaspati*.⁵ *Garga* regards the sixth, the seventh, the eighth or the twelfth month

3. vi. *

4. K. S.

5. जन्मतो दशमे वाहि द्वादशे वाऽथषोडशे । *Bṛhaspati* quoted in the V.M.S. vol. I. p. 258,

as suitable periods. In the opinion of Śrīpati,⁶ the Kārṇavedha ceremony should be performed before teeth of the child come out, and while it is still creeping on the lap of the mother. The Kātyāyana Sūtra,⁷ however, prescribes the proper time of performing the ceremony in the third or fifth year of the child. The idea underlying the early age was that the boring would be easier and less troublesome to the child. Taking physical facility into consideration Sūruta⁸ prefers the sixth or the seventh month. The Gṛhyapariśiṣṭa of Pāraskara is certainly of a later day when the Samskāra became a ceremony and it must be performed without paying any heed to the comfort of the child. The third and the fifth years coincided with the periods of the Chūḍākaraṇa ceremony. In this case both the Samskāras would have been performed together. At present, in many cases both the Chūḍākaraṇa and the Kārṇavedha are performed with the Upanayana.

(iii) *The Performer*

In the opinion of the Kātyayana-Sūtra father performed the ceremony, but it is silent as to who

6. त्रिषोरजातदन्तस्य मातुरुत्संगवर्पिणः ।

दीपिको वेद्येत्कर्णौ सूत्र्या द्विगुणसूत्र्या ॥ Quoted in the V.M.S. vol. I, p. 261.

7. The P G.S. Pariśiṣṭa. 1.

8. Sūruta, Sūtrasthāna, Ch. 16. 1,

should bore the ears. According to Suśruta a surgeon should pierce the ears.⁹ But Śrīpati, a mediaeval writer, allows this privilege to a professional needle-maker,¹⁰ more often a goldsmith. Suśruta was more reasonable in his prescription than Śrīpati. The goldsmith, however, has acquired a hereditary experience and in the majority of cases it is he who is invited to bore the ears.

(iv) The Types of Needle

The types of needle with which the ears were bored are also determined by writers on ritual. "Gold needle lends elegance, but one can use silver or even iron needle according to his means".¹¹ The Smṛti-Mahārṇava¹² prescribes copper needle for all, "One should pierce the ears with copper needle covered with white yarns" Discrimination was made according to the caste of the child. "The needle for a prince should be made of gold, that of a Brāhmaṇa and a Vaiśya

9. निषाग्वामहस्तेन.....विधेय । Ibid. Ch 16. 2.

10. सौचिको वेधयेत्कर्णौ सूक्ष्मा द्विगुणसूत्रा । Śrīpati

11. शातकुम्भमयी सूचीवेधने शोभनप्रदा ।

राजर्षी वाऽयसी वाऽपि यथा विभवतः शुभाः ॥ Brhaspati quoted in V.M.S.

12. The Smṛti mahārṇava, Ibid.

made of silver and that of a Śūdra made of iron".¹³
The basis of this differential treatment was economic

(v) *A Compulsory Ceremony*

When the Kārṇāvedha assumed a religious garb, its performance became compulsory and its omission was regarded a sin. The defaulter was thought to be fallen from his status. Devala, a mediaeval Smṛtiwriter, says, "All the accumulated merits disappear at the sight of a Brāhmaṇa, through whose ear-holes do not pass the rays of the Sun. No gift should be given to him in the Śrāddha ceremonies. If one gives, he becomes an Asura or demon".¹⁴

(vi) *The Ceremonies*

The Kārṇāvedha ceremony described in the Kātyāyana-Sūtra is very simple. On an auspicious day the ceremony was performed in the first half of the day. The child was seated facing towards the east and given some sweet-meats. Then the

13. सौवर्णो राजपुत्रस्य राजती विप्रवैश्ययोः ।

शुद्रस्य चायसी सूची मध्यमाष्टांगुलात्मिका ॥ Quoted in the V.M.S.
vol. I. p. 261.

14. कर्णान्धे रवेरुच्छाया न विशेषप्रजन्मनः ।

सं दृष्ट्वा विलयं याप्ति पुण्योपाश्च पुरातनाः ॥

तस्मै भ्रात्रं न दातव्यं यदि चेदासुरं भवेत् ॥ Devala, Ibid.

right ear was bored with the verse "May we hear auspicious things through ears etc." and the left ear with the verse, "Vakṣyanti etc." The ceremony closed with the feasting of the Brahmins.¹⁵

(vii) Suśruta on the Boring of Ears

Suśruta gives a very cautious procedure of the ceremony. He says that the ceremony should be performed in the sixth or seventh month, in the bright half and on an auspicious day. After the preliminaries the child should be put on the lap of the mother or the nurse. Then the child should be fondled and persuaded by means of toys. Now the surgeon should pull the ears with his left hand and bore them slowly at the natural holes which are visible in the sunlight. If the ears are tender they should be pierced with a needle, if stiff with a probe. After boring oil should be applied to the ears by means of a cotton thread or bougie.¹⁶

(viii) Later Phases

The later writers on the Samskāra introduced more religious elements and social mirth in the ceremony. On the day of performance Keśava (Lord Viṣṇu) Hara (Śiva), Brahmā, the sun, the moon, deities of quarters, Nāsatyas, Sarasvatī, the

15. The P.G.S. parigīṭa, Karpavedhasutras 1, 2.

16. Suśruta, Sūtrasthana, Ch. 161.

Brāhmaṇas and cows were worshipped. The teacher of the family was decorated and offered a seat. Then the nurse, wearing white garment, brought the child well-adorned, with its ears painted with red powder. The child was persuaded and kept still. The surgeon pierced the ears in one stroke but very lightly. The right ear of the boy and the left of the girl was bored first. In the end, presents were given to the Brahmanas, astrologers and the surgeon. Ladies, friends, the Brahmanas and relatives were paid respect and entertained.¹⁷

17. The Visṇudharmottara, quoted in V. M. S. vol. I. p. 262.

CHAPTER VII

THE EDUCATIONAL SAMSKĀRAS

1. THE VIDYĀRAMBHA (LEARNING OF ALPHABETS)

(i) *Names, Meaning and Purpose of the Samskāra.*

When the mind of the child was prepared to receive education, the Vidyārambha Samskāra was performed to mark its beginning, and alphabets were taught. The Samskāra is variously named. It is called Vidyārambha,¹ Akṣarārambha,² Akṣarasvīkaraṇa³ and Akṣarālekhaṇa⁴ by different writers. As its very name suggests, it was more cultural than natural. It originated at the very high stage of civilization, when alphabets were evolved and utilised for writing purposes.

(ii) *The Sources of Information*

Though the Vidyārambha precedes the Upanayana in order, the origin of the former is far posterior to that of the latter. The Gṛhyasūtras, the Dharmasūtras and the early Smṛtis do not mention

1. V.M.S. vol. I. p. 321; Vigvāmītra, Ibid.

2. Gopīnātha Bhatta: Samskāra-ratnamālā I.

3. Vasiṣṭha, quoted in V.M.S. vol. I. p. 321

4. The Markaṇḍeya-purāṇa, Ibid.

it. Even the mediaeval and the modern Paddhatis that describe the Samskāras do not contain it. Our authorities for information about this Samskāra are a few treatises, namely, the Viramitrodaya (Samskāraprakāśa, Vol. I, pages 321 ff.), the Smṛti-chandrikā (Samskāra-kāṇḍa pages 67 ff.), the Samskāra-ratnamālā of Gopinatha Bhatta and the commentary of Aparārka on the Yājñavalkya-Smṛti. All these sources are very recent in the history of the ritual literature in India and they can be placed subsequent to the eleventh century.⁵ Even the original authorities, Viśvāmitra,⁶ Bṛhaspati⁷ and Mārkaṇḍeya⁸ quoted by them cannot be much earlier. As the astronomical details given by the writers named above cannot be traced back anterior to the seventh or the eighth century A.D., we conclude that they flourished after these centuries.⁹

(iii) *The Later Origin and its Cause*

It seems very strange that the Grhyasūtras and the Dharmasūtras that deal with even

5. Cf. P.V. Kane. History of Dharmasastra, pp. 400; 343; 328.

6. Ibid. p. 236.

7. Ibid. p. 207.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid; Dr. A. S. Altekar, Education in Ancient India p. 2.

insignificant ceremonies like the First outing and the First Feeding of a child, pass over the Vidyārambha, which marked the beginning of the primary education and was thus a very important occasion in the life of the child. The omission could not be by mistake. It can be only explained by the fact that while many of the Samskāras originated in the pre-sūtra period, the Vidyārambha did not come into existence till very late. Sanskrit was then a spoken language, and the Upanayana marked the beginning of primary education. Learning of Sanskrit did not require a preparatory training in reading and writing. The education of children began with the memorizing of the sacred hymns without any help of writing. Moreover, writing was unknown in early times,¹⁰ or at least not used for educational purposes. Therefore there was no need of instituting another Samskāra besides the Upanayana for celebrating the learning of alphabets.

10. Dr. Bühler (Indian Antiquary, 1904) says that the introduction of Alphabets in India was subsequent to 800 B.C., but his opinion has been given up in the light of the Indus valley discoveries. M.M. Rai Bahadur Pandit Gauri Shankar Hirachand Ojha, in his *Prachina Lipimāta*, has proved, on literary evidences, that the art of writing was known in India in the later Samāhita period (c 1600-1200 B.C.). There is however, no evidence, to show that letters were introduced earlier.

Later on, Sanskrit ceased to be the spoken language of the people. The literature of the Hindus progressed and became complicated. The sciences of grammar and exegesis evolved and different branches of learning came into existence. The mass of literature was increasing and becoming too unwieldy for memory. Hence, to preserve the treasure of learning, alphabets were invented and the art of writing became known. At this time, for studying the Sanskrit literature, a preliminary instruction in reading and writing became necessary. Thus, in course of time, the Upanayana could not mark the beginning of primary education. Rather it was performed at the commencement of secondary education. So a new Samskāra was needed to solemnise the start of the primary education. It was to meet this need that the Vidyārambha Samskāra came into existence.

The Samskāra originated earlier than its mention in the Smṛtis. This late recognition of "The Learning of Alphabets" as a Samskāra was, probably, due to the fact that for a very long time this Samskāra was performed with the Chaula or tonsure ceremony.¹¹ This supposition is supported by the Arthasāstra,¹² according to which the education of a prince began at the time of the Chaula

11. Cf. Dr. A.S. Altekar, Education, in Ancient India p. 2.

12. दृष्टव्यमस्मिन् विधि संवत्सरे चोपयुज्यते । i. 2; Rag. V iii, 28,

Samskāra. It is evidenced by the Uttara-Rāmacharita also, where the sage Vālmiki started the education of Kuśa and Lava after their tonsure ceremonies and they had learnt many sciences before they commenced their Vedic Studies after the Upanayana.¹³ There was one more factor which facilitated the performance of the Vidyārambha with the Chūdākarāṇa. The latter was performed between the fourth and the seventh year of the child. This was the proper time for commencing the primary education also. So both the Samskāras were combined and performed together. The number of tufts of hair to be kept at the time of the tonsure ceremony was determined by the number of celebrated sages (Pravaras) in the family.¹⁴ This was a convenient suggestion that the primary education of the child should commence at the time when its tonsure ceremony was performed.

(iv) *The Age*

The Vidyārambha Samskāra was performed in the fifth year of the child according to Viśvāmitra.¹⁵ In the opinion of an anonymous Smṛti writer quoted in the Sōḍaśa-Samskāra-vidhi, it could be

13. निबृत्त षोडश कर्मथोश्च तयोक्तयोऽर्जमितरास्तिष्ठो विद्याः सावधानेन मनसा परिनिष्ठादिताः । The Uttara-rāmacarita Act. II.

14. यथैषिं क्षिप्वा निदधाति । A.G.S. xvi 6; V.G.S. iv.

15. Quoted in the V.M.S. vol. I. p. 321.

performed even in the seventh year.¹⁶ But, if owing to some unavoidable circumstances it was postponed, it must be performed some times before the Upanayana ceremony. "The wise should begin the learning of alphabets before the second birth."¹⁷ The proper time of performance was from the month of Mārgaśīrṣa to Jyeṣṭha. The months from Āṣāḍha to Kārtika, when Lord Viṣṇu was supposed to be sleeping, were prohibited for this Samskāra.¹⁸ Here one thing is remarkable. During the Sūtra and the pre-Sūtra periods, the educational session began particularly during the rainy season. But according to the above authority this very season was avoided.

(v) *The Ceremonies*

When the sun was in the northern hemisphere, an auspicious day was fixed for performing the Samskāra.¹⁹ In the beginning, the child was

16. वक्ष्यते सप्तमे वाक्ये । The Śoḍaśa-Samskāra-vidhi by Pāṇḍit Bhīmasena Śarma.

17. द्वितीयजन्मतः पूर्वमाप्तमेतच्छ्रोत्रमुदी । Bṛhaspati quoted in the V M.S. vol. I, p. 321.

18. अप्रसूते जगद्देने । विश्वामित्रः .ibid.

आचार्यशुक्ल द्वादश्यां शयनं कुरुते हरिः ।

विद्वां त्यजति कार्तिक्यां तयोः संपूज्यते हरिः ॥ Viṣṇudharmottara, ibid.

19. उदयगते भास्वति । Vasi tha, Ibid.

required to bathe and to be scented and decorated. Then Vināyaka, Sarasvatī, family goddess and Brhaspati were worshipped. Narāyaṇa and Lakṣmī were also propitiated, and one's own Veda and the Sūtrakāras of one's own Vedic School were paid respects. After this a Homa was offered. The teacher, facing towards the east, performed the Akṣarārāmbha of the child who was facing towards the west. The Samskāra consisted of writing and reading both. Saffron and other substance were scattered on a silver plank and letters were written with a gold pen. But as it was possible in the case of only the rich, letters may be written on rice with any pen specially made for this occasion. The following phrases were written. 'Salutation to Gaṇeśa, Salutation to Sarasvatī, salutation to family gods and goddesses and salutation to Narāyaṇa and Lakṣmī.' After this 'Om namah Siddhāya or salutation to Siddha.'²⁰ Then the child worshipped the teacher, and the latter made the child read thrice what was written. Having read, the child presented clothes and ornaments to the teacher and made three circumambulations round the gods. The Brahmans were entertained and propitiated with sacrificial fee. In return, they blessed the child. The ladies whose husbands and children were alive, waved lamps. In the end

20. It indicates the Jain influence on the Hindu Samskāras.

the teacher was presented a turban. The ceremonies closed with the dismissal of gods to their respective places.²¹

21. For description of the ceremonies see the *Mārkandeya-purāṇa* and the *Soḍḡa-Samskāra-vidhi* by Pārdit Bhimasena Śarma.

The ceremony associated with the learning of alphabets was performed by the Mohammadans also. We are informed that Hūmayūn, the moghul emperor, was admitted into a Maktab when he was four years, four months and four days old, and the occasion was solemnized with due ceremonies (*Tazkirat-ul-Sac-atin*, Ms. in Boh. Coll. vol. I. p. 169 ; *Shah-i-Jahan Nāmah*, Ms. in ASB. p. 45).

2. THE UPANAYANA (INITIATION)

(i) *The Origin* ✓

Ceremonies performed in connection with the arrival of youth are universally prevalent. The youth is welcomed into the tribe with proper ceremonies. The Parsis, the Christians, the Mohammadans etc. all have rites specially meant for this purpose. Even the savage tribes of the world perform some kind of ceremonies for greeting the youth into their fold. These ceremonies are as important as any other class of social procedure. Their basis is civil. Their object is to prepare the young men for entering on the active duties of citizenship. The importance of the clan is realized and the people are anxious to preserve the life of their community unimpaired. To meet this end the flowers of the race are disciplined to shoulder the burden of the elders. Thus the ceremony in question arose out of the civil needs of the community. But in course of time it received a religious colouring, as every phase of early life was saturated with the idea of religion, and every communal function was in the need of religious sanction for its validity.

(ii) *Forms of Initiation* ✓

Initiation of young men takes place in different ways in different tribes and religions. Some

savage tribes initiate their youths by tests of endurance.¹ In certain communities girls are initiated by observing a temporary seclusion.² A few tribes re-arrange the taboos for a young man when he enters the life. Mutilation of the body is another method of initiation in some wild tribes.³ The Mohammadans still initiate their young men by means of circumcision.

(iii) *The Hindu Initiation.* ✓

The scheme of education framed by the ancient Hindus to initiate the young men for preparing them for full citizenship of the community marked a great advance over the primitive idea of initiation. Here we find that the conception of race was cultural, and it was on the basis of cultural fitness that one could seek admission into, and claim the full rights and privileges of, the community. Without the Upanayana none could call himself a twice-born. One who would not undergo this Samskāra was excommunicated and debarred from all the privileges of the race. The initiation was a passport to the literary treasures of the Hindus. It was also a means of communion with the society, because without it none could

1. Frobenius, *Childhood of Man*, Chap. iii. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 2nd. ed. iii. pp. 442. ff.

2. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, i. pp. 826. ff; iii. 204. ff.

3. H. Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, i. 189. 290.

marry an Aryan girl. Thus the Hindu ideal made the universal education the indispensable test and insignia of their community. The most striking fact in connection with the Upanayana is that by virtue of its performance the initiated ranked as a Dvija or twice-born. This transformation of man's personality by means of religious ceremonies compares well with the Christian rite of baptism, which is regarded as a sacrament and carries with it a spiritual effect to reform the life of man. If we look beneath the surface of the ceremonies, we cannot but recognize in it the expression of a deep human conviction that man, due to his contact with the world, loses his native purity, and that he must be born again to enter the spiritual kingdom again.

(iv) *The Antiquity of the Upanayana* ✓

The Upanayana ceremonies are of a hoary antiquity. The corresponding Parsi rite called Naujat (The New birth⁴), by which Parsi children, both boys and girls, receive religious initiation after they have attained the age of six years and three months, indicates that the Upanayana or the initiation of the child originated in the period when both the Indo-Aryans and the Iranians were living together.

4. It closely corresponds with द्वितीय जन्म or the Second Birth of the Hindus.

(v) *The Vedic Period* ✓

The word "Brahmacharya" is twice mentioned in the R̥gveda in the sense of the life of a religious student.⁵ We also get a reference to a student who has just performed his Upanayana Samskāra.⁶ In the Atharvaveda⁷ the Vedic student is extolled in two hymns which give many details of the Upanayana Samskāra found in the later day ceremonies. The Vedic student was called "Brahmachāri" and the teacher "Āchārya". The initiation of the student was regarded a second birth: "The teacher, taking him in charge, makes the Vedic student an embryo within; he bears him in his belly three nights; the gods gather unto him to see him when born."⁸ The student wore sacred girdle, put on the deerskin, kept long beard, practised austerity, collected fuel and offered them in the sacred fire: "The Vedic student fills the worlds with fuel, girdle, toil and fervor. The Vedic student goes...clothing himself in the black antelopeskin, consecrated and long-bearded."⁹

5. x. 109. 5.

6. Ibid ; iii. 8. 4, 5.

7. xi. 5; xv.

8. आचार्यो उपनयमानो ब्रह्मचारिणं कुशुते गर्भमन्तः ।

६ राज्ञोऽस्तिष्ठः उदरे विभर्ति तं जातं द्रष्टुमभिसंगन्ति देवाः ॥ A.V.

xi. 5. 3.

9. Ibid, xi. 5, 6,

The student also begged alms: "This broad earth, and the sky, the Vedic student first brought as alms."¹⁰ All these characteristics of a student re-appear in the post-Vedic literature on the ritual.

During the Brāhmaṇa period the Upanyana assumed almost a ceremonious shape and its procedure was going to be fixed.¹¹ The student be-took himself to the teacher and announced his intention to become a student: "I have come for Brahmacharya; let me be a Brahmachārī." The teacher, then, asked the name of the student and took him in charge. After this he grasped the hands of the student with appropriate verses and commended him to the protection of deities and beings. He also delivered the five commandments to him for guidance of his conduct. Then the student was taught the sacred Gāyatri mantra and the teacher observed continence for three days: "When one has admitted a Brāhmaṇa to a term of studentship, he should not carry sexual intercourse etc." The procedure given above is the prototype from which the laterday procedure¹² evolved.

In the Upaniṣadic period the theory of the four Āśramas seems to have been established and "Brahmacharya" or a student's life became a

10. Ibid. xi. 5. 9.

11. 4. Br. i. 2. 1-8.

12. cf. P.G.S. ii. 2. 5.

respected institution. The importance of the teacher was recognized even for Brahmagvidyā and the Āchārya was the final resort.¹³ Upanayana was no more than going to a teacher and being admitted as a pupil.¹⁴ But admission was not open to all. Students were admitted when they had satisfied the conditions laid down by the teacher: "This knowledge should not be imparted to the sceptic, to the wicked and the vicious etc."¹⁵

The Brahmachārins resided and boarded at the house of their gurus¹⁶ and in return rendered many personal services, such as tending his cows and looking after the sacrificial fire. From the story of Satyakāma Jabāla we learn that he was asked to stay with the cows of the guru and return only when they had increased to a thousand. Moreover, the student helped his guru by begging alms also.¹⁷ The usual period of studentship was from the twelfth to twenty-fourth year of a man.¹⁸ But longer periods are also mentioned. The age at which studentship

13 आचार्यस्तु ते गतिवक्ता । Ch. II.

14. तपस्वः शिष्यः । Ibid. iv, 4.

15. एतद्गुणैर्ममं नापुत्राय नाशिष्याय कीर्तयेदनम्यमकाय सर्वगुणसम्पन्नाय इत्यादि । T. U.

16. आचार्यकुलवासिन् or अन्ते वासिन् । Ch. U. iii 2.5; iv. 10 1.

17, Ch. U. iv. 3. 5.

18. Ch. U. vi. 1. 2.

began and the period spent at the house of the guru varied according to the individual inclination and capacity. To give an instance, Śvetaketu commenced his studentship at twelve and studied for twelve years. The Upaniṣads also inform us that every time a man approached a new teacher, he had to perform his Upanayana anew.¹⁹ The story of Aruṇi tells that even old man could become a pupil for a time.²⁰ The teacher was held in high respect. It is preached that devotion to the teacher is necessary for the highest kind of knowledge.²¹ At the end of the student life many practical instructions were given which are of very high value, such as "Speak the truth. Lead a pious life etc".²²

(vi) *The Sūtra and later Periods* -

The Upanayana Samskāra became fully established in the time of the Gr̥hyasūtras. All the Gr̥hyasūtras presuppose that Upanayana was universal and incumbent on every twice-born. They lay down all the regulations and every possible detail of the ceremony. The development of the ritualistic side of the Samskāra was complete by the time of the

19. Ibid.

20. Br. U. vi. 1. 6.

21. Ś. U. vi. 23.

22. T. U. I. 11.

Sūtras. The Dharmasūtras and the Smṛtis do not contribute anything to the ritual proper. They take up the link supplied by the Grhyasūtras about the social side of the Samskāra and develop it. They give full information and discussions about the age of the child to be initiated, the lawful recipients, the duties of a student and his conduct. In these rules and regulations many changes were introduced at different times which will be shown in their respective places. The Paddhatis, that were written still later, follow the ritual of their particular Vedic school in general, but at the same time admit many local customs prevalent in their times.

(vii) The Meaning of the term Upanayana

The conception of Upanayana has undergone many changes in course of time. In the Atharvaveda the word "Upanayana" is used in the sense of "taking charge of a student".²³ Here it meant the initiation of the child by a teacher into sacred lore. "Upanayana" connoted the same thing during the Brāhmaṇa period, as it is evident by the initiation of a student in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa.²⁴ Even in the Sūtra period the proposal of the student for studentship and

23. उपनयनात् प्रहारादिभ्यम् । A.V. xi. 5. 3.

24. xi. 5. 4.

its acceptance by the teacher is the central point in the Samskāra. But later on when the mystic significance of the Upanayana increased, the idea of the second birth through the Gāyatri mantra overshadowed the original idea of initiation for education. Manu says, "In the Vedic birth of the student, symbolized by wearing girdle made of Muñja-grass, Sāvitrī is the mother and the teacher the father."²⁵ By many writers the Samskāra itself is called "The Teaching of Sāvitrī" (Savitri-vadanam) Aparārka remarks on the word "Upanayana" used by Yājñavalkya, "By Upanayana is understood the establishment of connection between the pupil and Sāvitrī, which is performed by the teacher."²⁶ In still later times the word "Upanayana" was used only in the physical sense, that is, taking the pupil near the teacher by his guardians. By the Upanayana-Samskāra was meant that rite through which the child was taken to the teacher.²⁷ One authority extends the meaning of the word "Upanayana" and does not restrict it to the educational sense alone: "The rite through which a man is initiated into the vows of the gure, the Vedas, the restraints, observances and

25. तत्र यद् ब्रह्मजन्मास्य मौञ्जीबन्धनचिह्नितम् ।

तत्रास्यामाता सावित्री पिता स्वाचार्य उच्यते ॥ M.S. ii. 170.

26. Aparārka on Yāj. S. I. 14.

27. उप सन्नीपे आचार्यदीनां वटोर्नीतिर्नयनं प्रापणमुपनयनम् । Bhāruchi, quoted in V.M.S. vol. I, p. 334.

the vicinity of a god, is called Upanayana."²⁸ In the latest development of the Samskāra its educational sense has departed altogether. The word "Upanayana" is used in the sense of a ceremonial farce which is performed sometimes before the marriage of a twice-born. In this sense it is called "Janeco,"²⁹ that is, a ceremony in which a boy is invested with the Sacred Thread. What a mockery of fate! The Sacred Thread as such is not mentioned in the Grhyasūtras. It was a later substitute for the upper garment which was put on at the time of a sacrifice.³⁰ One did not know that this insignificant decorative substitute would outweigh the original elements of the Samskāra. But when not education but a badge became the sign of regeneration, the Sacred Thread reigned supreme.

(viii) *The Purpose of the Samskāra*

The purpose of the Samskāra has also suffered various vicissitudes. Originally education was the main purpose and ritual or ceremoniously

28. गुरोर्व्रतानां वेदस्य यमस्य नियमस्य च ।

देवतानां समीपं वा येनासौ गीयतेऽसौ ॥ Abhiyukta, Ibid.

29. This word is current in Northern India.

30. Cf. यज्ञोपवीतं कुरुते सूत्रं वस्त्रं कुक्षारण्डं वेदि । G.G.S. ii. 10.

द्वितीयमुत्तरीयार्थं वस्त्राऽऽजमे तद्विध्यते ॥ Devala, quoted in V.M.S., vol. I. p. 415.

taking the initiate to the teacher an ancillary item. It was not only at the first initiation of a boy but at the beginning of every branch of the Veda, that the Upanayana was performed.³¹ Evidence is available to show that such was the case. In the Upaniṣads we come across a number of cases where a man underwent the rite of Upanayana when approaching a guru for learning a new branch of philosophy.³² Yājñavalkya regards the reading of the Vedas the highest object of the Upanayana: "The teacher, having initiated the pupil with the Mahāvyaṛtis, should teach him Vedas and the rules of conduct."³³ According to Āpastamba and Bhāradvāja, the Upanayana was meant for learning: "Upanayana is the sacrament of a person desirous of learning."³⁴ But in course of time the performance of the ritual and the Vratādeśa or the commandments for observing vows became the chief object and education a secondary one. Gautama was the first exponent of this school: "Being consecrated by forty-eight Samskāras a man goes to the vicinity of Brahman

31. यच्छास्त्रीयेस्तु संकारैः संस्कृतो ब्राह्मणो भवेत् ।

यच्छास्त्राभ्यनं कार्यमेवं न पठितो भवेत् ॥ Vasiṣṭha, Ibid. p. 337.

32. Ch. U. V. ii. 7.

33. उपनीय गुरुः शिष्यं महाभ्यासतिपूर्वकम् ।

वेदमभ्यासयेदेनं शौचानराश्व शिक्षयेत् ॥ Yāj. S. I. 15.

34. उपनयनं विद्यार्थस्य श्रुतितः; संस्कार इति । Āp. D. S. I.

and R̥sis.”³⁵ According to Manu also the ritual purifies this life as well as the other.³⁶ Āṅgirā also thinks that the Samskāra properly performed produces Brahmanhood.³⁷ When the Upanayana was an educational Samskāra, the Vratādeśa or the delivery of commandments by the initiator was a secondary performance, but when it became a bodily Samskāra the ritualistic significance rose into importance. In the latest of its development, the Upanayana became a religious achievement (Purusārtha) bereft of any educational intention. Even the mad, the dumb, the deaf or otherwise disabled persons who were originally excluded³⁸ from the right of performing this Samskāra were required to undergo the ceremony.³⁹

(ix) *The Age* x

The first problem to be considered in connection with the Upanyana Samskāra was: At

35. G.D.S. viii. 14, 24.

36. M.S. ii. 26.

37. Quoted in V.M.S. vol. I. p. 137.

38. Śaṅkha and Likhita quoted by Harihara on. P.G.S ii. 2

39. तस्माच्च षष्ठवचिरकुञ्जयामनपङ्क्तु ।

जडगदगदरोगार्तशुष्काङ्गविकलाङ्गु ॥

मत्तोन्मत्तेषु मूकेषु शयनस्ये निरिन्द्रिये ।

अस्वपुंस्त्वेषु चैतेषु संस्काराः स्युर्यथोचितम् ॥ The Brahma-purāṇa, quoted in V.M.S. vol I, p. 399.

what age of the initiate should it be performed? The general rule given in the *Gṛhyasūtras* and endorsed by the later authorities was that the Upanayana ceremony of a Brahman boy should be performed in the eighth year, that of a Kṣātriya in the eleventh and that of a Vaiśya in the twelfth.⁴⁰ As regards the basis of this differentiation many speculations have been offered. Some writers⁴¹ regard it as a fancy and self-conceit of the Brahmans. As the number of letters in the *Sāvitri* mantras of the Brahmans, Kṣātriyas and the Vaiśyas happened to be eight, eleven and twelve,⁴² the Brahmans took fancy to them and determined the respective ages of the boys of the upper three classes for initiation at eight, eleven and twelve. They quote *Medhātithi*⁴³ and the *Vīramitrodaya*⁴⁴ to support their views. According to another set of scholars⁴⁵ the differentiation was based on the intellectual superiority of the Brahmans; the Brahman child

40. P.G.S. ii. 2; Ā.G.S. i. 19; Ś.G.S. ii. 1; B.G.S. ii. 5; Āp. G.S. xi; G.G.S. ii. 10; M.S. ii. 36; Yāj. S. I. 11.

41. Keay, *Ancient Indian Education*, p. 29.

42. ब्राह्मण/दिषर्णसम्बन्धिना छन्दसां पाद्यक्षरसंख्यैरुपनयनस्य विधिः ।
Medhātithi on M.S. ii. 36.

43. *Ibid.*

44. V.M.S. vol. I. p. 344.

45. S.K. Das, *The Educational systems of the Ancient Hindus*, p. 72.

was more intelligent than the Kṣātriya and the Vaiśya children. In connection with the first speculation it should be noted that the observations of Medhātthi and the Viramitrodaya, far removed from the time of the Sūtras, may be fanciful, but relation between the Sāvitrī mantra and the age of the initiate cannot be traced in the Gṛhyasūtras. Equality of letters is accidental which gave rise to the fancy of later-day writers, to whom Upanayana was a farce and not a real necessity. Moreover, there is no sanctity attached to these numbers in Hindu religion. So, it is difficult to believe that the difference in age for the performance of the Samskāra, a ceremony full of consequences in the beginning, originated from mere fancy. The second speculation also cannot be supported. Baudhāyana recommends any year between eight and sixteen for a Brahman boy.⁴⁶ So, it seems quite improbable that earlier age for their children was due to the superior intellect or the superiority, complex of the Brahmans.

The more plausible basis of differentiation seems to be that, in early times, the father was the teacher in case of the Brahman Brahmachārins. Therefore, it was in no way inconvenient to them if they were initiated at an early age, because they had not to leave their homes for education. But

quite different was the case with the Kṣātriya and the Vaiśya children. They had to part with their parents for receiving education. Therefore, they would have been put to troubles, had they been separated from their parents in a very young age. Thus paternal feelings were responsible, to a great extent, for the higher age at which the initiation should be performed. There was one more operative factor in fixing the age of the Kṣātriya and the Vaiśya children. The Brahmanical education that began after the Upanyana was mostly religious and priestly and consisted of Vedic and allied studies. The Brahmins had to busy themselves earlier with this kind of education, because their further prospects depended on the knowledge of the Vedic lore. But the professions of the Kṣātriyas and the Vaiśyas were different. No doubt, they had to maintain a racial standard of culture by undergoing a literary education, but they had to specialize in the military art and administration, and commerce and agriculture respectively. So, these two classes joined the Brahmanical education later, as they were not required to pass the same course of studies as the Brahmin students. Thus, caste differentiation originated from practical necessity and not out of fancy and superiority-complex of the Brahmins.⁴⁷

47. Cf. Dr. A.S. Altekar, Education in Ancient India, Chap. . p. 18.

Optional ages were prescribed for securing special merits. In the opinion of Baudhāyana "One desirous of holy lustre should perform the Upanayana in the seventh year, of long life in the eighth year, of glory in the ninth year, of food in the tenth, of cattle in the twelfth, of talent in the thirteenth, of strength in the fourteenth, of brothers in the fifteenth and of all in the sixteenth."⁴⁸ Manu also says, "The Upanayana of a Brāhmaṇa child desirous of holy lustre should be performed in the fifth year, that of a Kṣātriya child desirous of power, in the sixth year and that of a Vaiśya child desirous of wealth in the eighth year."⁴⁹

At the first, sight the wide options meant for different merits look fanciful. But when we take into consideration the change which the conception of Upanayana underwent, in course of time, their rationale becomes evident. In the beginning the Upanayana marked the commencement of the primary education. Therefore, an early age was preferred and the earliest possible age for the Upanayana was fixed at five. But when the Upanayana ceased to signalize the primary education and was performed at the

48. B.G.S. ii. 5. 5.

49. ऋग्वेदसंस्कृतस्य कार्यं विप्रस्य पञ्चमे ।

एवमेव वदन्तिः वदे वैश्वस्यार्थिनोऽहमे ॥ M.S. ii. 37.

beginning of the secondary education, higher age was prescribed for this purpose, though it was always within the period of educational suitability. The age should be such that the mind of the student be still receptive and he may get sufficient time to study. The same age, however, would not suit every child. So, intermediate options were allowed to meet the need of every type of children. But at whatever time it may be performed, it was regarded always meritorious, because it was considered to be a sacrament full of religious significance.

The last limit for the performance of the Upanayana Samskāra in the case of a Brahman student was sixteen, of the Kṣātriya twenty-two and of the Vaiśya twenty-four.⁵⁰ When the Upanayana became a compulsory bodily Samskāra, it had got to be performed howsoever late it may be. The underlying purpose was to enlist all the possible young men of the community and stamp them with the peculiar culture of the race. For the Brahman the age was still earlier, as he was the custodian of the Aryan religion and the teacher of the Aryan race. The Kṣātriya and the Vaiśyas, who were less enthusiastic about priestly education could be initiated later. Twenty four was the last age, because it was the time about which marriage generally took place. The Upanayana must

be performed some times before the marriage of a twice-born. Mitramisra, a seventeenth century writer, permits Upanayana up to twenty-four years of a Brahman, thirty-three of a Kṣātriya and thirty-six of a Vaiśya.⁵¹ This was the time when India was under the full hold of the Muslims. The performance of religious ceremonies was not a certain and safe thing. So, even wider scope was allowed for contingency. Probably it would have helped the reconversion of the new Muslims into the Hindu fold also.

(e) *The Vrātya* x

One, who inspite of the wide option allowed by the scriptures would not abide by the rules, was regarded fallen from the status of a twice-born and excommunicated from the community. According to Manu, "If after the last prescribed time people remain uninitiated, they become Vrātyas, fallen from Sāvitrī, discarded by the Aryans."⁵² These non-conformists were debarred from all religious and social privileges of the Aryans. Non-abidance to the rule, in some cases, may have been due to carelessness, or adverse circumstances. But in the majority of cases it was deliberate. Hence, the

51. V.M.S. vol. I. p. 347.

52. अत ऊर्ध्वं त्रयोऽप्येते यथाकारमसंस्कृताः ।

सावित्री पविता आत्मा भवन्त्यायिगर्हिताः ॥ M.S. II, 39.

severe punishment was indicated upon them and they were classed with a non-Aryan tribe, the Vrātyas, and classed with the Śūdras.⁵³

It would not be out of place to trace briefly the history of the word "Vrātya" to make the connection between the Vrātyas and the non-conformance with the Vedic initiation more clear. In the Atharvaveda the word Vrātya is used not in the sense of "one who has not performed his Upanayana" but it is employed in the sense of the Highest Brahman; "The Highest Brahman is conceived and exalted as the Vrātya-both as the heavenly Vrātya, identified with the Great God (Mahādeva), the Lord Iśana or Rudra, and his prototype, the earthly Vrātya. The Vrātyas were certain, probably Eastern tribes, whether Aryan or non-Aryana, but certainly living outside the pale of Brahmanism, roving about in land on rough waggon covered with boards in a rather warlike fashion, owners of cattle, having their own peculiar customs and religious cults."⁵⁴ According to some scholars the word "Vrātya" is used in the sense of a non-Aryan tribe,^{54a} while others hold that it denotes the earliest worshippers of Rudra and Śiva. Mr. J. W.

53. शुद्रायाश्च सप्तमीयः । Ibid. x. 41.

54. Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, vol. I. p.

54a. Rājārāma Rāmakriṣṇa Bhāgavata, I. B. R. A. S. 19, 1896,

Haver^{54b} regards "Vrātya" as the eostatics of the Kṣātriya class and the forerunners of the later-day Yogins.

Most probably the Vrātyas were Aryan in race, though they were not Aryan in religion. This inference is supported by the fact that the doors of Aryandom war always open for them if they sought admission,⁵⁵ while it was closed against the Śūdras. Thus, though the exact sense of the term is not certain, it is clear that it was not used in the Smārta sense, that is, in the sense of a person who has not performed the Upanayana. But because the Vrātyas dissented form the Vedic religion, those, who did not perform their Samskāra, in later times, were classed with them. They were called "Vrātyas" because after observing certain vratas (sacrificial ceremonies) they could be admitted into the Aryan community.⁵⁶ According to the scriptures, persons outcasted for nonperformance were eligible to re-admission into the Aryan fold after performing the Vrātyastoma sacrifice.

(xi) *The Upanayan: not Compulsory in the beginning*

Though the Gṛhyasūtras and the later literature on the rituals presuppose that the Upanayana was

54b. Die Anfā-ugeder Yogapraxis, Berlin, 1922, pp. 11 H.

55. तेषां संस्कारेषु ब्रह्मोत्पत्तौ मेनेष्ट्वा काममधीयीन् । P.G.S. ii. 5, 44.

56. संवत्सरीयां भवन्तीति वचनात् । Ibid.

a compulsory Samskāra, such does not seem to be the case before the Sūtra period. It may be argued that during the Atharvavedic times, the Upannayna was regarded as a second birth⁵⁷ and, most probably, all the twice-born received their status from this rite. But the idea of the second birth was not peculiar to the Upanayana only. It was also associated with the initiation which was performed before a sacrifice.⁵⁸ So the significance of the second birth in the Vedic time was religious and not social; and not all the persons of the upper three classes were compulsorily required to perform the Upanayana Samskāra. For a very long time before the rules laid down in the Gṛhyasūtras crystallized, the Upanayana was a voluntary ceremony. Whosoever desired to learn, approached his guru and performed the initiation ceremony, while his cousins, not willing to do so, remained without any initiation. The Upanayana was confined to literary and priestly families only. This is borne out by Aruṇi's advice to his son Śvetaketu that he should pass through the life of a student, because members of his family did not claim Brahmanhood by birth.⁵⁹ It should be also noted

57. आचार्य उपनयमानो ब्रह्मचारिणं कुरुते गर्भमन्तः ।

तं रात्रींस्तिष्ठ उदरे विमर्त्ति तं जातं द्रष्टुमभिसंप्रति देवाः ॥ A.V.
xi. 5. 3.

58. भजातो ह वै तावत्पुरुषो यावन्न यजते । Ś. Br. ii 3. 4.

59. Ch. U. vi. 1. 1.

that the Āśrama theory, though recognized, was not universally observed. The word "Vrātya," as already pointed out, did not denote a person who had not performed his Upanayana, but it was used in the sense of a person who did not offer Soma sacrifice or keep the sacred fire.⁶⁰ In the Smṛti and subsequent times many disabilities were imposed for not performing the Upanayana ceremony. But no such punishment was inflicted on the defaulter in the Vedic times. The social status of the Vrātyas suffered in no way, as it is evident from their exaltation in the Atharveda.⁶¹ It is, therefore, quite clear that the Upanayana Samskāra was not regarded compulsory, rather it was a privilege to be availed of by a willing person for entry into the sacred library of the race.

(iii) The Upanayana becomes Compulsory ✓

The Upanayana Samskāra became compulsory somewhere towards the close of the Upaniṣadic period. There were many factors that led to it. First of all there was the cultural factor. For any advancing civilization education is essential. In order to make education universal, the Upanayana

60. अथ पिता पित्राग्रहो वा न सोमं विदेत् ऋतयः । A Vedic text quoted in the Pārāgāra-mādhyaṅga. 1. 1. p. 165.

61. A.V. X.V.

was made compulsory. Every Aryan was compelled to spend at least some years at the house of a teacher or in some educational institution. The next but the allied factor was that the mass of literature and learning was increasing. Different branches of learning evolved. Therefore, in order to preserve the sacred literature the services of the entire community was conscripted by making the Upanayana a compulsory Samskāra⁶² The third factor was a purely religious one. The Upanayana came to be believed to have possessed sanctifying power. One may or may not receive education but he must consecrate his person. This undue importance attached to the sanctity of the Samskāra was also instrumental in making it compulsory for all. The last factor was racial. The Indo-Aryans had to distinguish themselves from the non-Aryan population round them. In the first contact with the non-Aryans they were superior to, and distinct from them by their colour and culture both. But in course of time these characteristic dwindled, and there arose the danger of fusion with them and thus of lowering the standard of their civilization. The Upanayana which was already prevalent in the society, served a good means for differentiation. The Aryans, who may not devote the period of youth to education,

62. Cf. Dr. A. S. Altekar, Education in Ancient India, Chap. I, pp. 11, 12.

but underwent the ceremony and put on the Sacred Thread, were called the regenerate and distinguished form the Śūdras, the later-day non-Aryan population. The Upanayana was called a second birth in the sense that it heightened the social status of the recipients. All the Aryans became twice-born. A non-Aryan having only one physical birth was certainly regarded inferior to an Aryan

(xiii) Ridiculous Consequences of Compulsion

When the Upanayana became a compulsory Samskāra people gradually forgot its real purpose and many ridiculous consequences followed. Formerly when it was purely an educational Samskāra, persons inherently incompetent for education were excluded from the right of performance.⁶³ But when it became a bodily Samskāra, the opinion was advocated that the Upanayana should be performed in the case of the dumb, deaf, blind etc. also.⁶⁴ A few Smṛti-writers dissented from this view,⁶⁵ But the majority accepted this absurd procedure in order to enable even disabled persons to marry, by providing them with a badge of superior castes. Another consequence

63. नोन्मत्स्यकान्संस्तुयात् । Śaṅkha and Likhita, quoted by Harihara on P.G.S.

64. The Brāhma-purāṇa, quoted in V.M.S. vol. I, p. 399.

65. Śaṅkha and Likhita, quoted by Harihara on P.G.S.

of the Upanayana being a bodily Samskāra was that a fresh Upanayana was prescribed for a person, when he happened to be defiled by drinking wine, eating onion etc.⁶⁶ This repetition presents a sad contrast to the fact that in the Vedic times it was repeated when the student began a new branch of the Vedas. The most absurd consequence that followed the degradation of the Upanayanā from its original purpose was that even the Upanayana of trees came to be performed. A fourteenth century Carnatic inscription records that a Brahman performed the Upanayana ceremony of four peepal trees.⁶⁷

(xiv) *The Upanayanā Partly neglected during the mediaeval period*

So long as the Brahmanical culture had a strong hold over the Hindus, the compulsion was followed regularly. But during the Muslim period of Indian history, Hinduism received a rude shock. The religious life of the people was endangered and many high and prosperous families of the Kṣatriyas and the Vaiśyas were reduced to agriculturists. The theory became current that there are no Kṣatriyas and the Vaiśyas in the Kali Age.⁶⁸ Though it was not universally accepted, the

66. Śatātapa and Yama, quoted in V.M.S. vol. I. p. 545.

67. Epigraphica Carnatica, III, Malavalli Inscriptai no. 23.

majority of the Vaiśyas and the Kṣātrīyas of many localities dispensed with the Upanayana Samskāra. From the nineteenth century, however, owing to cultural revival by orthodox associations,⁶⁹ they are again becoming particular about performing the Upanayana Samskāra.

(20) *Who took the child to the Teacher ?* x

Another problem was: Who should take the child to the Achārya? In early times, in the Brahman families, it was the father who taught the boy.⁷⁰ So, there was no need of discussing the problem. But the non-Brahman children were taken to the Brahman teachers. Moreover, when education developed and the art of teaching was specialized, the Brahman children also went to efficient teachers for study. Therefore, for proper initiation the question of taking the student to the Achārya came to be discussed. In the opinion of Pitāmaha, the father, the grand-father, an uncle and an elder brother were rightful guardians of a boy, and, in the absence of the former the latter took the student

68. कौौ आश्रययोः स्थितिः ।

69. The Āryasamājas and the Sanatanedharma Societies.

70. For example, Śvetaketu was taught by his father Āruni (Ch. U. vi. 1.); Br. U. vi. 2. 1; The Ch. U. iv. 5. 5; M. U. i. 2. 12.

to the teacher.⁷¹ In the absence of the above natural gurdians an elderly member of the same caste was also authorized to conduct the child to the Āchārya.⁷² But when there was none to do so, or none would care to take the child to the teacher, the pupil himself went to the Āchārya for initiation.⁷³

(xvi) *The Selection of the Teacher* x

The selection of a teacher was determined by certain considerations. The best possible teacher was sought for, because the main object of the Upanayana was acquisition of knowledge and building of character. If the teacher himself was lacking in knowledge or virtue, he could not elevate the life of the student. "From darkness to darkness he goes, whom an ignorant person initiates. Therefore, one should desire an initiator, who comes of a good family who is learned and who is self-controlled."⁷⁴ "A Brāhmana who is well-read, of good family, of good character, purified by penance, should

71. पितैव उपनयेत्पुत्रं तदभावे पितुः पिता ।

तदभावे पितुर्भ्राता तदभावे तु सोदरः । Pitāmaha.

72. ज्ञातव्यो गोत्राग्रजाः । Vīddhagarga.

73. Such cases are very common in the Upaniṣads.

74. तमसो वा एव तमः प्रविशति यमविद्वानुपनयते etc., quoted in the V.M.S. vol. I, p. 408.

initiate a child.”⁷⁵ A man was asked not to make a person his teacher who was not firm in his character, for “hands besmeared with fat cannot be purified with blood.”⁷⁶ Vyāsa recommends a person for teachership “who is a Brāhmaṇa, entirely devoted to the Vedas, who comes of a good family, whose profession is the performance of Vedic sacrifices, who is pure who is particular about the study of his own Vedic Śākhā and who has no lethargy.”⁷⁷ Some further qualifications of an Ācharya are given by Yama⁷⁸ as follows: “An Āchārya should be truthful, courageous, capable, merciful towards all creatures, believer in God, firm in the study of the Vedas and pure in character.” These considerations were binding or respected when the Upanayana was an educational Samskāra. When it ceased to be so, they could be dispensed with. Later on, it was not meant for

75. कुमारस्योपनयनं भुताभिजनवृत्तवान् ।

तपसाधृतविःशेषपाप्मा कुर्योद्विजोत्तमः ॥ Śaunaka, Ibid.

76. न याजयेद् वृत्तिहीनं वृक्षयाच्च न सं गुहम् ।

नहि मजाकरी दिग्धौ रुचिरेण विशुध्यतः ॥ Harita, Ibid.

77. वेदेकनिष्ठं चर्मशं कुलीनं श्रोत्रियं शुचिम् ।

स्वस्वास्मानाढस्य विप्रं कर्तारमीप्सितम् ॥ Vyāsa, Ibid.

78. सत्यवाक् वृत्तिमान् दक्षः सर्वभूतदयापरः ।

अस्तिको वेदनिरतः शुचिराचार्यं उच्यते ॥

वेदाध्ययनसम्पन्नो वृत्तिमान् विजितेन्द्रियः ।

दक्षोत्साही यथावच्च जीवनेहस्तु वृत्तिमान् ॥ Yama, Ibid.

education but consecration. The Āchārya was not expected to teach the initiate. His only business was to perform the ceremony with the recital of the Vedic verses. So, any-body who could do so was approached for this purpose. At present, in many cases, the Āchārya is dispensed with altogether. To save expenses and botherations, people go to a sacred place, dip the Sacred Thread into the water poured on the deity and put it round the neck of a boy. It is due to the appalling ignorance of the real purpose of the Samskāra on the one side and the non-religious character of the modern life on the other.

(xvii) *The Ceremonis and their Significance* ✓

In the beginning the Upanayana Samskāra must have been very simple. In early times when the sacred Vedic lore was handed down from generation to generation in priestly families, the father himself was the guru. In this case, the formalities observed with him naturally should have been limited. The very ancient teachership of the father is proved by the parable of gods, men and demons all spending their student life under the guidance of their common father Prajāpati.⁷⁹ During the Upaniṣadic period also there are

79. Ś. Br. Br. U. V. 2. 1.

80. Br. U. vi. 2. 1; Ch. U. V. 3; iv. 5. 5; v. 11. 7; M. U. i. 2. 12.

instances of students studying with their fathers.⁸⁰ Original parental simplicity is re-echoed in the Upaniṣads, where in many cases the Upanayana is very simple. The student approached his teacher with sacrificial fuel in his hands, thereby showing that he intended to be his pupil and he was ready to serve the teacher.⁸¹ There are other instances where an oral request on the part of the student and its acceptance on the part of the Ācārya was all that constituted an Upanayana.⁸² But these are sporadic cases of simplicity. Even before the close of the Vedic period, the ceremony was assuming a complicated character. The Upanayana of the Atharvavedic time included many items of the later-day ritual. During the Brāhmaṇa period noted for sacrificial elaboration, the Upanayana Samskāra was developed and its ceremonious character is evident from the details available in them.⁸³ The Gr̥hyasūtras^{83a} describe a full-fledged ritual with well-developed details. The Samskāra in its onward march also gathered many non-Vedic and popular materials under its auspices.

(a) The Time. An auspicious time was selected for the performance of the Samskāra.

81. Ibid.

82. Cf. वाचाह स्मैव पूर्वं उपयन्ति । Br. U. vi. 2. 7

83. . Br. xi. 5. 4.

83a. Ś.G.S. ii. 1; A.G.S. i. 19, iii. 5; P.G.S. ii. 2; G.G.S. ii. 10
Kh. G.S. ii. 4; iii. 1; H.G.S. i. 1. ii. 18, Ap. G.S. 10.

Generally the Upanayana took place when the sun was in the northern hemisphere,⁸⁴ but in the case of the Vaiśya children, its southern course was also prescribed.⁸⁵ Different seasons were meant for different castes.⁸⁶ The Upanayana of a Brahman was performed in spring, of a Kṣātriya in summer, of a Vaiśya in autumn and of a Rathakāra in the rainy season. These different seasons were symbolical of the temperament and occupation of different castes. The moderation of spring symbolized the moderate life of a Brahman; the heat of summer represented the fervor of a Kṣātriya; autumn, when the commercial life of ancient India re-opened after the rainy season, suggested the wealth and prosperity of a Vaiśya; and the easy time of rains indicated facility for a chariot-maker. The later astrological works associated different kinds of merits with different months from Māgha to Āṣāḍha: "A boy whose Upanyana is performed in the month of Māgha becomes wealthy, in the month of Phālguna intelligent, in Chaitra talented and well-versed in the Vedas, in Vaiśākha provided with all kinds of enjoyments, in Jyēṣṭha wise and great, and in Āṣāḍha a great

84. P.G.S. ii. 2; Ā.G.S. 1. 19.

85. दक्षिणे तु विषां कुर्यात् । Brhaspati quoted in V. M. S. vol. I, p. 354.

86. वसन्ते ब्राह्मणमुपनयति ग्रीष्मे (जन्यं शरदि वैश्यं वर्षासु रथकारमिति । B.G.S. 11. 5. 6.

conqueror of enemies and famous Pandit."⁸⁷ The bright half of the month was preferred, as it was a delightful time for any social function and its brightness was symbolical of knowledge and learning. Holidays, Purnas, inauspicious times and the days of natural abnormality were avoided.

(b) Preparations. Before the actual ceremony took place, a canopy was set up under which the Samskāra would be performed.⁸⁸ A day before the ceremony, many pauranic Performances took place. The most auspicious god Gaṇeśa, was propitiated and several other gooddeesses, Śrī, Lakṣmi, Dhṛti, Medhā, Puṣṭi, Śraddhā, and Sarasvatī were worshipped.⁸⁹ On the previous night, the candidate was smeared all over with a yellow substance, and a silver ring was tucked to his top-knot.⁹⁰ After that, he was commanded to spend the whole night in absolute silence. It was a mystic rite which prepared the candidate for the second birth. The yellowish powder gave a show of embryonic atmosphere and

87. माघे मासि महाधनो धनपतिः प्रजायुतः फाल्गुने ।

मेघाद्री भवति व्रतोपनयने चैत्रे च वैशाखितः ॥

वैशाखे निखिलोपभोगसहितो ज्येष्ठे बलिष्ठो बुध ।

स्वाशाढे सुमहाविपश्चिज्जयी व्यातो महापण्डितः ॥ The Rajamārtanda quoted in V.M.S. vol. I, p. 355.

88. यजसु वहिः शालाया विवाहे चूडाकरणोपनयने केशान्ते सीमन्तोत्थयणे इति ।

P.G.S. i. 4. 2.

89. It was a later development not found in the Grhyasūtras.

90. It is a local custom in many provinces.

absolute silence made the boy a speechless child anew.

(c) The Joint Meal. The next morning the mother and the child ate together for the last time. It was rather an unusual procedure in a Hindu Samskāra. According to Dr. Altekar⁹¹ it marked the end of an irregular life of a child and reminded the boy that he was no longer an irresponsible child and that he had to lead a systematic life thence onward. But it might have been the parting feast of the mother and the child also. It was a sad touching ceremony. It expressed the deep affection of the mother for her child. After his Upanayana the mother no more could take food with him as a rule. The very idea moved the mother to show her last affectionate feeling. Both the ideas may have operated in the above ceremony. But there seem to be some more factors that gave rise to it. The boy not only could not take food with his mother, but also was going to be separated from her for a long time. The mother could not enjoy his company during this period. So her heart was heavy on the occasion and the most impressive act of love that she could do was to eat with the child. There was perhaps, one practical necessity of feeding the child in the morning. The ceremony was a protracted

one. In order that he may not get hungry during the ceremony, he was fed before it began. After the mother's feast, a number of young men were entertained. It was a party which was given to the playmates of the candidate at the departure of their friend to the teacher's house.

(d) The Bath. After the feast was over the father and the mother took the child to the canopy, where the sacrificial fire was burning in the altar. The first scriptural item of the ceremony was the feeding of the Brahmans, an act always meritorious and in this case symbolical of Brahmajña and Brahmacharya, which the life of the student was going to be after his Upanayana. Then the boy was shaved. If the Chūḍākarana had been performed, he was simply shaved in the ordinary way by the barber. But sometimes to economize the expenses, though not sanctioned by the scriptures, the haircutting ceremony was postponed till now and it was performed before the thread-giving. When the shaving was finished, the boy was bathed. It was a ceremony essential to every Samskāra. Washing purified both, the mind and the body of the recipient.

(e) The Kaupina. The bath being over, the boy was given a Kaupina to cover his private parts. The social consciousness had already dawned upon the mind of the boy, but from now he had particularly to observe the social decorum and to maintain his

own dignity and self-respect. Then the boy went near the Achārya and announced his intention to become a Brahmachārī: "I have come hither for the sake of studentship. I will be a student."⁹² Having accepted his request the Achārya offered him clothes with the verse, "In the way in which Br̥haspati put on the garment of immortality on Indra, thus I put this garment on thee, for the sake of long life, of old age, of strength, of splendour."⁹³ The Hindu idea of *deccrum* required that, when engaged in a religious ceremony, the upper part of the body should be covered with a piece of cloth. On the occasion of the Upanayana, therefore, the young scholar was offered an upper garment, because from this time his proper religious life began. From the ancient literature we know that the original piece of the upper garment offered at this occasion was the deer-skin. We are informed by the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa that the deer-skin was symbolical of spiritual and intellectual pre-eminence.⁹⁴ By putting it on, the student was constantly asked to become a youth of ideal character and deep scholarship. In the early pastoral life of the Aryans the use of the deerskin was a need. Its hoary antiquity lent it a sanctity and, in course of time it became a religious luxury. Its

92. P.G.S. ii. 2. 9.

93. Ibid. ii. 2. 10.

94. G. Br. i. 2. 1-3.

use, however, was limited to bedding. When the Aryans became agriculturists and spinning and weaving came into existence, a cotton cloth was offered to the student. According to the Āpastamba and the Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtras, this piece of cloth should have been woven in the house of the Brahmachārin just before the ceremony.⁹⁵ The Gṛhyasūtras prescribe clothes made of different stuffs for different castes. The clothes of a Brahman student should be made of Śaṇa (hemp), that of a Kṣātriya of Kṣauma (Silk) and that of a Vaiśya of Kutapa (the kuśagrass).⁹⁶ But, optionally, clothes made of cotton were prescribed for all.⁹⁷ Formerly on purely religious grounds, white and unwashed clothes were offered, no doubt symbolizing the purity of life.⁹⁸ But, later on, practical sense prevailed on the religious motive, though it was still tinged with symbolism. The clothes of a Brahman should be Kāṣāya. (reddish) that of a Kṣātriya Māñjiṣṭha (dyed with madder)

95. वासः सद्यकुक्षोत्तमम् । B.G.S. ii. 5. 11; Āp. G.S. 11. 16.

96. शाखक्षौद्रमवीरकुतपा । G.D.S. i. 17. 18.

97. सर्वेषां कर्पासं वाऽपि कुतम् । Ibid.

98. अहृतेन वाससा संबोद्धमिति । A.G.S. i. 19. 10.

ईश्वरोत्तं नवश्वेतं सदृशं यज्ञधारितम् ।

अहृतं तद्विजानीयात् सर्वं कर्मसु पावनम् ॥ Praceta, quoted in V.M.S. vol. I, p. 410.

and that of a Vaiśya Hāridra (yellow).⁹⁹ The clothes were dyed because thereby they would not get shabby very soon. Different colours preserved the distinction of castes. The deep-rooted fascination for white clothes, however, did not die away and many Smṛtis insist that the colour of the clothes of a Brahmachārī should be white.¹⁰⁰ At present the above distinctions have vanished away and clothes dyed in Haridrā (yellow) are offered to all the twice-born.

(f) The Girdle. Next, the Āchārya tied round the waist of the youth the girdle with the verse, "Here has come to me, keeping away evil words, purifying mankind as a purifier, clothing herself by power of inhalation and exhalation, with strength, this sisterly goddess, the blessed girdle"¹⁰¹ or with, "A youth well attired, dressed, come hither. He, being born, becomes glorious Wise sages extol him, devout ones, turning their minds to the gods". Or silently.^{101a} The girdle was originally made to support the Kaupīna. But, later on, it was turned to serve as a religious symbolism. It was made of triple cord, which symbolised that the student

99. यदि वासांसि वसीरन् रक्तानि वसीरत् काषायं ब्राह्मणो माजिष्ठं क्षत्रियो हारिद्रं वैश्य इति । Ā.G.S. i. 19. 10.

100. सर्वे तु चारयेच्छुक्लं वासस्तत्परिधानकम् । Manu quoted in V.M.S vol. p. 410.

101. P.G.S. ii. 2, 11.

101a. Ibid. ii. 2, 12-13.

was always encircled by the three Vedas ¹⁰² The girdle also informed the student that his belt was "a daughter of Faith and a sister of the sages, possessed the power of protecting his purity and chastity and would keep him away from evil." ^{102a} Like the upper garment, the girdle was also made of different stuffs for different castes, and even for one single caste options were allowed according to different Vedic schools. The girdle of a Brahman was made of Muñja grass, that of a Kṣattriya of a bow-string and that of a Vaiśya of wool. It must be even and good-looking. Its use at present is momentary, and soon after the Upanayana it is substituted by a cotton girdle.

✓(g) The Sacred Thread. After the tying of the girdle came the most important item of the Samskāra, according to the later authority, the investing the student with the Sacred Thread. It should be, however, observed that it was unknown to the early writers on ritual. None of the Gr̥hyasūtras contains the prescription of wearing the Sacred Thread. It seems that the upper garment

102. वेद त्रयेणावृतोऽहमिति मन्येत् स द्विजः । Āśvalayana, quoted in V.M.S. vol. I, p. 432.

102a. अद्याय दहिता तपसोऽभिजाता स्वसा श्वषीर्षा भूकृता बभूव । A.V. vi. 133. 4.

श्वतस्य गोप्त्री तपश्चरित्री ब्रती रक्षः सहभावाः अरातीः ।

सा मा समन्तम् अभिपर्येहि मग्ने चतारस्ते सुभगे भारिषाम् ॥ V.G.S. 5.

which was offered to the youth was the proto-type from which the sacred thread descended, though both the prototype (but not for sacrificial purpose) and the imitation were retained by the later authorities. The very name of the Sacred Thread, "Yajñopavita" supplies a clue to its original nature.¹⁰³ ✓

The scriptures prescribe that cotton cords should be worn by the Brahmana, woollen by the Kṣatriyas and linen by the Vaiśyas.¹⁰⁴ But the option of cotton cords is found for all.¹⁰⁵ It seems that it was due to the convenience of getting cotton threads. The Sacred Thread was of different colour according to different castes; the Brahmins wore white, the Kṣatriyas red and the Vaiśyas yellow. It is said that it corresponded with the colour of the mind of the above castes. But the differentiation was afterwards removed and at present the Vaiśya colour, yellow, has been adopted universally.

The Sacred Thread is spun by a virgin Brahman girl and twisted by a Brahman. In it as many knots are made as there are Pravara amongst the

103. Cf. Dr. A.S. Altekar, Education in Ancient India, Appendix, A.

104. कार्पोसमुपवीतं स्याद्विप्रस्योर्ध्वं वृतं त्रिवृतम् ।

शाणसूत्रमयं राज्ञो वैश्यस्याधिकसूत्रमम् ॥ M.S. ii. 44.

105. कार्पोसं चोपवीतं सर्वेषामिति । Paithīnasi, quoted in V.M.S. vol. I. p. 415.

ancestors of the wearer. The composition of the Sacred Thread is full of symbolism and significance. Its length is ninety-six times as the breadth of the four fingers of a man, which is equal to his height. Each of the four fingers represents one of the four states the soul of a man experiences from time to time, namely, waking, dreaming, dreamless sleep and absolute Brahmanhood. The three folds of the cord are also symbolical. They represent the three Guṇas, reality, passion and darkness, out of which the whole universe is evolved. The care is taken that the twist of the thread must be upward. It was done, so that the Sattvaguna or the good quality of reality may predominate in a man, and so he may attain spiritual merits. The three cords remind the wearer that he has to pay off the Three Debts he owes to the ancient seers, the ancestors and the gods. ✓The three cords are tied together by a knot called Brahmagranthi, which symbolises Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. Besides, extra knots are made in the cords to indicate the various Pravaraś of a particular family.✓

The Āchārya, while investing the student with the Sacred Thread repeated an appropriate Mantra, asking for strength, long-life and illumination for the boy,¹⁰⁶ the boy looking, in the meanwhile,

106. यज्ञोपवीतं परमं पवित्रं प्रजापतेर्यत्सहजं पुरस्तात् ।

आयुष्मन्ममं ब्रह्मिभ्यश्चुभ्रं यज्ञोपवीतं वरुणस्तुतेजः ॥ P.G.S. ii. 2. 13a

towards the sun. A Brahmachārī can put on only one set of the Sacred Thread. A householder is given privilege to wear two, one for himself and one for his wife. There are different methods of wearing the Sacred Thread at different occasions. While performing an auspicious ceremony one should be Upavīti, that is, the Sacred Thread should hang from his left shoulder, at the performance of some inauspicious ceremony a man should be Prāchinavīti, that is, the Sacred Thread should hang from the right shoulder, and at times he is called Nivīti when the Sacred Thread is worn round the neck like a garland.^{1 7}

(h) The Ajina. Then the Ajina or deer-skin was presented to the pupil. The word "Ajina" denotes generally the skin of an animal e.g. a gazelle,¹⁰⁸ as well as that of a goat¹⁰⁹. The use of skins as cloth in ancient times is shown by the adjective "Clothed in skins"¹¹⁰ (Ajina-vāsin), and the farriers' trade is mentioned.¹¹¹ The Maruts were also noted for wearing deer-skins.¹¹² The wild ascetics of a late Rgvedic hymn seem to be

107. A परिशिष्ट quoted in V.M.S. vol. I, p. 423.

108. A.V. v. 21. 7.

109. Ś.Br. V. 2. 1. 21.

110. Ibid. iii. 9. 1. 12.

111. The Vājasaneya-Saṁhitā xxx. 15.

112. R.V. i. 166. 10.

clad in skin.¹¹³ The Ajina was first used as an upper garment. But, later on, when cotton cloth was supplied in its place, it was utilized for a seat. In early times the country was covered with forest and skins were found in abundance. But when forest were cleared, there became paucity of hide, and blanket was prescribed.¹¹⁴ The ancient tradition was adhered to, though the skin was reduced to threads which is now represented by three strands fastened to the Sacred Thread at the time of the Upanayana Samskāra. Different kinds of skins were prescribed for different castes. The Pāraskara Grhyasūtra says, "The upper garment of a Brāhmaṇa should be an antelope skin; that of a Rājanya the skin of a spotted deer; that of a Vaiśya goats' or cows' skin; or if the prescribed sort of garment is not to be had, a cows' hide should be worn by all, because to that belongs the first place among all kinds of garments".¹¹⁵ The cow's skin was easily available; that is why it was a general option for all. According to Viṣṇu tiger-skin was also worn by the Vedic student.¹¹⁶ But it was a rarity. The skin was of a practical use

113. Ibid. x. 136. 2.

114. सार्वभौमिकः कन्दकार्त्तव्य Ap. D. 4. 1.

115. P.G.S. ii. 5. 2 .

116. मण्डूक्योपाख्यानादिभिः । Viṣṇu quoted in V.M.S. vol. I. p. 413.

in the forest life of early times. Because it was generally used by hermits and ascetics, it began to gather sanctity round it. When it became connected with the religious ceremony, the writers on Dharma invested it with symbolism. The Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa says that the lovely deerskin was symbolical of holy lustre and intellectual and spiritual pre-eminence.¹¹⁷ The student, while putting it on, was reminded that he should attain the spiritual and intellectual position of a Ṛṣi.

(i) The Staff. A staff¹¹⁸ was given by the Āchārya to the student, who accepted with the verse, "My staff which fell down to the ground in the open air, that I take up again for the sake of long life, of holy lustre and of holiness." According to some authorities the scholar should grasp the staff with the verse that was recited while taking a staff at the time of entering on a long sacrifice. The latter prescription was based on the fact that studentship was regarded as a long sacrifice.¹¹⁹ (The Mānava-Gṛhyasūtra observes that really speaking, the student is a traveller on the long road of knowledge.¹²⁰ The staff was the symbol

117. See ante p. 18, footnote 11.

118. P.G.S. ii. 2, 14.

119. दीर्घसत्रं वा एष उपैति यो ब्रह्मचर्यमुपैति । quoted by Harihara on P.G.S. ii. 2-14.

120. M.G.S. i. 22, 11.

of a traveller and while accepting it, the student prayed that he may reach safely the end of his long and arduous journey.¹²¹ One authority, however, remarks that the staff was the symbol of a watchman.¹²² The student was armed with the staff and charged with the duty of protecting the sacred Vedas. According to some, the purpose of the staff was to protect the student not only from the human foes but from the demons and evil spirits as well.¹²³ Aparārka on the Yājñavalkya Smṛti¹²⁴ points out that the staff could also serve the purpose of making the student self-confident and self-reliant, when he went out in the forest for collecting sacred fuels, for tending the cattle of his guru or when he travelled in darkness.

The type of the staff was determined by the caste of the student. The staff of a Brahman was of Palāśa wood, that of a Kṣātrīya was of Udumbara wood and that of a Vaiśya was of Vilva wood.¹²⁵ Options, however, were allowed which were based on local fashion or the availability of a particular wood in the locality. But as the wood of a staff

121. Cf. Dr. A.S. Altekar, Education in Ancient India, Chap. I, pp. 25, 26.

122. V.G.S. 6.

123. P.G.S. ii. 6, 26.

124. Yāj. S. I. 29.

125. A.G.S. i. 19, 10.

was not of a great consequence, so all could use all kinds of wood.¹²⁶ But some limit the staff to the sacrificial trees only.¹²⁷ The length of the staff was also fixed according to the Varna of the student. "The staff of the Brāhmaṇa measured up to his hair, that of the Ksattriya up to his forehead and that of a Vaiśya up-to his nose."¹²⁸ Vasiṣṭha¹²⁹ prescribes quite the reverse which shows that there was no real significance in the above distinction except the caste difference. Elegance of the staff was also taken into consideration. According to Gautama and Paithinasi the staff should be unbroken, unscratched and with bark¹³⁰ Manu says that it should be straight, without any scratch, fine-looking, not causing uneasiness and not burnt by fire.¹³¹ In some cases, even at present, all these rules relating the staff are respected, but in the majority of cases a very poor or nominal substitute for the staff is presented to the student. The reason is that, nowadays, it has no practical utility, the initiate not being expected to go outside his home to a hermitage in the forest.

126. सर्वे वा सर्वेषाम् । P G.S. ii, 5. 28.

127. यज्ञियो वा सर्वेषाम् । G.D.S.

128. A G.S. i. 19 12.

129. V.D.S. quoted in V.M.S. vol. I. p. 436.

130. भषीक्षिता यूषवक्ताहसल्का इति । G.D.S.

131. ऋजवश्चे तु सर्वे द्युरव्रथाः सौम्यदर्शनाः ।

अनुद्वेगकराः नृणां सखचोनखनदूषिताः ॥ M.S. ii. 47.

(j) Symbolical Performances. After the student was fully equipped with the necessities of a student life in ancient times, a series of symbolical acts followed before the Āchārya properly took the student in his charge. The first of them was that the teacher, with his joined hands, filled the students' joined hands with water with the verse, "Ye waters." This was symbolical of purification.^{131A} The student required sanctification before he could legitimately learn the Gāyatri mantra. Āśvalāyana says, "The teacher having uttered mantras pours water in the joined hands of the student, so that he may be purified to receive the Sāvitrī mantra."¹³² Next, the teacher made the student look at the sun with "That eye etc."¹³³ The life of a student was a perfect discipline regulated to the minutest details. The sun represents the Cosmic law which governs the whole universe. The student was asked to learn from the sun the observance of unswerving duty and discipline. Āśvalāyana, again observes; "The sun is a witness to all actions; he is the Lord of all vows, time, action and virtues; therefore he should be properly worshipped."¹³⁴

131a शुचित्वसिद्धये तस्य सावित्री प्रहस्यो गुरुः ।

अभिमंत्र्य यथावारि सिञ्चत्येव तद्वज्रौ ॥ Āśvalāyanācārya quoted
in V.M.S. vol I p. 426.

132. Ibid.

133. P' G.S. ii. 2. 17.

134. कर्मसाध्यामादित्वं तर्पयेत्तं द्योतकम् ।

सर्वं ब्रह्मज्ञानं भगवान् सूर्योऽधिपतिरीश्वरः ॥ Āśvalāyanācārya.

(k) Touching the Heart. After this, the teacher touched the heart of the pupil reaching over his right shoulder with the words, "Into my will I take thy heart etc."¹³⁵ The same verse was recited at the time of the marriage ceremonies also, with the only change of the deity, in that case being Prajāpati, while here it is Brhaspati. The "Lord of Prayers" or the "Presiding deity of Learning" was requested to unite the hearts of the Āchārya and the pupil. This prayer was intended to emphasize that relation between the teacher and the taught was not formal and mercenary but real and sacred. Realization of this fact was necessary. No progress in education was possible unless there was a complete harmony, a deep sympathy and a wholehearted communion between the guru and the initiate.

(l) Mounting the Stone. Then the student was asked to mount a stone with the words, "Tread on this stone; like a stone be firm. Tread the foes down; turn away the enemies."¹³⁶ According to the Mānava Gṛhyasūtra,¹³⁷ the student, by mounting a stone, was asked to be steadfast in the pursuit of his studies. In the opinion of the Bhāradvāja Gṛhyasūtra,¹³⁸ however, stone was

135. P.G.S. ii. 2. 18.

136. M.G.S. i. 22. 10.

137. Ibid. i. 22. 12.

138. Bh. G.S. i. 8.

also symbolical of strength. The purpose of the rite was to make the student adamant in his physique and character. The stone delivered a good sermon to the student that the firmness of determination and strength of character are the most essential needs of a successful student career.

(m) Taking the Charge. Now the proper taking the charge of the student began.¹³⁹ The teacher seized the student's right hand and asked his name. The pupil replied, "I am N. N. Sir." The teacher, again, enquired whose pupil he was, whereupon the student replied "Yours". The Āchārya correcting his answer said, "Indra's pupil art thou; Agni is thy teacher; I am thy teacher, N. N.!" Thus the teacher took the boy in his charge for education and protection. But thinking himself not omnipresent and all-powerful, he commended the student to the protection of gods and all creatures, that were requested to guard him every where. "To Prajāpati I give thee in charge. To the god Savitr I give thee in charge, To Heaven and Earth I give thee in charge. To all beings I give thee in charge for the sake of freedom from harm".¹⁴⁰

(n) The Commendments. Then after a circumambulation of the fire, and offerings to it, the teacher, taking hold of the student, delivered

139, P.G.S. ii, 2. 19-22.

140, Ibid. ii, 2. 23.

the following commandments: "A student art thou. Take water. Keep silence. Put fuel on the fire. Take water."¹⁴¹ This commandment is found as early as in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa¹⁴² which, besides, offers some explanation of the text also. "Sip water. Water doubtless means ambrosia: Sip ambrosia is thus he tells him; do thy work: work doubtless means vigour; exert vigour is what he tells him; put on fuel: enkindle thy mind with fire, with holy lustre is what he thereby tells him; do not sleep: "do not die" is what he thereby says to him etc". The commandment was a practical advice as well as a symbolical performance.

✓(o) The Sāvitrī Mantra. Next, the most sacred Sāvitrī mantra was taught to the student¹⁴³ If he could not follow it just on that day, it could be recited to the boy after one year, six months, twenty-four days, twelve days or three days.¹⁴⁴ The teacher, looking at the face of the child, uttered the Sāvitrī mantra, "Let us meditate on the most excellent light of the Creator (the Sun); May he guide our intellect."¹⁴⁵ The mantra was recited Pāda by Pāda, then hemistich by hemistich,

141. ब्रह्मवायस्यपोषान कर्म कुरु मा दिवा सुषुप्ता वाचं यच्छ सवित्रवाचे-
ह्यपोषानेति । Ibid. ii. 3. 2.

142. xi. 5. 4.

143. P.G.S. ii. 3. 3; Ś.G.S. i. 21. 5

144. Ibid.

145. तस्मिन्निदुर्वीर्यं मर्गो देवस्य बीजमिह । विप्रो वो वाः यपोदरात् ॥

and the third time the whole verse. To a Brahman the Achārya recited the Savitri mantra in the Gāyatri metre, to a Rājanya in Triṣṭubha, and to a Vaiśya in Jagatī, or to persons of all castes in the Gāyatri metre. The last option has now obtained universality. The teaching of the sacred mantra signalized the second birth of the child, as the teacher was regarded the father and Sāvitrī the mother of the child.¹⁴⁶ In early times the teacher himself was supposed to have conceived the child: "By laying his right hand on the pupil, the teacher becomes pregnant with him; In the third night he is born as a Brahman with the Sāvitrī."¹⁴⁷ The prayer was simple but significant. It was very appropriate to students whose prima business was to stimulate and develop their mind.

(p) The Sacred Fire. The rite of first enkindling and feeding of the sacred fire¹⁴⁸ was performed after the teaching of the Gāyatri mantra. The verses uttered here were full of educational significance. The student wiped with his hand the ground round the fire with the formula. "Agni, glorious one, make me glorious. As thou glorious Agni, art glorious, thus, O glorious one, bring me to glory. As thou Agni are the preserver of the

146. तत्रास्य माता सवित्री पिता स्वर्गाय उच्यते । M.S. ii, 170.

147. Ś. Br. xi, 5. 4. 12.

148. P.G.S. ii. 4. 1-8

treasure of sacrifice for the gods, thus may I become the preserver of the treasure of the Vedas for men."¹⁴⁹ Then he put fuels on the fire with the prayer, "To Agni I have brought a piece of wood, to the great Jātavedas. As thou, Agni, are inflamed by wood, thus I am inflamed by life, insight, vigour, offspring, cattle, holy lustre...May my teacher be the father of living sons; May I be full of insight, not forgetful of what I have learnt; may I become full of glory and splendour, of holy lustre and enjoyer of food. Svāhā?"¹⁵⁰ The sacred fire was the symbol of Life and Light, for which the student strove. It was the centre of all religious activities of the Indo-Aryans. Its worship began in the student career and continued throughout his life.

(q) The Rounds for Alms. Then followed the student's going the rounds for alms.¹⁵¹ This was the ceremonious beginning of what was going to be the chief means of his maintenance throughout his student career. On the day of the Upanayana he begged from only those who would not refuse, e. g. his mother and other relatives. The decorum required that a Brāhmaṇa student should beg addressing the woman whom he asks for alms with the word, "Lady" put at the beginning of his

149. Ibid. ii, 4. 2.

150. P.G.S. ii, 4. 3.

151. Ibid, ii, 5. 1-8,

request; a Rājanya with the word "Lady" inserted in the middle; a Vaiśya with the word put at the end." It cannot be said how far the custom of begging was universal in ancient India. But the ceremony of begging emphasized on the student's mind the fact that, being a non-economic entity, he was dependent on the public charity and he should discharge his duties to society when he would become its earning member. Begging of alms, in early times if not universal, must have been common, at least, in the case of Brahman and other poor students, as it is still practised by poor Brahman students. But in later times, excepting some rare cases, it fell in to disuse.

✓ (r) Late Features. At present a few new features, unknown to the scriptures, have been introduced in the Upanayana Samskāra, which are located after the ceremonial begging. The student undertakes a mimic performance.¹⁵² He enacts a comedy of going on educational mission to Benares or Kashmir. But he is persuaded by his maternal uncle or brother-in-law who allures him by promising a bride. What a tragedy of the educational ideal of the Upanayana Samskāra. The Samāvartan that was performed at completion of the studies, is now staged on the same day, simply for the emergency of child-marriage.

152. In ancient times educational journey of the student was a real one. See the Ś.G.S. ii, 8; A.G.S. iii. 10.

(s) *Trirātra-vrata*. After the initiation ceremonies were over, the student was required to observe three days' continence, which was called "*Trirātra Vrata*".¹⁵³ This continence might extend to twelve days or one year. It was the beginning of a rigorous training. He was not to eat saline food, he had to sleep on the ground, and he was forbidden to take meat and wine and to sleep in the day time. At the end of the vow, the *Medhājanana* ritual was performed in order to evoke divine help in the sharpening of the intellect, memory and retaining power.¹⁵⁴ It was called *Medhājanana*, because by performing it one could get intellect fit to grasp the *Velie* knowledge. Śaunaka says, "The Śun-born Goddess, the preserver of this world, Herself is *Medhā*. One who desires success in learning should worship her with a view to stimulate talent."¹⁵⁵ At present, the *Upanayana* having no educational purpose, these ancillary rites of educational significance have been dropped.

✓ (t) The Dawn of a new Era. When the *Upanayana* was a living *Samskāra* performed at the beginning of the student career, it must have

153. A.G., i. 22. 12 H.G.S. i. 8. 16.

154. Bh G.S. i. 10

155. वा सावित्री जगदात्री तैव मेधा स्वरूपिणी ।

मेधा प्रसिद्धये पूज्या विद्याविद्भिर्न भीषिता ॥ Śaunaka quoted in V.M.S. vol. I. p. 440.

created a very impressive atmosphere. It marked the dawn of a new era in the life of the initiate. He was no more a child and was introduced to the life of perfect and stern discipline. The ceremony symbolized the fact that the student was a traveller, starting for the boundless realm of knowledge. To reach his destination, he was asked to be firm and steadfast, like a stone, in his determination. A complete harmony between him and his Āchārya was also essential. In his mission, the student was assured the help of all gods and creatures. The ideals before him were Indra, the lord of all gods, and Agni, the most brilliant element in the world, the one suggestive of power and position and the other indicative of life and light. If the student acted up to the symbolisms and suggestions of the Samskāra, he was bound to be a successful scholar and a fulfilled man, fit to share the responsibilities of the world.

3. THE VEDĀRAMBHA (THE BEGINNING OF THE VEDIC STUDY)

(i) *Introductory*

In the earliest enumeration of the Samskāras by Gautama,¹ the Vedārambha and the Godāna are not mentioned. Instead, he gives the four Vedic Vratas, "Catvāri Vedavratāni," which according to Āśvalāyana, were, Mahānāmni, Mahāvratam, Upaniṣad and Godana.² Besides, special rites were prescribed before the reading of a Veda or its branch.³ Though these vratas were originally intended for all the twice-born, they were probably observed in the priestly families alone, because it were they who used to specialize in all the branches of the Vedas and the Vedic rituals. The non-Brahmans gradually gave up the practice of performing the Vedic vratas or vows. In course of time, the non-Vedic literature grew in extent and importance and came to be studied extensively by the Brahmans. The Vedic literature was less

1. G.D S. viii, 24.

2. प्रथमं स्यान्महानाम्नी द्वितीयं स्यान्महाव्रतम् ।

तृतीयं स्यादुपनिषद् गोदानं माहृततः परम् ॥ Āśvalāyana quoted in S.M. p. 63.

3. गच्छात्मीयैस्तु संस्कारैः संस्कृतो ब्राह्मणो भवेत् ।

तच्छास्त्राध्ययनं कार्यमेवं न पतितो भवेत् ॥ Vasistha quoted in V.M.S. vol. I. p. 338.

and less studied. So with the decline of the Vedic study these vratas began to pass out of vogue. They are not mentioned in the majority of the Gr̥hyasūtras and the Dharmasūtras and altogether passed over by the Smṛtis. But respect for the old tradition required that there should be one Samskāra that could take the place of the Vedic vows and mark the beginning of higher education. Thus the Vedārambha sprang on the ruins of the ancient Vedic vratas. This is the reason why the Vedārambha appeared so late in the list of the Samskāras Vyāsa mentions it for the first time.⁴

(ii) *The Origin*

There was one more change in the history of the Samskāras which necessitated the existence of the Vedārambha as a separate Samskāra. In the beginning the Upanayana and the study of the Vedas began almost together. The former was a real going of the child to the house of the teacher and was immediately followed by studentship. The Vedic study was supposed to begin with the most sacred Gāyatrī mantra. But in later times, when Sanskrit ceased to be a spoken language or a widely understood one the Upanayana became merely a bodily Samskāra. Then it was performed

when the student had already begun the study of his vernacular, and the nominal Āchārya by whom the Samskāra was performed had no intention to take the student in his own charge. Therefore it was thought necessary to perform another Samskāra, besides the Upanayana, to mark the beginning of the Vedic Study.

(iii) *A New Samskāra*

The Samskāra, as already pointed out, is first mentioned in the Vyāsa Smṛti.⁵ It differentiates the Vratādeśa (a new name of the Upanayana) from the Vedārambha. During the time of the author, the first had nothing to do with study, but the second was purely an educational Samskāra performed at the time when the student actually began his Vedic study. The later Paddhati-writers have recognized the distinction between the Upanayana and the Vedārambha and they insert the latter between the Upanayana and the Samāvartana.

(vi) *The Ceremonies*

For the performance of the Vedārambha Samskāra an auspicious day was fixed after the Upanayana. In the beginning, the Matvpūjā the Ābhyudayika Śrāddha and other preliminary

ceremonies were performed. Then the teacher established the Laukika-Agni, invited the student and seated him on the Western side of the fire. After this, general offerings were made. If the R̥igveda was to be begun, two ābutis of ghee were offered to the earth and Agni; if the Yajurveda, to Antarikṣa (the sky) and Vāyu; if the Sāmaveda, to Dyaus and the sun; and if the Atharvaveda, to the quarters and the moon. If the study of all the Vedas began together, the above offerings were made together. Besides, Homa were offered to Brahman, Chhandas and Prajāpati. In the end, the teacher, having made gift of the Pūrṇapātra and Dakṣiṇā to the officiating Brahman, began the teaching of the Veda.⁶

6. The Gargapaddhati.

4. THE KEŚĀNTA OR THE GODĀNA (THE SHAVING OF BEARD)

(i) *Different Names and their Significance*

The Keśānta or the first shaving was one of the four Vedic Vratas ¹ When the first three vratas, that were closely connected with the Vedic Study, disappeared, the Keśānta separated and assumed an independent position, though it retained the ancient ceremonies. The existence of the Keśānta as a separate Saṃskāra seems to be older than that of the Vedārambha. The Grhyasūtras² describe the Keśānta with the Chūdākarana, but they nowhere mention the Vedārambha. Jātukarnya, an older writer than Vyasa, enumerates the former but do not mention the latter.³ It was regarded as a major Saṃskāra by Vyasa who includes it in the list of the famous sixteen Saṃskāras.⁴ The question may rise in one's mind why the Keśānta did not meet the same fate as the other Vedic Vratas met. The reason appears thus. This Saṃskāra had an advantage over its colleagues. While the first

1. Āgvalāyana quoted in S.M. p. 63.

2. A.G.S. i. 18; P.G.S. ii. 1 3; Ś.G.S. i. 28. 18; G.G.S. iii. 1; H.G.S. ii. 6. 16; Āp. G.S. 12; Kh. G.S. ii. 5. 1.

3. मीजीवतानि गोदानसमावर्तविवाहकाः । quoted in V.M.S. vol. I.
संस्कारोद्देश.

4. Vy.S. i. 14.

three Vratas were dependent, for their life, on the Vedic study, it was essentially connected with the body and conduct of the student. When the Vedic literature ceased to form the general curriculum of studies, the first three Vratas fell into disuse. But the Kesānta still signalized the natural change that took place in the life of the student. Even when the Samskāras became mere ceremonies bereft of their original purpose, the Kesānta did not suffer very much.

(ii) *The Origin and Early History*

The Kesānta, as its very name suggests, was a Samskāra which consecrated the first shaving of the student's beard. It was called Godāna also, because it was characterized by the gift of a cow to the teacher and gifts to the barber. This Samskāra was performed at the age of sixteen and marked the arrival of youth when the student was no more a boy, and beard and moustaches appeared on his face.⁵ The consciousness of manhood dawned upon the young man. He required a greater watchfulness over his youthful impulses. Hence it was thought necessary that the student should be reminded once more of his vows of Brahmacharya. He was, after shaving the beard and moustaches, required to take the vow of Brahmacharya anew

5. A.G.S. i. 18; M.S. ii. 65.

and to live the life of strict continence for one year.

(iii) Later History and Confusion

During the mediaeval and subsequent times confusion entered the Hindu religion and degeneration set in every department of life. When early marriage became common, the Keśānta began to be considered as marking the end of Brahmacharya. In the Sūtra period the shortest period of Brahmacharya was twelve years. According to this calculation, the student career ended at the age of eighteen. But this was not the general custom. Only those students, who were in sure need of the family, took leave of their gurus at this early age. Later on, however, owing to the emergency of child-marriage, it became a common practice to close the Brahmacharya period with the Keśānta or Godāna. The Bharadvaja and the Vārāha Gr̥hyasūtras, which were written subsequent to the beginning of the Christian era, had already begun to prescribe the general option that "in the opinion of some, one could close his Brahmacharya with the Godāna ceremony."⁶ The supporters of early marriage began to argue that the termination of Brahmacharya at sixteen was in no way against the Śāstric rule, as if the Upanayana was performed

6. आगोदान कर्मणः (ब्रह्मचर्यम्) इत्येके । Bh. G.S.i.9; V. G. S 9.

at the age of five, one could get twelve years for the study of the Vedas.⁷ Thus what was in the beginning a concession, later on became privilege and right of the people, but certainly for the worse

As a matter of fact, the Kesānta or Godāna had nothing to do with the termination of Brahmacharya. The Samāvartana was to mark the close of the student life. Both the Samskāras were confounded deliberately in order to enable the boy to marry without finishing his complete course of studies. Confusion became more confounded for ordinary men owing to the fact that shaving formed the common element in both the Samskāras.

(iv) Ceremonies

As already said, the ceremony was performed at the age of sixteen. The procedure followed and the mantras recited at this samskāras were quite the same as adopted in the chaṇḍa Samskāra. The only difference was that in it beard and moustaches were shaved instead of head. Just as in the Chūḍākaraṇa, hair of the beard, head, nails were thrown into water. The student, then, offered a cow to the teacher. At the end of the ceremony he observed a vow of silence and led a life of austere discipline for full one year.

7. Śrīnivāsa on J.G.S. i. 18.

5. THE SAMAVARTANA OR SNĀNA (END OF STUDENTSHIP)

(i) *Introductory*

This Samskāra was performed at the close of the Brahmacharya period and it marked the termination of the student life. Samāvartana means "returning home from the house of the guru."¹ It was called Snāna also because bathing formed the most prominent item of the Samskāra. According to some anthropologists, bathing was meant for washing away divinity from the student.² During his Brahmacharya period, he was living in divine contact and he himself had some divine halo round him. So, before he returned to the ordinary world, he had to put off divine influence, otherwise he would pollute divine attributes and thereby incur divine displeasure. The early Indian writers also regarded Brahmacharya as a long sacrifice.³ Therefore, just as at the end of a sacrifice the sacrificial bath or Avabhr̥tha was taken by the sacrificer, so the long sacrifice of Brahmacharya also required that the student should have a bath

1. तत्र समावर्तनं नाम वेदाध्ययनानन्तरं गुरुकुलात् स्वगृहागमनम् । V.M.S. vol. I. p. 564.

2. R. H. Nassau, Feticshism in West Africa. p. 212.

3. दीर्घसत्रं वा एष उपैति यो ब्रह्मचर्यमुपैति । Quoted by Gadādhara on the P.G.S. ii. 2. 15.

at its end. But there was one more idea associated with bathing in the Samāvartana Samskāra, which later on became the most prominent. In the Sanskrit literature learning was compared to an ocean, and one who possessed great learning was supposed to have crossed that ocean. Naturally, a student, who had completed his course of studies, was regarded as a person who had crossed the ocean of learning. He was called a Vidyāsnātaka (one who has bathed in learning) and a Vratasnātaka (one who has bathed in vows).⁴ Thus the ceremonial bath at the end of the student career symbolized the crossing of the ocean of learning by the student.

(ii) Importance

The close of one's student life was a very momentous period in one's life. One had to make a choice between two paths of life. One of them was to get oneself married and plunge into the busy life of the world, sharing its full responsibilities. The other was that of retirement that is, to keep off from the turmoil of the world and to lead a life of detachment, both physical and mental. Those students who chose the first path were called "Upakurvāṇa", and those who selected the second path were known as "Naiṣṭhika".⁵ The Upakurvāṇas

4. P.G.S. ii, 5, 32, 36.

5. Yāj. S. I, 49.

returned from their gurukulas and became householders. The Naiṣṭhikas did not leave their teachers and lived in the service of their masters in quest of supreme knowledge.⁶ According to Viṣṇu, some people were compulsorily required to lead the life of a Brahmachāri on physical grounds. They were the hump-backed, the blind by birth, the impotent, the lame and the diseased.⁷ They did not perform their Samāvartana, because Vivāha was not possible in their case.

(iii) *The Normal Course*

But the majority of students followed the normal course of life and preferred the life of a householder to that of a celibate one. All the authorities on Dharmaśāstra recommend that one should pass through all the four Āśramas in order. Manu says, "The different orders, Brahmacharya, Gārhaṣṭhya, Vānaprastha and Sanyāsa spring from the life of a householder. The four Āśramas followed in order, according to the rules of the Śāstras, bring a man to the supreme state of life."⁸

6. यदि स्वात्मन्तिको वासो रोचेतास्त गुरोः कुले ।

युक्तः परिवरेदेनमाशरीरविमोक्षणात् ॥ M.S ii. 243.

7. कुलज्वाभनजास्यन्वहीदपक्ष्वातरोनिव्याम् ।

व्रतचर्या भवेत्तेषां यावज्जीवमनंशतः ॥ Viṣṇu quoted in S.M. p. 62
8, M.S. Ibid.

(iv) Three Types of Snātakas

This Samskāra was originally performed in the case of those, who had finished their entire course of studies and observed all the Vratas. Those, who simply memorized the texts of the Vedas, without understanding the meaning and without following the rules of conduct prescribed for a Brahmachari, were excluded from the right of performance.⁹ Thus in the beginning the Samāvartana was a ceremony corresponding to modern convocation function. Only those who have passed their examinations are at present admitted to the convocation; only those who had finished their education were allowed to take their bath. But in course of time this rule seems to be relaxed. In the opinion of a large number of the Grhyasūtras there were three types of Snātākas¹⁰. The first type was that of the Vidyāsnātakas, who had completed their entire course of studies but not the full term of Brahmacharya. The second type consisted of the Vratasmātakas, who had observed all the vows and spent the full period of Brahmacharya at the house of the guru but had not finished the full course of studies. The third type was constituted by the best students, who had

9. अग्नौ वेदपाठी न तस्य स्नानम् । M.G.S. i. 2, 3.

10. त्रयः स्नातका भवन्ति विद्यस्नातको व्रतस्नातको विश्वस्तस्नातक इति ।
P.G.S. ii, 5. 33.

finished their full course of studies and observed all the vows. They were called the Ubhaya-Snātakas.

(c) *A pass-port to Marriage*

Later on, when the Upanayana lost its educational significance, the original purpose of this Samskāra was also lost sight of and it came to be regarded, more or less, a bodily Samskara, a sort of license for marriage. This condition obtained when early marriage became prevalent in the country. Because marriage could not take place before the Samāvartana, it must be performed some time before that. First, the convenient time found for it was that of the Keśānta ceremony, which also resembled it in some details, eg. in shaving and bathing.¹ But subsequently, the Keśānta too became an insignificant Samskāra; so the Samāvartana came to be combined with the Upanayana. At present, in the majority of cases, both the Samskāras are performed together. What a mockery of fate! The education of a child was supposed to be complete before it commenced. Another ridiculous result also followed from the ignorance about the real nature of the Samāvartana. In the beginning, it was performed when the education of the youth was over; marriage usually followed but by no means immediately. In later

1 See ante p. 247.

times, the theory became current that one should not remain without an Āśrama even for a single moment.¹² If a Snātaka was not immediately married, he would incur sin by spending some days without any particular Āśrama. In mediaeval times it came to be advocated that the Samāvartana should be performed when the marriage of the youth was already settled. So it takes place one day before the marriage, possibly with the Haridrā ceremony.

(vi) *The Age*

At what period after the Upanayana, the Samāvartana-Samskāra should be performed was a problem to be considered.¹³ The longest period of Brahmacharya was forty-eight years, allowing twelve years for the study of each Veda. The smaller periods stopped at thirty-six, Twenty-four and eighteen according to the circumstances of the student and his parents. The last but one period was the most common type of Brahmacharya and in the majority of cases education finished at twentyfour. The mediaeval writers, however, began to favour the last period in order to enable a boy to marry earlier. But at present there is no time

12. अनाश्रमी न तिष्ठेत्, अणमेकमपि द्विजः ।

आश्रमेन विना लिङ्गप्रायश्चित्तीयते हि सः ॥ D.S. i. 10.

13. P.G.S. ii. 6. 2-3.

limit. The Vedas have become a sealed book, there is no fixed course of education and even ordinary literacy has become a luxury. The Samāvartana Samskāra is now drowned into insignificance and is incorporated either in the Upanayana or the Vivāha ceremonies.

(vii) The Permission of the Teacher

Before the student took his bath, he had to discharge a very important duty. He asked the permission of his master to end his student career and satisfied him with the guru-dakṣiṇā or tuition fees.¹⁴ Anujñā or permission was regarded necessary, because it certified the Snātaka that he was a fit person in learning, habit and character for a married life. Manu says, "Being permitted by the guru, one should perform his Samāvartana and marry a woman etc."¹⁵ Up to this time the student did not pay any thing to the Āchārya.¹⁶ So, when he was going to leave him, he was expected in all propriety, to pay him according to his means, in the form of fees. The teacher should be given earth, gold, cow, horse, umbrella, shoes, clothes, fruits and vegetables.¹⁷ According to Vyāsa, only

14. विशन्ते गुरुमर्थेन निमःस्य कृतानुज्ञानस्य वा स्नानमिति । A.G.S. iii. 8.

15. गुरुयानुमतः स्नात्वा समावृत्तो यथाविधि ।

उद्धेतद्विजो भार्या सवर्णा ब्रह्मयान्विताम् । M.S. iii. 4.

16. Ibid. ii. 245.

17. Ibid. ii. 246.

cows should be given in fees.¹⁸ The services rendered by the teacher to the student were highly respected and none could pay too much for them. "Even the earth containing seven continents was not sufficient for the guru-dakṣiṇā".¹⁹ "There is no object on this earth by giving which one can free himself from the debt of even a teacher who teaches a single letter".²⁰ If one could not pay anything in the form of money or land etc. he should at least, go to the teacher and formally take his permission. In such cases the teacher used to say, "My child, enough with money ! I am satisfied with thy merits".²¹

(vii) *The Ceremonies and their Significance*

When the preliminary considerations were disposed of, an auspicious day was fixed for the performance of the Samskāra. The ceremonies opened with a very strange procedure. The student was required to shut himself up in a room throughout the morning. According to the Bhāradvāja Gr̥hyasūtra, it was done, so that the

18. स्नात्वा तु मुच्यतुस्त्रातो दद्यात्समै दक्षिणां हि गाम् । Quoted in V.M.S. vol. I, p. 565.

19. सप्तद्वीपवती भूमिर्दक्षिणार्थे न कल्पते । तापनोय भ्रुति, Ibid.

20. एकमप्यक्षरं यस्तु गुरुः शिष्ये निवेदयेत् ।

पृथिव्यां नास्ति तद्वद्रथं यद्वत्प्राणवृत्ती भवेत् ॥ कबुद्धारीत, Ibid.

21. अक्षयर्चेन मे वत्स त्वद्गुरौस्मि सोषितः संग्रह, । Ibid.

sun may not be insulted by the superior lustre of the Snātaka, as the former shines only with the light borrowed from the latter.²² At the midday the student came out of the room, embraced the feet of his teacher and paid his last tribute to the Vedic fire by putting some fuel on it. Eight vessels full of water were kept there. The number eight indicated the eight quarters of the earth and suggested the idea of honour and praise being showered on the student from all over the earth. Then the student drew water out of one vessel with the words, "The fires that dwell in the waters, the fire that must be hidden, the fire which must be covered, the ray of light, the fire which kills the mind, the unbearing one, the pain causing one, the destroyer of the body, the fire which kills the organs, these I leave behind. The shining one that I seize here Therewith I besprinkle for the sake of prosperity, of glory, of holiness, of holy luster".²³ With other appropriate verses he bathed from other vessels. The body of a student was heated with the fire of austerity and penance, hence for the comfortable life of a householder it required a cooling influence, which was symbolised by bathing and indicated by the verses associated with it.

22. एतद्दहः स्नातानां ह वा एष एतरोजसा तपति तस्मादेवमेतद्दहर्नामितपेत् ।

Bh. G.S. ii. 1. 8.

23. P.G.S. ii. 6. 8-10.

After the grand bath the student cast off his entire out-fit, e.g. the mekhalā, the deerskin, the staff etc. into water and put on a new loin cloth. Having eaten some curd and sesame he cut off his beard, lock of hair, nails, and cleansed his teeth with an Udumbara tree branch with the verse, "Array yourself for food. Here has come King Soma; he will purify my mouth with glory and fortune".²⁴ The student had practised continence both in food and speech. Now he was going to prepare for a fuller and more active life of the world. At the time of the Samāvartana, the austere life of a student was over, and many comforts and luxuries of life denied to him during his Brahmacharya, were presented to him by the Āchārya. First, he gave the student a bath with fragrant water.²⁵ Then oinment was applied to different organs of the student and a wish was expressed for the gratification of senses, "Satisfy my up-breathing and down-breathing; satisfy my eyes; satisfy my ears."²⁶ The student, then, put on new garments which had not yet been washed or soaked in dye, and received flowers and garlands. Ornaments, collyrium, earrings, turban, umbrella, shoes and mirror, the use of which was

24. P.G.S. ii. 6. 12.

25. Ibid. ii. 6. 13; G.G.S. iii. 4. 11; Kh. G S. iii. 1. 9.

26. Ibid.

forbidden to the student, were officially offered to him. A bamboo staff was also given to the scholar for safety in life. Well-to-do guardians were expected to furnish a double set of the above articles, one for the teacher and the other for the student.²⁷

In the case of a Brahman student, according to some, a Homa was performed and the hope was expressed that the Snātaka would get plenty of students to teach.^{27a} The teacher, then, offered to the student the Madhupark, indicating a great respect, for it was reserved for a few, e.g. a king, a teacher, a son-in-law etc.²⁸

Dressed in his new attires, the student would proceed to the nearest assembly of the learned in a chariot or on an elephant.²⁹ There he was introduced as a competent scholar by his teacher. But according to other authorities, after the ceremony was over, all day the Snātaka kept away from the sun-shine and remained silent till the stars appeared. Then he went east or northwards, paid reverence to the quarters, and the stars and the moon, conversed with friends and went to where he expected argha gift which was regarded

27. A.G.S. iii. 8.

27a. B.G.S. ii. 6.

28. ब्रह्मर्षि भवन्ति । आचार्यं ब्रह्मिष्ठैवागच्छो राजा प्रियः स्नातक इति । P.G.S. i. 3. 1-2.

29. Āp. G.S. i. 11. 5; D.G.S. iii. 1. 26.

appropriate to a Snātaka immediately after the bath.³

(ix) The Respect paid to the Snātaka

A survey of the Samāvartana ceremonies shows how high was the respect in which scholars, who had completed their education, were held by society in ancient India. A Brāhmaṇa passage quoted in the Gṛhyasūtras asserts that the Snātaka was a powerful personality.³¹

(x) An Absurd Simplification

At present, the whole ceremonies have been reduced to an absurd simplicity. The Samāvartana is performed either with the Upanayana or the Vivāha in hurry and the only remnants of the detailed procedure are the bath and the decoration of the person, and these also without proper Vedic mantras.

30. G.G.S. ii. 5, 21.

31. महर्षे एतद्मूर्तं यः स्नातकः । A.G.S. iii. 9, 8.

THE VIVĀHA (MARRIAGE CEREMONIES)

(i) *The Importance of Marriage*

The Vivāha is the most important of all the Hindu Saṃskāras. The Grhyasūtras generally begin with it, because it is the origin and centre of all domestic sacrifices. They presuppose that every man, in his normal conditions, is expected to marry and run a home. Even before them, in the Vedic period, to which only a few of the Saṃskāras can be traced back in their ceremonial form, the marriage ceremonies were developed and they have found literary expression in the Ṛgveda¹ and the Atharvaveda.² A sweet home, a lady love and fondlings in the house—these were coveted objects for the Vedic Aryans. Therefore, marriage received great importance even in early times. When religious consciousness developed, marriage was not only a social necessity but became a religious duty incumbent upon every individual. Marriage was regarded as a sacrifice³ and one who did not enter the married life was called “one

1. x. 85,

2. xiv. 1, 2.

3. अयज्ञो वा एष योऽपत्नीकः । T. Br. ii. 2. 2. 6.

without sacrifice", a contemptible term, indeed, for the Vedic Hindus. The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa says, "He, indeed, is without sacrifice who has got no wife" It again adds,⁴ "He is himself a half man, the second half is wife." When the theory of Three Debts⁵ evolved, marriage gained even greater importance and sanctity, as it was through marriage that one could pay off one's ancestral debt, by producing children.

During the Upanisadic times, the Āśrama theory was established. The advocates of this theory maintained that one should proceed Āśrama by Āśrama, that is, a man should first live the life of a student, then he should enter the married life, after this he should lead a retired life and in the last Āśrama he should give up all worldly attachments and become a religious wanderer. The married life was regarded essential for the growth of personality and no tinge of antipathy was attached to it.

In the time of the Smṛtis, the Āśram system was believed to be divinely ordained, and it was thought to be the sacred duty of every person to respect it. From the Gr̥hyasūtras and the Dharmasūtras we learn that the number of

4. अथो अन्नो वा एव आत्मनः संपत्तिः । Ibid ii, 9. 4. 7.

5. आत्मनो वै ब्रह्मचरिणोऽथवा ज्ञायते ब्रह्मचर्येण ब्रह्मस्य वक्ष्यते देवेभ्यः ब्रह्म पिब्यते । T.S. vi, 8. 10. 5,

Naiṣṭhika Brahmachāris was very much limited and majority of young men accepted the life of a the householder. The Smṛtis entirely endorse the Āśramas ystem and emphatically prescribe that a man should marry after his student life. Manu⁶ enjoins, "Having spent the first fourth part of his life in the house of his guru, the second fourth in his own house with his wife, the third part in forests, one should take Sanyāsa in the fourth part, casting way every worldly tie." Hārita⁷ is of the same opinion: "One who spends his life in the said manner, having conquered all the worlds, attains the world of Brahmā." According to Dakṣa,⁸ the order of the first three Āśramas cannot be changed. None is more sinful than one who transgresses this rule. The Smṛtis highly praise the life of a householder. They call it the best Āśrama and regard it as the centre and prop of the whole social structure. "Just as all creatures exist depending on air, so do all the Āśramas

6. चतुर्थमायुषो मार्गं वसित्वायं गुरोः कुले ।

द्वितीयमायुषो मार्गं कुतदारो एहं वसेत् ॥

वनेषु च विद्वत्यैवं तृतीयं भागमायुषः ।

चतुर्थमायुषो मार्गं त्यक्त्वा सङ्गान्परिमृजेत् ॥ M.S. iv. 1, 2.

7. अग्नेन विधिना यो हि ब्राह्मणानुपसेवते ।

स सर्वलोकाभिर्जित्य ब्रह्मलोकाय कल्पते ॥ Quoted in S.M. p. 64.

8. ब्रह्माद्यात्मनुकोर्म्यं ह्यात्मसिद्धोऽयं न विद्यते ।

प्राप्तिकोन्वेन यो वाति न तस्मात्प्रापकृतरः ॥ D.S. i. 12.

depend upon the householder. Because the householder supports the three orders by means of knowledge and food, so his order is the highest. One who longs for imperishable heaven and happiness in this world, should uphold the Gr̥hastha-Āśrama..."⁹ Quite in keeping with these ideas, a man who did not marry was held in low scale. An anonymous quotation by Aparārka on Yajñavalkya¹⁰ says, "O, King, a man, he may be a Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, a Vaiśya or a Śūdra, who is without a wife, is not fit for religious act."

For several reasons marriage was held in high esteem among ancient peoples. Doubtless, in rude pastoral, and even agricultural times, economic and social causes were at the basis of this esteem. Large family was a blessing. Marriage was a family affair rather than a personal one; indeed the generation of offspring was the supreme motive of every union to the end that a man's house or family might not die out. Then religious motives were equally operative in assigning such a great regard to marriage. Worship of ancestors and gods was dependent on progeny, which could be obtained

९. यय. बायुं समाश्रित्य वर्तन्ते सर्वजन्तवः ।

तथा गृहस्थमाश्रित्य वर्तन्ते सर्वआश्रमाः ॥ etc. M.S. iii. 77-79.

10. पत्नी धर्मार्थं कामनां कारणं प्रवरं स्मृतम् ।

अपत्नीको नरो मूष कर्मयोग्यो न जायते ।

ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रियोवाजि वैश्यः शूद्रोऽपि वा नृपः ॥ 1. 51.

only through marriage. In later development of Hinduism, the last idea became more prominent than the social and economic ones.

Other ancient peoples also held marriage in high esteem. Among the people of Israel it was respected for the same reasons as among the Hindus.¹¹ "Later on in the age of the Messianic prophecies, marriage gained an added sanctity from the precious possibility that the fruit of the union might be the promised messiah of the Jews, its long desired savior from oppression." In Greece also marriage was highly respected and looked upon as a sacred ceremony.¹² "By means of such union family was perpetuated, the inheritance of property provided for and the worship of ancestral gods continued. Therefore, celibacy was regarded a serious offence, a crime against the household gods. So strong was the feeling in Athens that a law was enacted enjoining the first magistrate of the City to see to it that no family became extinct."¹³ And in Sparta Plutarch tells us that a man who did not marry lost certain rights and was not treated by younger men with that respect so scrupulously accorded by Spartan youths to their elders.¹⁴ Like

11. Willystine Goodsell, Ph. D., *A History of The Family As A Social And Educational Institution*, pp. 58. ff.

12. *Ibid.* pp. 86 ff.

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Life of Lycurgus*, Bohn's Classical Library, vol. I. p. 81.

ancient peoples the Romans looked upon marriage as a sacred and important act and stamped celibacy with public disapproval, since it was disadvantageous alike to the state, which needed supporters, and to the family which needed sons to continue its domestic worship.

But a contrast is presented by the Christian views regarding marriage. There can be no reasonable doubt that the views of the early Christian Fathers concerning the marriage bond was profoundly influenced by the opinions of St. Paul. The doctrines of this great leader are so familiar that only a brief reference need be made to a few of the more influential of them. He writes: "Nevertheless, to avoid fornication let every man have his own wife, and every woman have her own husband"¹⁵ But this doubtful sanction is promptly followed by the words: "But I speak this by permission and not of commandment.....For I would that all men were as I myself.....I say therefore to the unmarried and widows, it is good for them if they abide even as I. But if they cannot content, let them marry; for it is better to marry than to burn".¹⁶ There is no tint in Paul's writing, nor does it clearly appear in the works of the later Church Fathers that marriage is a spiritual

15. 1. Cor. vii. 2.

16. Ibid. vii. 7-8.

as well as a physical union and that the latter should be impossible without the former. "Obviously these pronouncements show scant appreciation of the uplifting and strengthening influence of a true marriage-of its power to quicken and deepen all worthy emotions. Thus it is that the reading of the marital views of the later Church Fathers is a distasteful task from which the student willingly turns."^{16a} But it should be noted that this was a reaction against the corrupt Roman society where sexual relations were very loose and which led to the physical as well as spiritual downfall of the Romans.

(ii) *The Origin*

Such an important occasion as marriage naturally attracted much attention of the people and many and various ceremonies gathered round it. But for fully understanding the development of the marriage ceremonies it is necessary to know how and under what circumstances they arose. The circumstances, in which the institution of marriage originated, conditioned the nature of marriage rituals. The word "marriage" has a reference to "a union of the male and female which does not cease with the act of procreation but persist after the birth of offsprings until the young are capable

16a. Willystine Goodsell, Ph. D., A. History of the Family
As A Social And Educational Institution, pp. 80 ff.

of supplying their own needs.”¹⁷ It is evident that sexual instinct itself could not have brought about permanent relationship between man and woman. Nor the aboriginal man had that glimmering conception of that ideal love which to-day binds a pair together in the strongest of human ties. The weakness of the savage female also was not responsible for marriage tie, because she was as strong and capable of self-defence as the male. The source of marriage is to be sought for elsewhere. We can look for it in the utter helplessness of the new-born offspring and the need of both the mother and the young for protection and food during a varying period of time. So it appears that marriage has its source in the family, rather than the family in marriage, and the very roots of the permanent union of the sexes are found in parental duties. It was the natural desire of woman for sufficient protection during the critical period of her confinement and for adequate protection of the child in its helpless state of infancy that drove her to select a permanent companion in life. In this selection she was very cautious, as she fully considered the fitness of the man and arrived at a mutual understanding before she gave herself away to him. The love making and other means of enticement were there that

17. Willystine Goodsell, *A History of the Family As A Social And Educational Institution*, p. 6.

helped in effecting the union.^{17a} The desire for a son, the protection of wife and children, the need of running a home and the ideal of domestic felicity are duly reflected in the marriage ceremonies.

(iii) *Pre-marital Stage*

Now we have to consider the evolution of marriage in ancient periods of Indian history, though the marriage ceremonies of the Hindus presuppose a monogamous union. The R̥gvedic society emerges with a well established home which could not have been possible in the pre-marital stage of sexual relation. There is no instance of promiscuity proper in the Vedic literature. The only reference to it is found in the Mahābhārata.¹⁸ There it is stated that women were free in early primitive times and they could have sexual relation with anybody they liked, even though they were married. This revolting custom, however, was abolished by Śvetaketu, son of Uddālaka. This story, at most, proves that the Aryans had passed through a stage of society when such intercourse was tolerated in society. Temporary sexual relations also are not to be found either in the Vedas or in the Gr̥hyasūtras. The marriage as described in them was meant to be

17a. A. C. Das, R̥gvedic Culture

18 अनावृताः किल पुराजिह्व आसन्धराजने ।

कामाचारविहारिण्यः स्वतन्त्राश्चारुहासिनि ॥ i. 128

regular and permanent. The only instance of marriage by periodical contract is supplied in the story of Urvaśi and Purūravas in the R̥gveda.¹⁹ This form of marriage, however, was not current in the R̥gvedic times and must have been a recollection of ancient times when temporary marriages were in vogue.

(iv) Marriage Proper

It is a mistake to suppose that sexual relation in the early society was promiscuous. The great anthropologists with their vast and intimate knowledge of primitive culture have arrived at the conclusion that the sexual relation between man and woman in ancient times was not promiscuous, Westermarck remarks: 'It is not of course impossible that among some peoples intercourse between the sexes may have been almost promiscuous. But there is not a shred of genuine evidence for the notion that promiscuity even formed a general stage in the history of mankind.....Although polygamy occurs among most existing peoples, and polyandry among some, monogamy is by far the most common form of human marriage. It was so among the ancient peoples of whom we have any direct knowledge. Monogamy is the form which is generally recognized and permitted. The great majority of peoples are,

as a rule, monogamous, and other forms of marriages are usually modified in a monogamous direction."²⁰ Almost the same observations are made by Howard ²¹ on the topic: "In a progressive society monogamy is the natural and usual form of marriage. Other forms of marriage are degradation or retrogression to the primitive conditions. Promiscuity never creates the home, nor engenders those noble sentiments of self-sacrifice and self-denial that have helped to uplift the human race." The Vedic hymns and the Grhyasūtras celebrate a regular marriage for a life-long companionship. The Hindu Samskāras recognize the fulfilled marriage bereft of savage waywardness on the part of man and woman

v) *The Forms of Marriage*

After we have considered the general state of sexual relation, we have to see how a young man and a young woman were united to lead the life of a householder. The Smṛtis²² have recognized eight methods through which it was done. These are Brāhma, Daive, Ārṣa, Prājāpatya, Āsura, Gāndharva, Rākṣasa and

20. History of Human Marriage, pp. 133-149

21. History of Matrimonial Institution, pp. 90, 91.

22. ब्राह्मो देवस्तथा आर्षः प्राजपत्यस्तथासुरः ।

गान्धर्वो राक्षसश्चैव पैशाचस्तथामोऽधमः ॥ M.S. iii. 21; Yāj. S. I. 58-61.

Paiśācha. Though many of these methods can be traced back to the Vedic period, they have not been mentioned as such in the per-Sūtra literature. To the majority of the Gṛhyasūtras the eight methods are unknown. The Manava Gṛhyasūtra²³ refers to the Brāhma and Śulka (Āsura) only. So does the Vārāha. The Āśvalāyana²⁴ is the only Gṛhyasūtra that mentions all the eight methods. The omission, however, does not mean that these methods were not current before, or even during, the composition of the Gṛhyasūtras. They were, more or less, a social problem beyond the proper scope of the ritual literature. When every thing was settled about marriage, the particular rite was required to solemnize it.

The Smṛtis have divided the eight methods into two groups, Praśasta or approved and Apraśasta or disapproved.²⁵ The first four are Praśasta, the rest are Apraśasta. The first four methods were regarded praiseworthy, among which the first was the best, the fifth and the sixth were tolerated and the last two were forbidden. But all of them were legalized. At present the only two forms, Brāhma and Āsura are recognized. The more objectionable the method the more primitive it was, though

23. M.G.S. i. 7. 12.

24. A.G.S. i. 6.

25. M.S. iii. 24. 25.

some of them were current side by side. They will be dealt with in their ascending order.

(vi) *The Historical Growth of Eight Forms*

(a) *Paiśācha*. The least approved method was *Paiśācha*.²⁶ According to it the bridegroom fraudulently got possession of the person of the girl, and it was, therefore, characterized as the basest of all methods. In the opinion of the *Āśvalāyana-Gr̥hyasūtra*, carrying off a girl, who was either sleepy, intoxicated or unconscious was called *Paiśācha*. The capture of the girl was common with the *Rākṣasa* method, but unconsciousness on the part of the girl and her guardians gave it a different form. Gautama and Viṣṇu define it as "Cohabiting with a girl who is unconscious, sleepy or intoxicated." Manu^{26a} defines: "When a man cohabits with a girl in loneliness when she is sleepy, mad or intoxicated, it is called the *Paiśācha* method." Yājñavalkya calls a marriage *Paiśācha* when a girl is married through fraud. Devala gives a similar definition. The *Paiśācha* was the most uncivilized and barbarous method through which marriage could be effected. In it the bride was ravished then and there, a revolting

26. पैशाचश्चाष्टमोऽधमः । M.S. iii. 21.

26a. सुप्तां मत्तां प्रमत्ता वा रहो यत्रोपपच्छति ।

स बापिष्टो विवाहान् पैशाचश्चाष्टमोऽधमः ॥ Ibid. iii. 34.

event indeed. It was prevalent in primitive savage tribes, later on very rarely repeated and ultimately disapproved altogether.

(b) Rāksasa. The next method in ascending order was Rāksasa ²⁷ According to Manu ²⁷ "Capture of a girl by force while she is crying and weeping, having killed, scattered and injured her relatives is called Rāksasa-Vivāha". In this method the bridegroom did not wait for the consent of the father or of the girl herself, but took her away by force. This method was prevalent in ancient warring tribes and the captive women were enjoyed as war booties. The definition given by Manu pictures a scene of battle. Viṣṇu ²⁸ and Yājñavalkya ²⁹ actually say that it arose from war.

In the opinion of some scholars it is the oldest method of marriage, which was prevalent among all the primitive peoples. They see the semblance of the original war in the marriage procession of the present time. They say that this is proved by many procedures adopted in the marriage ceremonies among savage and half-civilized tribes of to-day. For example, in India also, many

27. A.G.S. i, 6. M.S. ii, 21; Yaj. S. I, 61.

27a. हत्वा छित्वा च मित्वा च क्रोधान्तीं वदतीं गृह्णात् ।

प्रसङ्ग कन्यां हरतो राक्षसो विचिदध्यते ॥ M.S. iii, 33.

28. युद्धहरणेन राक्षसः ।

29. राक्षसो युद्धहरणादिति ।

simulated farces of fights and capture are performed at the time of marriage in the jungle tribes. Among the Gonds, the bridegroom pursues the bride who poses to run away before the nuptials. In Bihar, among the Birhols, the bridegroom captures the running bride.

The above view presupposes a regular marriage from outside. It is very doubtful, however, whether any people habitually secured wives from without their tribe. The supposition that conflicts of wedding ceremonials are derived from war is also not well founded and can be explained on other grounds. Most probably the procession is due to the festivity of marriage and the assemblage of people is derived from the custom of marrying relatives which gave certain persons a vested interest in the women of their own community. Moreover, capture cannot be the only original method of securing a wife. Even in the primitive sexual relation, willingness of the parties concerned must have been very common, as it is found in animals also. There is a pre-arranged natural harmony between opposite sexes which unites them without any external force. So, even in the very primitive times, the Gāndharva form of marriage must have been more common than the Rākṣasa one.

The Indo-Aryans, during the Vedic times, were not always warring, and the old savage customs

were disappearing from amongst them. The capture of a girl against her wishes was falling into disuse and in the majority of cases the girl was carried away with her own consent, though against the consent of her parents. Such kinds capture were sometimes prearranged by the bride and the bridegroom. Sometimes the lovers came into conflict with their gaurdians, and the marriage had to be accomplished by capture and elopement, which was regarded as a commendable step for the knight and the lady alike; thus in the case of Vimada and Purumitra's daughter³⁰ it appears that there was no violence pure and simple, but that the affair was prearranged with the consent of the bride who refused to be directed by her parents. This previous consent is a fact which distinguishes such instances of capture and elopment of from the Rākṣasa method of marriage. In the epic instances of Rukmiṇi and Subhadra also the consent of the bride was obtained.³¹

In course of time, when people became settled, marriage by capture generally disappeared from the society. It continued, however, among the Kṣattriyas, the military caste of India. The simple reason for this is, that it were they who mostly participated in war and obtained wives as war booties. This original war booty grew into a

30. R.V. i. 112-19 ; 116-1 ; 117-2 ; x. 39,7 ; 65, 12

31. M. B. viii. 37. 34.

knightly fashion later on. Manu³² regards the Rākṣasa form the main form commendable for the Kṣātriyas. In the Mahābhārata Bhīṣma also calls it the best form for the ruling caste,³³ and he actually captured wives for the Kuru princes. Hārita³⁴ calls it the Kṣātra marriage and Devala³⁵ regards it as a sign of power and prestige. This custom was current up to the Rajput period of Indian History, though in the majority of cases the captured wife was a willing one, for instance, the capture of Saṁyuktā by Pṛthvirāja was prearranged.³⁶ Subsequent to the twelfth century of the Christian era this custom disappeared, as the political power of the Rajputs dwindled away and the Hindus became, more and more, an agricultural people.

(c) Gāndharva. The next method of obtaining a wife was Gāndharva.³⁷ According to Āśvalāyana "that form of marriage is called Gāndharva where a man and a woman having entered a contract, approche each other". In the opinion of Gautama and Hārita that form is called Gāndharva where a girl

32. राक्षसं क्षत्रियस्यैकम् । M. S. iii. 24.

33. क्षत्रियाणां तु वीर्येण प्रशस्तं हरणं यथात् । M. B. I. 245. 6.

34. अशंकृतामभिजयतः क्षात्रः ।

35. वीर्यहेतुः विवाहः सप्तमः समुदाहृतम् ।

36. The Pṛthvirājarāso.

37. A.G.S. i. 6.

selects her own husband. Manu ³⁸ gives the most comprehensive definition: "Where the bride and the bridegroom meet each other of their own accord and the meeting is consummated in copulation born of passion, that form is called Gāndharva". In this form, it were not the parents of the girl who settled the marriage, but the bride and the bridegroom arranged it among themselves out of sensual inclination.

The Gāndharva form of marriage is as old as, or even older than, the Paisācha and the Rākṣasa ones, because it is more natural than any other form. In the childhood of humanity, men and women, becoming of age, must have attracted each other without any force or fraud. In the R̥gvedic ³⁹ opinions "that "vadhū" alone was "bhadrā," who, brilliantly attired, herself selected her mate, even in the midst of an assembly". The most usual type of marriage seems to have been that in which the bride and the bridegroom had previously come to enjoy one another's company in their ordinary village life or in various other places of festivals and fairs where their free choice and mutual attachment were generally approved by their

38. इच्छयाऽन्योन्यसंयोगः कन्यायाश्च, वरस्य च ।

गान्धर्वस्तु विशेषो मैथुन्यः काम संभवः ॥ M.S. iii. 32

39. X. 27. 17.

kinsmen. A passage in the Atharvaveda⁴⁰ shows that parents usually left the daughter free in selection of her lover and directly encouraged her in being forward in love affairs. The mother of the girl thought of the time when the daughter's developed youth (Pativedanam) would win a husband for her. It was a smooth and happy sort of affair with nothing scandalous and unnatural about it.⁴¹ In the Atharvaveda there are other references to this form of marriage^{41a}. At one place in the same work Gāndharva husbands are actually mentioned⁴². Instances of Gāndharva marriage can be multiplied from Sanskrit epics

This method was called Gāndharva, because it was mostly current in a tribe called Gandharva, living on the slopes of the Himalayas. It was more prevalent among the Kṣatriyas than among any other section of the Hindu community, as they represented the freest element in the society.

According to some authorities⁴³ this method was praiseworthy, as it proceeded from mutual

40. आ नो अग्ने सुमतिं संभ्रलो गमेदिमां कुमारीं सहनो भगेन ।

जुष्टा बरेषु समनेषु वल्गुरो षं पत्या सौभाग्यस्तृप्त्यै ॥ ii. 36.

41. R.V vi. 30. 6.

41 a. vi. 3. 6.

42. जाया इह नो अप्सरसो गन्धर्वाः पतयो यूयम् । .v. 37. 12

43. गान्धर्वमित्येके प्रशंसन्ति स्नेहानुगत्वात् । G.D.S. ii, 1. 31.

attraction and love. Kapva, the foster-father of Śakuntalā, says in the Mahābhārata,⁴⁴ "The marriage of a desiring woman with a desiring man, though without religious ceremonies, is the best marriage". But in the opinion of the majority of law-givers it was not regarded so; on the other hand they discouraged it on religious and moral grounds.⁴⁵ It was inferior to the first five forms of marriage, because it was performed without sacred rituals and originated from lust. There was some fear also as regards the stability of the marriage tie. Because cupidity was the determining factor in such a marriage, the relation may or may not be lasting.

It seems that, from the time of the Sūtras, this form of marriage was falling into disuse. The Gr̥hyasūtras ⁴⁶ speak of "Dattā" or "Prattā", "the given one," bride, whose hand was to be grasped by the husband. In course of time when the sense of property increased, the children were regarded as possessions and the parents began to exercise greater control over their sons and daughters. Therefore, the

44. सकामायाः सकामेन निर्मन्त्रः श्रेष्ठ उच्यते । IV. 94. 60.

45. गान्धर्वस्तु क्रियाहीनः रागादेव प्रवर्तते । Quoted in V.M.S. vol.

II. p. 57.

46. P.G.S. i. 4. 16.

independence of the bride and the bridegroom in selecting their mates diminished. The marriages, in ninety percent cases, began to be settled by the guardians. The child-marriage system rendered a death blow to the Gāndharva form of marriage, because children have no proper idea of marriage and they cannot exercise their discretion and rights in marriage affairs. Ultimately this form of marriage disappeared from the Hindu society and at present it is not legally recognized.

(d) Āsura. Then a bit superior to Gāndharva was the Āsura⁴⁷ method of marriage. "Where the husband, after having paid money to the relations of the bride and the bride herself, accepts her out of free will, it is called the Āsura type of marriage".⁴⁸ The main consideration in this kind of marriage was money and it was, more or less, a purchase. By some writers it is called Mānuṣa or human. There is no doubt that it was a great improvement, in early times, on the Paisācha and the Rākṣasa form of marriages where fraud and force were applied.

In the patriarchal system of family children were regarded as family property and the girls

47. A.G.S. i. 6.

48. स्नातृभ्यो वृषिर्न दत्त्वा कन्यायै चैव शक्तिः ।

कन्याप्रदानं स्वाच्छान्दादासुरो धर्म उच्यते ॥ M.S. iii. 31.

could be given away in marriage for money. We find in the Vedic period that sometimes bargains were struck, and the bride was practically sold for a heavy price.⁴⁹ Some-times, out of greed, girls themselves selected wealthy, though otherwise unfit, husband for money⁵⁰ In one passage a Ṛṣi invokes Aśvins to be generous like a Vijāmātr.⁵¹ Yāska explains Vijāmātr as Kritāpati (husband of a purchased girl). The Maitrāyaṇi-Samhita⁵² condemns the faithlessness of a purchased wife.

In the beginning, there seems to be no stigma attached to this custom. Later on it became distasteful. From the Mahābhārata⁵³ we know that Bhīṣma procured wives for some Kuru princes by purchase. When he approached Śalya for this purpose, the latter felt the awkwardness of the situation, but had no courage to stop the custom of demanding price for a girl. In the case of royal families, however, it was a custom rather than a sale. Bhīṣma admitted that there was no sin in

49. R.V. i.10/2.

50. दियति योषा अयं तो वधूयो परि प्रीता पन्थसा वार्षेज । Ibid. x. 27, 12.

51. अश्रवं हि मूरि दावत्तरावा विजामतुहस वाचा स्याकात् । Ibid. i. 109. 2.

52. अनृतं वा एषा करोति या पत्युः क्रीता सती अग्न्यैः संवरति । i.10. 11.

53. पूर्वैः प्रवर्तितं किंचित्कुलेऽस्मिन्पुण्यतमैः ।

साधु वा यदि वा साधु तज्जातिप्रामाण्यमुत्तरे ॥ etc. M.B. I. 122. 9. ff.

the transaction. But Śalya's hitch in demanding money shows that the public opinion was not in its favour.

In course of time the sale of girls began to savour too much of worldliness with the growing conception of the religious character of marriage, where the bride was regarded a meritorious gift by the father to the bridegroom. The Smṛti-writers describe the Āsura marriage only either as a traditional custom or as a necessary evil. In their free opinion, however, they condemn it and call it a sale in the guise of marriage. Manus says, "The learned father of the girl should not accept even the least amount of price. Accepting the price out of greed, he becomes the seller of children".⁵⁴ According to Āpastamba-Smṛti, "not even a Śūdra should accept money while giving away his daughter. Taking money is a sale in disguise".⁵⁵ Not only this much. In the opinion of some writers, "a purchased wife cannot attain the full status of a wife and is not entitled to share the worship of gods and the Fathers. She should be regarded as a maid servant".⁵⁶ More and more sin was being

54. न कन्यायाः पिता विद्वान् गृहणीयाच्छुल्कमपि ।

गृह्याग्निं शुल्कं लोभेन स्यात्तरोऽपत्यविक्रयी ॥ iii. 51.

55. आददीत न गृहोऽपि शुल्कं दुहितरं ददत् ।

शुल्कं हि गृह्यश्रुते छन्नं दुहितविक्रयम् ॥ ix. M.S. ix. 98.

56. कौता द्रव्येण वा नारी न सा पत्नी विचोयते ।

न सा दैवे न सा पित्र्ये दासी तां कनयो विदुः ॥ B.D.S. i. 11. 22.

attached to the sale of a daughter. 'Those who blinded with greed give their daughters in marriage for money, are sellers of their own selves and the sinners of the first water. They fall in to hell and kill the merits of seven previous generations'.⁵⁷

But in spite of its unqualified condemnation this custom lingered in india, and is still found, though restricted to very poor families. The presence of this custom in the North-West frontier is attested by Greek writers.⁵⁸ At present in India, In low castes and in some poor families of upper castes also, this custom is followed. But it is not done with a clean conscience and an attempt is made to hide the sale.

The similar custom of dowry to be offered by the father of the bride to the bridegroom is not to be found in ancient literature of the Hindus. There are however, some references where the guardians of the girl had to offer dowry to the bridegroom. A daughter who had some physical defects was to be disposed of with money.⁵⁹ In the marriage hymn "Vahatu" or dowry is mentioned.⁶⁰ In the

57. शुल्केन ये प्रयच्छन्ति स्वसुतां लोभमोहिताः ।

अहमविक्रयिणः पापा महाकद्विषकारकाः ॥

पतन्ति निरये चोरे भ्रष्टि चासप्तमीकुलम् । Ibid. i. 11. 21.

58. Megasthenes, quoted in Oxfyrd History of India, vol. I p. 60.

59. R. V. x, 23. 11.

60. Ibid. x, 85.

Atharvaveda a king is crused that his queen may not fetch dowry for him.⁶¹ In the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa⁶² a bargain marriage is called 'Paśuvivāha', "animal marriage" but it is not clear as to which party exacted money.

In times when the Āsura and the Ārṣa forms of marriages were common, it was absurd for the bridegroom to demand money from the relations of the bride. Equity of the time required that the father of the girl should demand her price. But in course of time circumstances changed. In early times advanced maidenhood was tolerated; latter on the marriage of a girl became compulsory and pre-puberty marriage came into existence. Now the father of the girl became very anxious to dispose of the girl within a limited time. On religious grounds he wanted to get rid of the girl even with an offer of money which the father of the bridegroom demanded. The religious conception of marriage as a sacrifice also helped the rise of this custom. Dowry was regarded as Dakṣiṇā attending the main gift of a girl, and to this extent it was offered willingly. The right of daughter's inheritance was also instrumental in making this custom rigid in the propertied class of people. In the form of dowry the daughter got her share from the property of her father. In modern times, in the educated

61. न अस्य जाया कृतवाहो कस्यापी तस्यमतियेत् । vii 12,

62. A. Br. I, 16,

circle, education of sons is costly. The father of the boy thinks that the cost of education should be shared by the father of the girl, who reaps all the advantages of his son's education. At present it is felt that the demand of dowry is a great impediment in the selection of a proper bride or bridegroom, and the public opinion is being prepared to do away with the rigidity and absurdity of the dowry system.

.. (e) Prājāpatya. Next comes the Prājāpatya^{62a} method of marriage. According to it the father gave away his daughter to a suitor on the distinct understanding that they should both perform their civic and religious duties together.⁶³ The father, here, obtained some sort of bond from the bridegroom who himself came forward as the suitor for marriage. Āśvalayana⁶⁴ defines it in this way: "That form of marriage where the commandment-You both should perform your duties together-is given, is called Prājāpatya". Gautama⁶⁵ and Manu⁶⁶ almost repeat the same words. The very name Prājāpatya suggests that the pair entered the solemn bond for discharging their debts to Prajāpati, that is,

62a. A.G.S. i 6

63. Yāj. S. I. 6¹.

64. सहचर्मं वरत इति प्राजापत्यः । i. 6.

65. संयोगमंत्रः प्राजापत्ये सहचर्मं चर्यतामिति ।

66. सहोमी वरतां धर्ममिति वाचायामप्य च ।

कन्या प्रधानमभ्यर्च्य प्रजापत्यो विधिः स्मृतः ॥ iii. 30.

for procreating and bringing up children. The most practical side of this method is brought out by Devala,⁶⁷ who regards it "a marriage by fixing conditions". The modern people will regard it the most satisfactory and up-to-date form of marriage, because here the rights of the husband and the wife are equally well secured. But according to the Hindu point of view, it is inferior to the first three methods. The reason is that, here, the gift is not free but it is bent low under conditions, which should not have been according to the religious conception of a gift. This form is still *Prāsta* or commendable.

This form could not have been current in very early times. Only in the advanced stage of the society, educated men and women would have resorted to it. It also required a free society where there was no seclusion of women, and the bridegroom came forward to ask the hand of the bride. This form declined at the introduction of child-marriage, because for it only grown-up parties were eligible, who could understand the implications of the bond they were going to enter. In course of time marriage became a pure gift by the father to the bridegroom and any condition, howsoever prudent

67. सहधर्मं क्रिया हेतोर्दानं समयवन्धना ।

अलं कुर्यात् कन्याया विवाहः स प्रजापतेः ॥ Quoted in V.M.S. vol.

II. p. 851

it might be, became offending to the religious sense of the Hindus.

(f) *Ārṣa*. The *Ārṣa*⁶⁸ method of marriage excelled the *Prājapatya* in order of merit. According to this method the father of the bride received from the bridegroom a pair of kine or two for the uses prescribed by law, e-g., the performance of some sacrifice.⁶⁹ Evidently it was not the bride's price, but there was some consideration for the gift, though the father of the bride did not want to make a bargain out of it. *Āśvalāyana*, *Baudhāyana* and *Āpastamba* all agree that when a youth married a girl, after having offered a pair of kine to her father, it was called the *Ārṣa* form of marriage. A condition, however, was imposed on the offer, in that it was exclusively meant for a sacrifice. Thus it was distinguished from the *Āsura*. *Manu*.⁷⁰ observes, "Where the relatives do not accept price for the girl, it is not a sale; what is taken is only in name". In the opinion of the *Vīramitrodaya*,⁷¹ it was not a price, because its

68 A.G., i. 6; M.S., iii, 29; Yāj. S. I. 61.

69. एकं यो भियुनं द्वे वा वरादादाय धर्मतः ।

कन्याप्रदानं विधिवदाहो धर्मः स उच्यते ॥ M.S. iii. 29.

70. यासां नाददते शुल्कं ज्ञातयो न स विक्रयः ।

अहंभं तस्कुमारीय.मानुष्यस्य च केवलम् ॥ iii. 54.

71. धर्मविभिन्नो दासो सम्बन्धो न क्षोनविभित्तकः । गोभियुनं ग्रहणं च स्वयं कन्योपकरणदानासम्बन्धस्य तद्वानाहं वेदितव्यम् । V.M.S. vol.II. p. 852.

quantity was limited. Moreover, it was given away with the bride herself. This method was called *Ārṣa*, because it was current mostly in priestly families, as its very name suggests. A. C. Das in his *R̥gvedic Culture*,⁷² however, gives a different interpretation of the word *Ārṣa*. He writes, "Then there was a form of marriage called *Ārṣa*, when a daughter was married to a *R̥ṣi* for his vast knowledge and spiritual culture". But in this way we cannot explain the origin of the custom of demanding a pair of kine. Reverence and demand both would go ill together. With the decline of sacrifices, this method of marriage became out of fashion. Formerly it was a commendable type of marriage, but later on even the nominal acceptance of a pair of kine became repulsive to the idea of *Kanyā-dāna*. (the gift of a girl). As early as in the time of the *Manu-Smṛiti*, the opinion was voiced. "Some prescribe the acceptance of one pair of kine in the *Ārṣa Vivāha*, but it is improper. It is a sale; it matters little whether one accepts a large sum or a small one".⁷³ In course of time the very word "take" on the part of the bride's father was eschewed from the auspices of marriage.

72. P. 253

73. आर्षे गोमिथुनं शुल्कं केचिदाहुमृथेष तत् ।

अल्पोऽप्येवं महान्वापि विक्रयस्तावदेव सः ॥ M.S. iii. 53.

(g) **Daiva.** The next form superior to **Ārṣa** was **Daiva**.⁷⁴ In this form the decorated girl was given away by the father to a priest, who officiated at a sacrifice commenced by him. According to **Baudhāyana**,⁷⁵ the girl was given as a **Dakṣiṇā** or sacrificial fees. It was called **Daiva**, because in it the gift was made on the occasion of a **Daiva** sacrifice. The gift of a maiden in marriage for services rendered is illustrated even in the Vedic literature. But sometimes its bareness was clothed by other elements. Thus in the case of **Rathaviti**, **Dālba**'s daughter, **Syāvāśva** was at the same time an ardent suitor for the maiden subsequently given to him.⁷⁶ Priests very often received from their princely patrons, noble maidens or slave girls for services at sacrifices who were called "**Vadhūs**";⁷⁷ but this appears to have involved no proper marriage, and is to be regarded as concubinage associated with polygamy developing among rich and powerful classes. This method was mainly prevalent among the upper three classes of the Hindus. People thought it meritorious to give their daughters away in marriage to a priest. Later on, with the merits of sacrifices, this custom

74. अस्विजे वितते कर्मणि दद्यादहंकृत्य स दैवः । A.G.S. i. 6.

75. दक्षिणासु दीदमानास्वन्तर्वेदि यदस्विजे स दैवः B.D.S.

76. R. V. V. 61. 17-19.

77. Ibid.

also fell into disuse, and it was thought not proper to offer a girl to a priest without considering his other conditions. Moreover, the conception of marriage came to involve that it was not merely a gift but it was the settlement of the girl in life and, therefore, it should be well arranged. This form of marriage was regarded inferior to Brāhma, because, here, the father of the girl took the services of the bridegroom into consideration, whereas in the Brāhma method, marriage was a pure gift.

(h) Brāhma. The purest and the most evolved method of marriage was Brāhma.⁷⁸ It was called so, because it was thought fit for the Brahmans. In it the girl was given by the father, with such ornaments as he could afford, to a man of character and learning, whom he invited voluntarily and received respectfully without taking any thing in return.^{78a} The Smṛtis regard it the most honourable type of marriage, as it was free from physical force, carnal appetite, imposition of conditions and lure of money. Here the social decency was fully observed and religious considerations taken into account. In its very nature, this method could not have been very primitive, as it presupposes a long culture of social

78. A.G.S. i. 6; M.S. iii. 27; Yāj. S.I. 58; V.S. ii. 5; Ś.S. iv. 2.

78a. आरुह्य शर्चि त्वा च श्रुतिशीलवते स्वयम् ।

आहूय दानं कन्याया द्राक्षो धर्मः प्रकीर्तितः ॥ M.S. iii. 27.

habits. But this form can be traced back up to the Vedic times. The marriage of Sūryā with Soma, as described in the Ṛgveda, is the prototype of the Brāhma marriage.^{78b} This form is still current and the most popular in India, though it has been prostituted with the morbid stipulation of dowry.

(vii) *Some other Forms*

Besides, there were other forms of marriage of which the scriptures do not take cognizance. For example, marriages by exchange and service etc. The first of the above is still current in the Hindu society. But only poor parents whose children do not attract the notice of match-makers, arrange the marriages of their sons and daughters by exchange. It is not a voluntary custom but a procedure forced by circumstances. In other respects it resembles the Brāhma type of marriage.

(viii) *Popular Forms*

At present the only two methods of marriage in use are the Brāhma and the Āsura. In the first, the father of the girl gives her away to a person whom he invites for the purpose, without accepting any thing from him in any shape. In the second, the father accepts money from the bridegroom as the price of his daughter. It will be noticed that

our law-givers do not contemplate a third contingency in which the intending bridegroom may put pressure upon the father of the girl to pay him handsomely for the favour of marrying her, no matter whether his means allow him to do so or not. The present system of fixing dowry and to make it the main consideration in settling the marriage does not seem to have existed in ancient times

(ia) Religious Ceremonies Essential

Whatever may be the method through which marriage was effected, the religious ceremonies were essential to make it valid.^{78c} Vasiṣṭha and Baudhāyana declare: "Where a damsel is taken by force but is not solemnly married according to the religious rites, she may be duly given in marriage to another, for then she remains a virgin as before."⁷⁹ Devala says, "In the forms of marriages, beginning with the Gāndharva to the Paisācha the marital rites have again to be performed in the presence of fire".⁸⁰ In the Gāndharva marriage,

78c. नोदकेन विना न्यायं कन्यायाः पतिरुच्यते ।

पाणिग्रहण संस्कारात् पतित्वं सप्तमे पदे ॥ Y. S. I. 76.

79 बलादपहृता कन्या यदि संघर्षेण संस्कृता ।

अन्यस्मै विविचयेया यथा कन्या तथैव सा ॥ Vasiṣṭha and Baudhāyana quoted in V.M.S. vol. II, p. 860.

80. गान्धर्वादिविवाहेषु पुनर्वैवाहिको विधिः ।

कर्तव्यश्च त्रिविधैः समयेनाग्निप्राश्निकः ॥ Devala, Ibid.

consummation of the union preceded the nuptials. According to Manu⁸¹ rituals should be performed only in the case of a virgin. But the later Smrtis, as cited above, prescribe the rites even after consummation. Manu⁸² modifies his previous injunction by emphasizing the need of ritual. It was done so for legalizing the marriage, legitimatizing the children and avoiding the public scandal. Mādhavāchārya also realizes the necessity of performing the religious ceremonies in every form of marriage: "It must not be supposed that in these disapproved forms of marriages, beginning with the Gāndharva, the relationship of husband and wife does not arise for the want of the ceremonies of marriage including the taking of seven steps, because although they do not take place at the outset before acceptance, afterwards they are invariably performed".⁸³

The religious idea was supreme in the Hindu life. It was of less consequence how the pair was united, but if once united, the tie should be consecrated and thus union made lasting. The nuptials were supposed to impart sanctity to the marital relation. Hence it was thought necessary that they should be performed in every case. At

81. M.S. Ibid.

82. M.S. Ibid.

83. Quoted by P. N. Sen, *Hindu Jurisprudence*, p. 270.

present, however, such cases do not arise owing to the custom of child-marriage and Purdah system. Only in low-caste peoples rare cases of irregular marriage are noticed

(a) Limitations of Marriage.

*Another problem regarding marriage was the examination of the family of the bride and that of the bridegroom. "According to Senart the Aryan people practised in affairs of marriage both a rule of exogamy and endogamy. A man must marry a woman of equal birth, but not of the same gens, according to the Roman law as interpreted by Senart and Kovalevsky, and an Athenian must marry an Athenian woman, but not of the same yeves. In India these rules are reproduced in the form that one must not marry within the Gotra, but not without the Caste".⁸⁸

(a) Exogamy. The bar of exogamy is not peculiar to India, but it is prevalent in other parts of the world also. It is current in barbarous, half-civilized and civilized tribes. In tribes where there is no Gotra system, totem serves the purpose, and it separates one group from the other. The origin of this bar is shrouded in mystery. Various scholars have propounded divergent theories to explain its rise.

We can briefly refer to these theories as follows. According to one school of opinion the custom of exogamy arose owing to the paucity of women in early times.⁸⁴ Another school of opinion holds that evogamy was introduced to prevent the early sexual promiscuity within the clan.⁸⁵ Then, there are scholars who are of the opinion that the origin of exogamy was due to the absence of sexual attraction between persons who are brought up together.⁸⁶ The fourth school is of opinion that in primitive times the patriarch of the family himself wanted to keep the young girls of the family for himself. So his jealousy drove the youngmen of the clan to seek their wives outside: What was at first necessity, subsequently became a voluntary custom.⁸⁷ The fifth school holds that the totem was responsible for evolving the custom of exogamy. The clan blood was regarded sacred and to spare the divinity of the totem one had to refrain from its appropriation for sexual purpose.⁸⁸

These theories do not seem to be conclusive in themselves. To take the first theory, even if granted that the female population was less than the male

84. I. F. Mac Lennan, *Studies in Ancient History*, I. p. 90.

85. L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 24; Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, i. 164 ff.

86. Westermarck, *Human Marriage*, xiv-xvi; Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*. p. 222.

87. J. J. Atkinson, *Primal Law*.

88. Durkheim, *Année Sociologique*, i. 1-70

one, in ancient times, the paucity of women would not stand in the way of every young man for taking his wife from within his own clan. As regards the second theory, we are quite familiar with the fact that the savages are not credited with such a thoughtful scheme of improving morality of the clan. The third theory does not take the facts in order; the absence of sexual attraction is a result rather than the cause of prohibition; for example, animals do not betray such repulsion, and in many religious orgies of India, even at present, no scruples are felt in sexual intercourse within the same clan. The fourth theory of patriarchal coercion is borrowed from the beast-herds, where the strongest animal drives the younger ones away from the females. But will not the patriarch appropriate the new comers also? So the origin of exogamy must be sought for somewhere else. The theory of totemic sanctity also is not supported by facts. It is not probable that the totem was regarded as divine in the period when the custom of exogamy arose. Moreover, the members of the clan were regarded as friends and equal and not as gods. In this case the clan-blood was not too sacred for sexual intercourse.

More plausible suppositions regarding the origin of exogamy appear to be these. The young men of a clan or tribe went off to seek food and thus came into contact with a new clan. Being

compelled to seek wives in their new surroundings, they might thus initiate a habit of outside marriage that would in time become general usage and 'therefore' sacred. Marriage by capture also seems to have been instrumental, to some extent, in evolution of exogamy. In ancient times warring people captured women in wars and made them their wives. This habit was hardened into instinct and even after the dawn of civilization, the fashion of marrying outside was retained, though war was replaced by mutual negotiation and the tribal army by a marriage party. Exogamy might have been introduced to avoid the jealousy and quarrel in the family also. When marriage was allowed in the family, the same girl was desired by a number of cousins, who some-times quarreled among themselves. To prevent this trouble, the head of the family might have thought it wise to arrange the marriage of young men outside the family. Experience also taught that the marriage within the same family or clan was not desirable, as it led to the degeneration of the race. Darwin says. "The consequence of close inter-breeding carried on for too long a time are, as is generally believed, loss of size, constitutional vigour, and fertility, sometimes accompanied by a tendency of malformation".⁸⁹ Thus racial eugenics required

89. Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication, London, 1868.

that marriages should take place outside the clan. But we cannot assert that there was only one cause at the root of the custom of exogamy. In different localities, under different circumstances, the causes must have varied considerably, and at such a distance of time we cannot be very positive in our speculations.

It cannot be said how far the above causes were applicable in case of the Indo-Aryans, who at the dawn of history were sufficiently advanced in civilization. It is also a great wonder how this institution sprang up into existence all of a sudden in the Indo-Aryans. Among other Indo-Germanic races, the bar is nowhere prevalent at present. The probable source of this custom seems to be the contact with, and the assimilation of, the Dravidians among whom like many other tribes this custom was strictly observed.

The word "Gotra" in its modern sense is not known in the Vedas, though it occurs in the sense of a cowpen.⁹⁰ The earliest mention of this word in its technical sense is to be found in the Chândogya-Upaniṣad where the teacher of Satyakāma Jābāli asks his Gotra.⁹¹ We find frequent use of Gotras in the Buddhist and Jain literature, for example, Mānava, Vasiṣṭha, Gautama

90. Roth, quoted in the Vedic Index, i. pp. 235, 236. 243.

91. iv. 4. 1.

etc. It seems that by the time of the Buddha, the Gotra system was an established institution.

But the idea of "Kula" or family was there even in Vedic times. So far as prohibition of marriage with near relatives is concerned, we come across the lively discussion between Yama and Yami in the *R̥gveda*,⁹² which shows that, though marriage with a near relative may have been common in early times, it was falling into disuse in the later Vedic period. The moral, however, given by Yama against such marriages does not speak any horror. But the family prohibition did not go too far. There is a passage in the *Śatupatha Brāhmaṇa*⁹³ that refers to the union of brothers and sisters in the third or the fourth generation. Harisvāmin, the commentator on the above *Brāhmaṇa* says, in the way of illustration, that one Kaṇva married a girl in the third generation. In *Surāstra*, there are instances of marriage in the fourth generation. The prohibition of marriage in one's Piṇḍa also does not seem to be in force in the Vedic period. In the *Khailika* hymn (VIII) Indra is invoked in the way which shows that daughters of maternal uncle and paternal aunt could be married.⁹⁴

92. x. 10.

93. इदं हि वसुधे पुरुषे दृष्टीये वंगच्छामहे । i. 8. 3. 6.

94. आत्मा हीन्द्र पविमिरीकितोऽभि यज्ञमिर्मा नो भागवेदं जुषस्व ।

दृष्टां बहुर्भातुस्त्वेष योवा भागस्ते पैतृष्वसेयी वपामिच ॥

In the Brāhmaṇas, all sorts of speculations were apace, but there is not a single reference to the institution of Gotra. Though it is a negative evidence, but coupled with other facts it is of a great significance. Vedic rituals are not connected with Gotra. Sacrificers have not to choose only those hymns that were composed by their own Gotra-Kṛts. The Āpri hymns are the only exceptions; but this is the view of the Śrauta Sūtras only and the Yajurveda does not lay any such restriction. Thus Gotra was not as yet much consulted in the matter of religious ceremonies.

✓ Prohibition of marriage within the Pravara is first found in the Grhyasūtras, but there is no similar prohibition of Sagotra marriage. Āpastamba, Kauśika, Baudhāyana and Pāraskara, all avoid Pravara but not Gotra.⁹⁵ From the time of the Dharmasūtras, however, Sagotra and Sapinda marriages are being prohibited. Vasiṣṭha prohibits Sagotra marriage.⁹⁶ But the range of Gotra was still very limited and marriage was possible beyond the seventh generation of the father and the fifth of the mother. According to the Āpastamba Grhyasutra,⁹⁷ however, the limits of Gotra were extended. It could go too far and was not

95. The Gotrapravaramaṅgari by Keśava.

26. V.D.S.

97. iii. 10.

co-extensive with the seventh generation of the father.

The institution of exogamy seems to have been established subsequent to the beginning of the Christian era. Almost all the metrical Smṛtis declare the marriages within the Gotra, ipso facto, invalid. Such marriages could not be legalized, nor the children born of such wedlocks.⁹⁸ But there seems to be still some leniency about marrying a girl within the Gotra. One Smṛti⁹⁹ prescribes only an ordinary atonement for marrying a girl within the Gotra, while later on the marriage is nullified and the punishment is very sever.

The later writers on Dharmaśāstra are dead against Sagotra and Sapinda marriages. They prohibit not only such marriages but try to explain away ancient statements that might go against them. For example, they say that the invocation to Indra in the Khailika hymn is not a Vidhi (rule) but an Arthavāda (praise); if it were a rule, incest would become permissible. Again they declare that the passage in question refers to children born from Asajātiya marriages. Some

98. असपिण्डा च या नःपुत्रसंगोत्रा च या पितुः ।

सा प्रचस्ता द्विजातीनां दारकर्मणि मैयुने ॥ M. S. iii, 5.

99. परिधीय संगोत्रा तु समानप्रवरां तथा ।

त्वागं कुर्वाद् द्विजस्तस्यास्ततः चान्द्रावर्णं चरेत् ॥ Quoted by Gadādhara on P.G.S. i. 4-5.

ingeniously explain that "of the maternal uncle" and "of the sister of the father" do not mean the daughters of the maternal uncle and the paternal aunt but they mean *Māṭṛsadrśamukhī* and *Pitrśadrśamukhī*, that is, girls whose face is like that of the mother and the father. The *Viramitrodaya*¹⁰⁰ and the *Smṛtichandrikā*¹⁰¹ take a bolder step and say that the above passage contains "an example not to be followed", "*Dṛṣṭodharmavyatikrama*". These writers flourished in a time when *Sagotra* and *Sapiṇḍa* marriages became extinct. In order to give this institution a hoary antiquity they attempted to explain away the passages which might prove stumbling blocks in their way. *Aparārka* followed quite a different line of argument. He offers an altogether different meaning of the above invocaton. "O Indra, invited by your devotees come to the sacrifice and enjoy your share. We offer *vapā*, fat, as disinterestedly as the *Matulayoṣā* (daughter of the maternal uncle) and the *Paitrṣvaseyī* (daughter of the paternal aunt) are offered in marriage without the least desire of self-appropriation."¹⁰² He quotes the *Brahma-Purāṇa*, prohibiting *Sagotra* marriage, with cow-slaughter, as *Kalivarjya*,

100. V.M.S. vol. II.

101. S. C. Ānlika, *Vivāhaprakaraṇa*.

102. On Yaj. S. I. 55.

"prohibited in the Kali age". These facts show that the prohibition of Sagotra marriage was an accomplished fact during the time of the commentators and the Nibandhakāras. Since then it has been followed in the Hindu society with every care.

(b) Just as exogamy is strictly observed among the Hindus so is endogamy an established institution of theirs. All the Smṛtis enjoin that a twice-born should marry a girl of his own caste.¹⁰³ This is but natural and may have been the general rule even in early times, but it could not have been strictly observed, as the caste system was not firmly established.

(c) Hypergamy. During the Vedic times, inter-marriages between several castes were much easier. It is difficult to believe how the freedom of social intercourse was given to young men and women, in popular gatherings and private company, if there were any real bars to intercaste marriages. Intercaste marriages generally took the form of hypergamy. Men of the R̥gvedic priestly class are often stated to have married into royal families, as Chyavan Śyāvāśva or Vimada did.¹⁰⁴ Perhaps, the greater prominence of hypergamy is due to the records preserved by the Brahmans, who generally

103. उद्भूते द्विजो भार्यं स्वर्ग्यं ब्रह्मविदाम् । M.S. iii. 4.

104. R.V. i. 112-19; 116. 1; 117. 20; x. 32.

passed over the Kṣattriyas, marrying Brahman girls. Still, there are some instances of such marriages. For example, king Svanaya Bhāvayavya's beloved wife was an Āṅgirasī¹⁰⁵ The Atharvaveda¹⁰⁶ glorifies the Brahman as the best husband for women of all other classes, though from the same text it can be inferred that the Brahman women, sometimes, held opposite views and they had to be reclaimed from the persons of other classes, with the help of king.¹⁰⁷ Vaiśiputras are known to the early Brāhmaṇas.¹⁰⁸ The connexion of an Arya with a Śūdrā girl is made the subject of joke in courts and priestly circles, as is known from the Yajurveda.¹⁰⁹ Such marriages must have been legal and frequent, and respectable Vedic personages, like Auśija, Kavaṣa, Vatsa etc. were sons of Dāsi, or Śūdrā mothers.¹¹⁰ The frequent use of the word Dāsi, as compared with that of Dāsa, in Vedic texts, shows that Dāsīs came into contact with their Aryan masters as a result of the conquest and subjugation of neighbouring tribesmen; so Dāsiputras became very common in the Aryan society.

105. Ibid. i. 126.

106. A. V. V. 17. 8. 9.

107. Ibid.

108. T. Br. iii. 9. 7. 8; Ś. Br. xiii. 2.

109. V. Sans xxiii. 20. 31; T.S. vii. 4.19. 2-3.

110. R.V. i. 18. 1; i. 112. 11; P. Br. xiv. 11. 16.

(d) *Pratiloma*. A few cases of *Śūdra-Āryā* connexion are also recorded in the Vedic texts. A *Yajurveda Samhitā*¹¹¹ mentions the word "Ayogu," which, if it is connected with the later *Āyogava*, may mean the Arya woman (a *Vaiśyā*) married to a *Śūdra*.¹¹² This interpretation of the Vedic text is supported by the evidently old tradition recorded in the *Āśvalāyana Grhyasūtra*,¹¹³ that the family slave, equally with the brother-in-law of the widow, could lawfully marry the widow of his master. Other *Yajurvedic* texts refer frequently to such cases which points to the beginning of such intermixture in the earlier period. In the *Atharvaveda*¹¹⁴ a charm is directed against a rival lover or one's wife's paramour who is referred to as a *Dāsa*, winning her love by sheer physical strength.

Thus the above instances evidently show that *Anuloma* as well as *Pratiloma* connexions were known and permissible in the Vedic times, though they may not have been very common.

(e) *Later History of Inter-caste Marriage*
 Later on inter-caste marriage though tolerated was not encouraged. During the

111. *Vaj S* xxx, 5.

112. शुक्रादायोगवः कृता वय्वाकश्वाचमोदृवात् ।

वैश्यराजन्यावप्राप्तु जयन्ते वर्णसंकराः ॥ *M.S.* x. 12.

113. *iv.* 2. 18.

114. *A.V.* ii. 5. 6.

Grhyasūtra period the general rule was to marry a girl of the same caste. Hypergamy, however, was recognized, though a Śūdra wife was not liked. Pārashara¹¹⁵ says, "A Brāhmaṇa can have three wives, a Rājanya two and a Vaiśya one. According to some, all can have one Śūdra wife also, without recital of the Vedic verses." The Dharmasūtras and the early Smṛtis all allow to marry a girl from the lower castes, though such cases were not many, and generally they were not esteemed. Manu¹¹⁶ declares, "Among the twice-born, a girl of the same caste is commendable for wifehood. But for those who are given to lust, girls from other castes can also be had in order". All these scriptures are against the marriage of a low-caste man with the girl of a higher class.

An indirect light is also thrown on the problem of the inter-caste marriage from the Smṛti literature. The Dharmasūtras and the Smṛtis make provision, for Āśauca caused by the death of the relatives of different castes, which indirectly proves the existence of intercaste marriages. In the partition of properties, sons born of mother belonging to different castes, receive their shares. Here, too, Dharmaśāstra contemplates the

115. i. 4. 9-12.

116. सवर्णाग्रे द्विजातीनां प्रकृता दारकर्मणि ।

इमं तस्य प्रवृत्तानामिमाः स्युः क्रमोऽनराः ॥ M.S. iii. 12.

possibility of an inter-caste marriage. A student is enjoined to salute the wives of his teacher, coming from lower castes, from a distance and not to touch their feet. It is supposed that the gurus could have wives from different castes and it was, in no way, derogative to their position. In adoption a Vijātiya child could be adopted. All these side-lights prove the existence of inter-caste marriages.

That the inter-caste marriages were current as late as in the mediaeval period of Indian history is evident from the concrete cases recorded in the Sanskrit literature. Bāṇa had two Pārāśara brothers born of a Śūdra step-mother.¹¹⁷ The wife of Rajaśekhara, Avantisundarī was a Kṣātriya girl.¹¹⁸ Kalhaṇa in his *Rājatarangīṇī*¹¹⁹ describes the marriage of the sister of Saṃgrāmarāja with a Brāhmaṇa. In the *Kathā-Saritsāgara*,¹²⁰ we have a number of instances of inter-caste marriages. A king asks his commander-in-chief to search a husband for his daughter, who must be either a Brahman or a Kṣātriya. At the Svayamvara of Anangamtaḥ, suitors of all the castes assembled together, which shows the possibility of a marriage between different castes. Again, we get a Brahman

117. The *Harṣacharita*, I.

118. The *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, I.

119. vii, 10-12.

120, xviii, 2, 65,

marrying a Kṣātriya girl and the sentiments of the pact leaves no doubt that such marriages were regarded still desirable. "The marriage between the princess and the Brahman youth was for the glory of each other like the union of the Goddess of Learning and Discipline."¹²¹ In the Bank inscription of Jodhapur, the founder of the Pratihāra dynasty is described to have married two wives, one Kṣātriya, the other Brāhmaṇī. According to the inscription of Vākātaka Hastibhoja, a Brahmana Somadeva married a Kṣātriya wife in accordance with Śruti and Smṛti.¹²² Such was the state of affairs during the first millennium of the Christian era. The custom was regarded as "sanctioned by the Śruti and the Smṛti". These instances are very valuable, as they are incidental. Even the Purāṇas, while dealing with the Kalivarjyas, do not include the intercaste marriage thelist. The Mitākṣara on the Yājñavalkya Smṛti¹²³ and the Dāyabhāga, both recognize the validity of intercaste marriage. The cases of Pratiloma marriage are very rare and they do not find literary mention.

(f) Intercaste Marriage forbidden. But a time came when inter-caste marriages were not

121. तयोस्तु सोऽमृद्वाजेन्द्रपुत्री विप्रेन्द्रपुत्रयोः ।

संगमोऽन्वोन्यशोभायै विद्याविभवयोरिव ॥ The Kathasaritsāgara
xxv, 171.

122. Epigraphia Indica

123. II, 122.

only discouraged but totally forbidden. Even in the time of the *Manu-Smṛti*,¹²⁴ marriage with a Śūdra wife was scandalous. The later *Smṛtis* unanimously forbid marriage with a Śūdrā, and excommunicate a man marrying her. The sinner was threatened with the fire of hell. In course of time, the same abhorrence was shown to the marriage between the upper three classes also. *Manu*¹²⁵ calls intercaste marriages lustful and later on develops the fictitious theory of the *Varnasamkaras*, giving low social status to the children born of intercaste unions.¹²⁶ The logical consequence of this tendency was that none was allowed to marry beyond his own caste, and this process at present is complete. Now, among the *Vaiśyas* and the *Śūdras*, not only the *Varna* distinction but even sub-caste distinction is respected in a marriage alliance. The same tendency has also manifested in the prohibition of interprovincial marriages.

There were different causes responsible for the confinement of marriage within one's own

124. इतिजातिविक्रियं शीघ्रमुद्धहन्ते द्विजावयः ।

कुलाम्येव नयन्त्यग्रे ससंतापानि शूद्रताम् ॥ iii. 15.

शूद्रां सयनमारोप्य ब्राम्हणो यात्यधीनसिम् ।

अनभिज्ञा सुतं तस्यां ब्राह्मण्यादेव होयने ॥ iii. 17.

125. iii. 12.

126. M.S. x.

caste. First of all there was the race-complex. Owing to the difference of culture and colour, men and women desisted from choosing a wife or husband from a lower race. This was at the root of prohibition of marriage between an Arya and a Śūdra. With the development of the rigidity of the caste system, marriage between the twice-born also declined, as the standards of their life were different. But besides the standard of living, caste superiority, born of attaching too much importance to the birth of a person, was also instrumental in discouraging the system of inter-caste marriage^{126a}.

(g) Examination of the Family. In addition to the consideration of the Varna, the particular family to be related was also thoroughly examined. According to the Āśvalāyana Grhyasūtra,¹²⁷ "first of all the family should be examined, both from the mother's and the father's side". Manu¹²⁸ says, "A man of a noble family, in order to increase the excellence of his own, should always make relation with men of noble families, and should shun the ignoble ones". In later

126a. Under the impact of modern education inter-caste and inter-religious marriages are again being revived.

127. कुलमग्नं परीक्षेत मातुः पितृवश्चेति । i. 5.

128. वत्समै वत्समो वित्यं सम्बन्धानाचरेत्सदा ।

निमीषुः कुलमुत्कर्षेन्नृपमानवमास्त्यजेत् ॥ Quoted in V.M.S. II. p. 5. 87.

times the importance of the family so increased that the theory was being advocated that the girl, in marriage was given to the family and not to an individual. In the case of the Brahmans at least, family was the only consideration. In comparison with the family, even the learning was dispensed with. In the opinion of Viṣṇu,¹²⁹ "of a Brāhmaṇa, only his family is to be considered, not his Vedas or learning. In the gift of a girl and Śrāddha, learning does not count." Yājñavalkya¹³⁰ explains Kulinatā or family-reputation as follows: "Families of the Śrotrīyas famous from ten generations (are called good ones)." The commentary on this runs, "The family of those is to be taken as good, who are famous from five generations, both from mother's and father's side, and are reputed for their learning and character¹³¹".

The most esteemed families were those noted for their good deeds, learning and morality. "Those should be always made relatives, who are pure from their deeds done in accordance with the

129. ब्राह्मणस्य कुलं प्राज्ञं न वेदाः सपत्न्ययाः ।

कन्यादाने तथा आत्मे न विद्या तत्र कारकम् ॥ Viṣṇu, quoted in V.M.S. vol. II, p. 585.

130. दक्षपूतपत्निकृतान्पुत्रान्प्राज्ञानां महाकुलम् । I. 54.

131. पुत्र्या एव पुत्र्याः दक्षिणिः पुत्र्यैः नास्त्यतः पत्न्यभिः विद्वतः पत्न्यभिर्विद्वतां वक्तुं हस्यम् । विद्वानेवम् । Ibid.

injunction of the Śruti and the Smṛti; who are born in good families and observe unbroken Brahmacharya; who are related to noble families and have risen to eminence; who are contented, gentlemen, agreeable, saintly and equitable; who are devoid of greed, attachment, envy, pride and infatuation, and those who are not given to anger and are always tranquil in their minds'.¹³²

On moral and physical grounds many families were prohibited. In the opinion of Manu,¹³³ these ten families, howsoever rich they might be, should be avoided. They are-one without good deeds; without great men; without Vedas; hairy; and suffering from pile, consumption, dysentery, epilepsy, white leprosy and leprosy proper. Families suffering from, or infected by, contagious disease were also to be shunned. Yama¹³⁴ prohibits the fourteen kinds of families on almost the same grounds, adding a few new details. The new objectionable families are those, whose members are either very tall or very short; either very white or very black; possess either less or extra number of limbs; who are very passionate and suffer from jaundice etc.

The moral objections were the following:
 "Those families should be avoided with care, the

132, M.S. iii, 6; iv, 17.

133. Ibid, iii, 6.

134. Quoted in V.M.S. vol. II, p. 58.

members of which are thieves, cheats, impotent, atheists, living on objectionable means, deformed always bringing enmity with brave persons, enemies of the state, always dining at funeral feasts, cowards and ill-reputed; the women of which are either barren or produce only female issues and try to kill their husbands".¹³⁵

The reason for the utmost care spent on the examination of the family was primarily eugenic. The best possible progeny was desired and for it physically, mentally and morally fit matches were necessary, as the children inherit the good or bad qualities of their parents. Hārta says on the point "Offsprings are born according to the families".¹³⁶ Manu ¹³⁷ opines in the same strain, "The children follow the character of either the father or the mother, or the both. An issue of bad origin cannot attain the proper condition." In order to save the family from degeneration, one had to be very cautious in selecting a match. "The good families fall to ill fame etc. from bad marriages, disappearance of the religious duties

135. Manu, *Ibid.*

136. कुलानुरूपाः प्रजा सम्बन्धि । *Ibid.*

137. पितुर्वा भजते शीलं मातुर्बोभयमेव वा ।

न कथञ्चन दुर्योनिः प्रकृति स्था निदृच्छति ॥ Manu, *Ibid.*

cf. मातुलान् भजते पुत्रः कस्यका भजते पितुन् ।

यथाशीला भवन्माता तथा शीला भवेन्पुत्रः ॥ Vyāsa, *Ibid.*

and the non-study of the Vedas¹³⁸. Domestic felicity was another object in view while selecting the particular family for marriage, as the culture of a family counts much in such affairs.

(xi) *The Marriageable Age*

After the consideration of the Varna and the family, the bride herself was examined. The first consideration was her age. In the Vedic times, as it is evident from the marriage hymns¹³⁹ in the R̥gveda and the Atharvaveda, the parties to marriage were grown up persons competent to woo and be wooed, qualified to give consent and make choice. The bridegroom was supposed to have a house where his wife could be mistress, even in case his parents, brothers and sisters, for some reasons, happen to live with him, thus giving her position of a supremacy in the household.¹⁴⁰ This could not have been possible in the case of a child-wife. The Vedic rituals presuppose that the married pair were grown up enough to be lovers, man and wife, and parents of children.¹⁴¹ Almost

138. कुविनः हेः क्रिसाक्षोपैर्वेदानध्ययनेन च ।

कुलान्यकुलता यान्ति ब्राह्मणातिक्रमेण च ॥ M.S. III, 63.

139. R.V. x. 85; A.V. xiv. 1, 2.

140. सप्ताह्येषि ह्यश्वेषु सप्ताह्युत देवेषु ।

ननान्दुः सप्ताह्येषि सप्ताह्युत ह्यश्वः ॥ A.V. xiv. 1, 14

141. R.V. viii. 55, 5, 8.

at every step, formula are repeated showing their immediate fitness for procreation; and hand-grasping and consummation are the essential parts of the Vedic marriage. These all go to show that marriage took place when the girl had attained her puberty.

We have many references in the Vedas to unmarried girls who grew old in the house of their fathers.¹⁴² The maidens growing up in their father's home mixed with the youth of the village.¹⁴³ In R̥gvedic times no girl was married before she had reached the womanhood. She must be fully developed physically in her father's house (Pitr̥padam Vyaktā) before her marriage could be thought of.¹⁴⁴ Sūryā, the daughter of Sūrya, was given away to Soma in marriage, only when she became youthful and yearned for a husband.¹⁴⁵ Ghosā, the lady R̥ṣi married when she had nearly passed her youth. The virile young man (marya) is normally a lover, constantly in the company of youthful maidens (Yuvati), embracing (Kanyā), and flattering (Yoṣā)¹⁴⁶. On the other hand the young maiden is also engaged in the midst of a number of suitors trying her best to please and

142. R. V. i. 117. 7; ii. 17. 7; x. 39. 3

143. Vedic Index. ii, p. 485.

144. R. V. x. 85. 21, 22.

145. Ibid. x. 85.

146. Ibid. iii 31. 7; 33, 10; x. 96. 20.

attract them. Ladies were competent to arrange their own marriages. We get various charms and spells in the *R̥gveda* and the *Atharvaveda* compelling the love of a man or a woman.¹⁴⁷ A lover seeks to send the entire household to sleep when he visits his beloved.¹⁴⁸ In the *Atharvaveda*¹⁴⁹ a Kumāriputra (Kānina, according to Mahidhara) is mentioned, which indicates that a girl could bear children before marriage. These evidences hardly leave any doubt about the fact that the bride and the bridegroom both were grown-up before marriage.

There are only a few references of doubtful character to the existence of child-marriage in the Vedic times. "One might adduce in the favour of the existence of child-marriage the *Itihāsa* (story) related on the obscene verses. *R̥gveda*, I 126. 6-7. Here Bhāvavya invited to the enjoyment of love, laughs at his spouse Romaśa believing that she is still immature. On this Romaśa invites him to convince himself of the country adding that she knew that the intercourse before puberty was forbidden by the law. But apart from the fact that these passages favour the general prevalence of marriage with mature girl, the story conveys too

147.- Ibid. x. 145; A.V. iii. 18 ii. 30; ii. 36; iii. 25; vi. 8. etc.

148. A.V. v. 28

149. V. 28.

much the impression of being a late invention occasioned by an etymological play on the name *Romaśā*." Another possible (?) reference to an early marriage is in the *Chhândogya-Upaniṣad* (I. 10. 1) where a poor Brahman teacher adopts the life of a beggar with his *Ātiki* wife. The mediaeval commentators give *Ātiki* a fanciful sense of *Ajātapayodharā* etc. which evidently reflects their own dislike of the idea that a Brahman teacher's youthful wife should go about freely. It should be noted that *Ātiki* is not a proper name, and it has to be taken as an adjective. Its only rational interpretation would be "fit for or used to wandering life" i. e. hardy and patient.

The *Grhyasūtra* marriage rituals also show that marriage was generally arranged after the girl had attained her puberty. The consummation of marriage could take place immediately after the nuptial ceremonies. According to the *PāraskaraGrhyasūtra*¹⁵⁰ the married couple "for three days should not eat saline food, should sleep on the ground and should not cohabit for a year, twelve nights, six nights or at least three nights." The last option speaks of the maturity of the bride. *Baudhāyana*¹⁵¹ contemplates the possibility of the bride's being in her monthly

150. i. 8. 21.

151. iv. 1. 16.

course at the time of marriage. There was no second marriage system in the Gr̥hyasūtra period, which proves the existence of child-marriage. Thus the instructions regarding the period of continence after the removal to the husband's house has taken place, as also regarding the necessity of consummating marriage after the expiry of time can only refer to a grown-up girl. This was the general rule, but a tendency of lowering the marriageable age can be marked in the later Gr̥hyasūtras. Gobhila ¹⁵² and the author of the Mānava Gr̥hyasūtra ¹⁵³ declare a Nagnikā to be the best. It shows that in their time late marriages, though still customary, had fallen into discredit.

During the periods of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata also, girls were grownup at the time of their marriage. In the first chapter of the Rāmāyaṇa it is described that after the brides came to Ayodhya, they, having paid due respects to the elders, lived merrily with their husbands in seclusion, which presupposes post-puberty marriage. ^{153a} Sita, again, says to Anasūyā, in the Rāmāyaṇa, "My father, having seen me of

¹⁵². ii. 1.

¹⁵³. i. 7. 12.

^{153a}. अभिषादाभिषादाश्च सर्वा राजमुतास्तथा ।

रेमिरे मुदिता सर्वा भर्तुभिः सहिताः रहः ॥ 1. 77. 14.

marriageable age, became very anxious and pulled down like a man who has lost his wealth. After a long time, the illustrious Rāghava came here with Viśvāmitra to see the Yajña (here Dhanuṣa Yajña)".^{151b} The above statement shows that a girl could wait for a long time after her puberty for suitable match. In the Vanakāṇḍa, however, it is put in the mouth of Sita that, when Rāvaṇa went to kidnap her, she was eighteen and her husband twenty-five and that they had spent twelve years at Ayodhyā. Thus, the age of Sita is brought down to about six years at the time of her marriage. But it should be noted that the epic was recast many times and the verses in question are later interpolations, quite inconsistent with overwhelming evidences to post-puberty marriages. Bhavabhūti, in his Uttara-Rāmācharita¹⁵⁴, simply reflects the ideas of his age when he bases the description of Sita as a child-bride on the above text of the Rāmāyaṇa.

The Mahābhārata, equally with the Rāmāyaṇa, offers evidences in the favour of the marriages of grown-up girls. On hearing the Gāndharva marriage of Śakuntalā, Kṛṣṇa expresses his

153b. वित्तसंयोगमुत्तमं वयो दृष्ट्वा तु मे पिता ।

विन्तामप्यगमदीनो वित्तनाशविवाधनः ॥ etc. I. 119. 34.

154. He describes Sita as a child, playing before her mothers-in-law (Act 1. 57; I. 20).

sentiments, "O pure-smiling one, many menses of yours went in vain. Now, you have become fruitful. You have committed no sin.^{154a}" In the Umā-Maheśvara dialogue, a girl who has attained her puberty is called fit for marriage "A girl who bathes after her menses, is called pure. The father, the brother, the mother, the maternal uncle and the paternal uncle should give her away in marriage¹⁵⁵" Even in the later classical Sanskrit epics the same tradition is maintained. In the Sanskrit dramas the main theme is a love intrigue or a love-marriage, which could only have been possible in the case of grown-up matches.

In subsequent times, the marriageable age of the bride went down lower and lower. There were many causes that conspired to bring about this state of affairs. After the complete subjugation of India the life of the Aryans became ease-loving and luxurious. They became supreme in the country and began to enjoy life in its full profligacy. This led to an early sexual life. The stoppage of Vedic study and the Upanayana of girls also removed the restrictions of a disciplined and chaste life under teachers.

154a. अस्तु वै बहुवस्ते वै गता वार्या शुचिस्मिते ।

सार्धकं सम्मर्षं ह्येतच्च च पाप्माऽस्तितेऽनये ॥ M. B. I. 94. 65.

155. M. B. Anu. 286, 6.

But there were other causes also that helped this process. From the third or the fourth century B. C. the foreign invasions of India began. The Greeks, the Bactrian, the Parthians and the Scythians, who were physically stronger but less civilized than the Indians, occupied the North-West provinces of India. The position of woman was very low among these peoples and she was regarded as an article of enjoyment. The social life of the Hindus was endangered and influenced by these onslaughts. Perhaps, for safety and fashion both, they began an early married life.

The Dharmasūtras that were reduced to writing about 500 B. C. onwards clearly evidence the tendency of lowering the marriageable age of the bride. They generally expect that a girl should be married before she attains her womanhood. But they permit her to wait for sometimes if her marriage was not arranged by her guardians at the proper time. Vasiṣṭha¹⁵⁶ and Baudhāyana¹⁵⁷ allow three years and Gautama¹⁵⁸ and Viṣṇu¹⁵⁹ three months. Though it was desired that marriage should take

156. कुमारी ऋतुमती त्रीणि वर्षाण्युदीक्षेत । V.D.S. xvii. 59.

157. त्रीणि वर्षाण्युदीक्षेत कुमारीऋतुमती सती । B.D.S. iv. I. 14.

158. त्रीणिकुमारी ऋतुवतीत्येवम्यं युजयेत् etc. G.D.S. xviii. -0.

159. Viṣṇu. D.S. 24. 41.

place before attaining womanhood, the Dharmasūtras are silent about the sin resulting from the late marriage, and they do not inflict stigma and threats on the guardians of a grown-up girl, which is so common with the later authorities. It seems that marriages were generally arranged before sixteen.

Different stages in the evolution of the custom of child marriage can be traced in the Smṛti literature. In the one and the same law-book we find passages which see no offence in marriage between adult, and others which recommend child marriage. It can be accounted for only when we suppose a gradual transition from the Vedic custom of late marriage to an increasing extent of child-marriage.

In the much-discussed passage in Manu¹⁵⁰ the more importance is attached to the question that a father must give his daughter at all events to a suitor of an equal caste and superior qualities than to the problem whether a girl at marriage should be mature or not: "Let the father give the girl, even if she be not yet marriageable, to a suitor who is high born, handsome and belonging to an equal caste". According to the regulation

150. उत्कृष्टावनिदशाय वराय सहस्राय च ।

अप्राप्तायपि वा तस्मै कन्या दद्यादयमिति ॥ ix. 88.

“Let a girl, even she has reached maturity, remain till death in the house of her father, rather than that one should ever give her to a husband lacking the high qualifications¹⁶¹” We, again, find in the Manu-Smṛiti:¹⁶² “Let a girl wait for an appropriate suitor for three years after the commencement of first menses, from then onwards let her seek a husband for herself from an equal caste”. But although in these verses emphasis is laid on the choice of a suitor from an equal caste, yet also on the one hand marriage before puberty is represented in “Aprāptāmapi” as the exception and on the other hand words “Triṇi” etc. ‘three’ expressly admit that if an appropriate suitor be not found, marriage may be postponed until after the commencement of menses and may even take place a long time thereafter. And when Manu¹⁶³ shortly afterwards lays down that a man of thirty years shall marry a girl of twelve, and a man of twenty-four a girl of eight years, and quickly too if law is in danger, perhaps, this

161. काममाभरणसिष्टेदृष्टे कन्यर्तुमर्थाय ।

न चैवेनां प्रयच्छेत्तु गुणहीनाय कर्हिचित् ॥ ix. 89.

162. त्रीणि वर्षाप्नुहीक्षेत कुमार्यृतुमती सती ।

ऊर्णन्तु कामदेवस्माद्विन्देत सदृशं पतीम् । ix. 90

163. ix. 14.

verse can be regarded as advocating hastened marriage even with a girl who is under age.

But when we come down from the time of the Manu-Smṛiti to the later periods, we find regulations which unconditionally enjoin child-marriages. In the Baudhāyana¹⁶⁴ it is stated that "To a virtuous, pure husband the girl should be given while she is still immature; even from an unworthy man she should not be withheld if she has attained womanhood." The strict rules regarding marriage before the commencement of puberty gained additional force from the fact that disregard of it was represented as accompanied by evil consequences to the guardians of the girl. While Manu¹⁶⁵ is content to characterize the father as blameworthy who does not give his daughter in marriage at the proper time, it is stated in Vasiṣṭha.¹⁶⁶ "For fear of commencement of puberty let the father give his daughter in marriage while she is still going about naked. For if she remains at home after the marriageable age sin falls upon the father".

164. Quoted in V.M.S. vol. II.

165. कालेऽद्याता पिता वाच्यो वाच्यश्चानुषयन्ति ।

मृते भर्तारि पुत्रस्तु वाच्यो मातुरस्त्रिता ॥ ॥ ix. 4.

166. प्रवृत्तेऽग्निना कन्यामृतुः कालमयापि ।

अतुल्यं हि तिष्ठन्त्यो दोषः पितरमृच्छति ॥ The V.S. xvii.

In still later periods the dread of postpuberty marriage became so terrible that the Smṛtis brought down the marriageable age still lower. They divide the marriageable girls into five classes: (1) Nagnikā or naked, (2) Gaurī, eight years old, (3) Rohiṇī, 9 years old, (4) Kanyā, 10 years old and (5) Rajasvalā, above ten years.^{166a} Nagnikā was regarded as the best for marriage. Some authorities give ludicrous prescription. For example, a later interpolation in the Mahābhārata says, "The father should give his daughter at her birth to a suitable husband. Having given her away at the proper time, he attains merits".¹⁶⁷ In the opinion of the Brahmapurāṇa¹⁶⁸ also a girl should be given in marriage while she is quite a child: "The father should give his daughter to a handsome husband while she is a child; there he attains his goal; if not, sin falls on him. By all means he should marry his daughter between four and ten. While she does not know womanly bashfulness and plays with dust, she should be

166a. The Sarvasaṃgraha quoted by Gadādhara on P.G.S. i. 4. 8. Y.S. i. 22; S.S. i. 67; P.S. vii. 6

167. जातमात्रा तु दातव्या कन्यका सदशे वरे ।

काले दत्तासु कन्यासु पिता जर्मेण युज्यते । मनुस्मृत्य, 33.

168. यावत्कृत्रं न जानाति यावत्कोवति पांशुभिः ।

सावत्कन्या प्रदातव्या ना चेत्पितारवागतम् ॥ Chapter 1. 5.

given in marriage, if not, the father falls to an evil state".

The hold of child-marriage became so strong that the commentators, who flourished in the mediaeval and the Muslim periods of Indian history, tried to explain away ancient passages in the favour of adult marriages. For instance, they say that the verses like "one should remain unmarried if a suitable husband is not available etc". do not increase the age but they emphasize the suitability of the match.

When did this change occur cannot be precisely ascertained. Most probably it took place about the beginning of the Christian era. First, it did not appeal to all the sections of the Hindu society. In the Manu-Smṛiti the Gandharva and the Rakṣasa forms of marriages are recognized. In the Sanskrit dramas and epics grown-up matches are mentioned. But, as already pointed out, the Hindus were influenced by the foreigners who conquered the North-western parts of India. During the Gupta period, however, there was national awakening and the security of life, so adult marriages were revived and they continued up to the advent of the Muslims. The conquest of India by the Mohammadans, again, made the life of the Hindus insecure, and the influence of the Muslim culture itself

was towards the lowering of the marriageable age of a girl.

But besides the danger and influence of the foreign conquest of India, there was a religious belief also which changed the idealogy of the Hindus about marriage. Marriage, in course of time, came to be regarded as a gift of the girl by the father to her husband. A gift is given once and should not be repeated; moreover, a thing already enjoyed should not be given in gift; its disregard is sinful. Unfortunately the mythical gods, Soma, Gandharva and Agni who were believed to help the physical development of a girl,¹⁰⁹ came to be held as the enjoyers of her person. So the religious father of a girl became anxious to give her away in marriage before she was enjoyed by these gods. A Nagnikā was preferred for this very reason.

At first the age of the bridegroom was not lowered with that of the bride, as its danger and

109 a. सोमस्य जाया प्रथमं गन्धर्वस्ते परः पतिः ।

तृतीयोऽग्निष्टे पतिस्तृतीयस्ते मनुष्याः ॥ १५ V x 85. 4. V.S.
reproduces the above passage and interprets it as follows.

पूर्वं स्त्रियः सुरैर्भुक्ता सोमगन्धर्ववह्निभिः ।

गच्छन्ति मनुष्यात् पश्चात् नैता दुष्यन्ति धर्मतः ॥

तासां सोमो ददच्छां गन्धर्वः शिक्षितां गिरम् ।

अग्निश्च सव्यमक्षत्वं तस्मात् विष्कस्मया स्त्रियः ॥

religious need was not felt. But when like girls they also did away with the *Āśrama* system, their marriageable age fell down. In course of time, in order to make suitable matches, the age of the boy was brought down with that of the girl.

Although these sacred regulations received ever wider acceptance and finally became essential for an orthodox marriage, marriages at an advanced age must have been common for centuries till about the middle ages. Local differences also must have been there, as they are at present. Otherwise it will be difficult to explain the disregard of this custom in the Sanskrit dramas, epics and the mediaeval Rajput customs of grown up marriages. The early medical authors among the Hindus, have also rightly recognized that a girl does not reach the full development of her physical capacities, even in India, until she is sixteen. *Suśruta* ¹⁶ says: "A man in his twenty-fifth but a girl in his sixteen have reached the summit of their vigour, an experienced doctor ought to know that". In another passage he confirms this view with these details: "When a man who has not reached his twenty-fifth has intercourse with a girl who is below sixteen, the embryo dies in the womb, or if it is born it cannot live long, or lives with little vigour; therefore one

must not permit any man to have intercourse with a woman who is too young.

It is a happy thing that all the progressive opinions in India to-day are advocating the cause of grown-up marriages, and the mediaeval orthodox is passing away with the circumstances under which the custom of child-marriage arose. The Government of India have also thought it wise to enact a law, namely "The Child-marriage Restraint Act," otherwise known as "The Sarda Act" to stop this undesirable custom.

(iii), Qualifications of the Bride

After the consideration of the age of the bride, her personal qualifications were taken into account. We have no particular reference to this question in the pre-sūtra literature. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, however, we get a description in which an altar is being compared to a woman from which we can form an idea about the Standard of a beautiful woman. "They praise that woman whose hips are wide, breasts are developed and loin is thin." ¹⁷⁰ Again we find, "That beautiful young woman, sweet and emotional." When we come to the Gr̥hyasūtras, greater details are supplied to us. The Āśvalāyana Gr̥hyasūtra is content with

170. सुखिन इ योषां प्रशंसन्ति पृथुबोधिर्विमृष्टान्तरा सा मन्वे संप्राप्तेति ।

Ś. Br i. 2. 5. 16.

"a woman with good external signs".¹⁷¹ According to the Bhāradvāja Grhyasūtra,¹⁷² there are four considerations in a marriage-wealth, beauty, intellect and family. The more secularly minded authorities, says the author of the above Grhyasūtra, went very far and put the beauty of the bride above all "A man should marry a girl in whom his mind finds pleasure and towards whom his eyes are attracted. A girl of this type is called of good qualities. What will he do with intellect?"¹⁷³ But this was not the most accepted canon. The more religiously minded writers preferred intellect to other considerations. "How could one put up with a woman without intellect?"¹⁷⁴

External qualifications of a bride are more detailed in the Śmṛtis. Manu¹⁷⁵ says, "Let him wed a woman, who is free from bodily defects; who has an agreeable name, the graceful gait of a swan or an elephant, a moderate quantity of hair on the body and on the head, small teeth and

171. i. 5.

172. अन्तारि विवाहकराणि वित्तं रूपं प्रज्ञा बान्धवमिति । i. 6.

173. कस्यां मनोऽनुरागते चक्षुश्च प्रतिपद्यते सा विद्यास्तुभ्यलक्ष्मीकां किं ज्ञानेन करिष्यसीति । i. 12.

174. अप्रज्ञेया हि कर्षं संवाचः । i. 16.

175. अव्यङ्ग्यादी सोम्यनाम्नीं हंसवारखगामिनोद ।

समुन्मीलकेलरचना मुहुरीमुदुहेल्लवय ॥ M.S. iii. 10.

soft limbs". Yājñavalkya¹⁷⁶ speaks in a general way that the bride should be Kāntā or lovely. Śātātapa supplies further details, "Having married a girl whose voice is like that of a swan, whose colour is like that of a cloud and whose eyes are sweet and reddish, a householder finds happiness".¹⁷⁷

The following girls were avoided on physical grounds: "Let him not marry a maiden (with) reddish (hair) nor one who has a redundant member, nor one who is sickly, nor one either with no hair (on the body) or too much, nor one who is garrulous or has red eyes".¹⁷⁸ The Visṇu-Purāṇa, quoted in the Viramitrodaya, enumerates some other bodily defects of a bride: "One should not marry a woman who has beard or moustaches on her face, nor one whose appearance is like that of a man, nor one whose voice is hoarse, who speaks always satirically. A wise man should not wed a girl whose eyelids do not fall, nor one whose eyesight is lost, whose thighs are covered with hairs, whose ankles are projected or prominent, whose cheeks are sunken, who has lost her lustre, who is suffering from jaundice, whose eyes are red, and whose hands and feet are

176 I, 352

177. Quoted in V.M.S. vol. II. p. 731.

178. M.S. iii. 8,

very thin. One should not marry a girl who is a dwarf or very tall, who has no eye-brows, whose teeth are very rare and whose mouth is terrible".¹⁷⁹

Awkward and inauspicious names were also a disqualification in a girl. *Manu*¹⁸⁰ declares, "one should not marry a girl who is named after a constellation, a tree, a river, a low-caste man a mountain, a bird, a snake, a slave, nor one whose name inspires terror" The idea underlying this prohibition seems to be this, that these names were originally current among the uncultured, rude aboriginal forest-dwellers whose mode of living and contact, both, were avoided by the civilized Aryans. Afterwards these very names were refined and given to girls of respectable families. Ultimately the prohibition was removed. *Āpastamba*¹⁸¹ forbids to marry a girl whose name ends in "r" or "l," most probably on the ground of phonetic difficulties. *Yama*¹⁸² taboos even a girl who is named after a Veda or a Gandharva. Perhaps a Veda was thought too sacred for a secular purpose, and a Gandharva was a

179. V.M.S. vol. II, p. 731.

180. M.S. iii. 9.

181. सर्वाश्च रेफलकारान्यवर्णाः विवर्जयेत् । Quoted in V.M.S. vol. II, p. 732

182. वेदनाम्नी नदीनाम्नी शैलगन्धर्वनामिकाम् ।

ऋक्षवृक्षकृता नाम्नी दारार्थे विवर्जयेत् ॥ Ibid.

representative of lust, which should not be always present with a woman in the form of her name.

Some other qualifications were also considered while selecting a bride. According to the *Vāraha Gr̥hyasūtra* "One should marry a girl who has brothers, is virgin and is excellent even when stripped of her clothes (*Nagnikā*).¹⁸³" A brotherless girl was not desired on religious basis, as her eldest son should be adopted by her father and therefore the Fathers of her husband would starve for want of ancestral worship. This prohibition, later on, was not strictly observed, because religious considerations gave way to economic gain. At present people do not attach any importance to this question. Virginity was required to secure a chaste and unwidowed woman. This rule was more and more strictly followed later on, as the remarriage of a widow was altogether tabooed among the upper-caste Hindus. The last qualification of *Nagnikā* has got different and interesting interpretations. The later *Smṛtikāras* and commentators interpret *Nagnikā*, as already pointed out, as "a girl who has not attained her womanhood."¹⁸⁴ The commentator on

183. X. 8.

184. नग्निकां तु वदेऽकन्यां बालकतुल्यं भवेत् ।

अन्यभिजाता भवेऽकन्या कुबहीना च नग्निका ॥ मुद्र संमदः Quote.

V.M.S. vol. II. p. 767.

the Mānava-Grhyasūtra,¹⁸⁵ however, while repeating the same interpretation, says "Or (one should marry) a Nagnikā who is the best." He further elucidates his remark: "One should marry a woman who proves to be the best even when she is stripped of her clothes, because even ugly women with ornaments and clothes appear charming; therefore, being naked, not all look beautiful."

In this connection it would be interesting to note the view of Sir Thomas More recorded in his Utopia that before marriage a staid and honest matron "Showed the woman, be she maid or widow, naked to the wooer...At this custom we laughed and disallowed it as foolish. But they on their part, do greatly wonder at the folly of all other nations which, in buying a colt...be so chary and circumspect that though he be almost all bare, yet they will not buy him unless the saddle and all the harness be taken off, lest under these coverings he hid some gall or sore. And yet in choosing a wife, they be so reckless that all the residue of the woman's body being covered with clothes, they estimate her scarcely by one hand's breadth (for they can see no more than

185. नग्निकामग्र सखीभावाम् । ...अथवा नग्निकः श्रेष्ठ विवक्षासती श्रेष्ठया या भवेत्तामुपयच्छेत् । यस्मात्सकुरूपसि वस्त्रालंकारकृता मनोहारिणी भवति । तस्माद्विवक्षा सती न सर्वा द्योभते । i. 7. 8

her face) and so join her to them.¹⁸⁶

This custom of showing the bride naked to the wooer would not have been very common even when and where there was no seclusion of women. With the introduction of the Purdah system in the Hindus, when women became invisible to outsiders, the very demand of showing a girl became absurd, and more absurd became her naked examination.

Further, the bride should be younger (than the bridegroom). Yaviyasi and "Ananyapūrvikā" (not previously having come into physical contact with a man).¹⁸⁷ A younger girl was matched with a grown-up man, because her physical capacities develop earlier than those of a man. There were two kinds of "Anyapūrvikās" Punarbhū and Svairini. Yājñavalky¹⁸⁸ explains the former as "one married for the second time whether she has come into physical contact of a man or not." The latter according to the same author is "one who, out of lust, having left her own husband, approaches another man." The very prohibition shows that at one time marriage with these women was permissible under law,

186. Quoted by H. Ellis, Studies in Psychology of Sex, vol. vi, p. 102.

187 Yāj. S. I 52

188. अश्रुता च अता चैव पुनर्भूत्संकृता पुनः ।

स्वैरिणी वा पतिं हित्वा सर्वर्षे कामतः श्रयेत् ॥ Ibid.

though not liked by people. But later on when the standard of female chastity became very high and the widow-remarriage was tabooed, such marriages became out of question.

The last, but not the least, qualification of a bride was, that she should be a "Stri" "a woman" or a potential mother. *Vijñāneśvara*¹⁸⁹ on *Yājñavalkya* explains the word 'Stri' as "one examined in her womanhood in order to remove the doubt of barrenness". The main purpose of marriage, according to the Hindus, was the procreation of children, and a woman was compared to a field where seed could be sown. So there was no sense in marrying a woman who could not produce children. This consideration was based on the racial instinct of the people. In course of time, however, the idea that marriage was meant for uniting a man and a woman for social purposes rather than for exclusively racial one, gained ground, though it was not absent in early times too. Therefore the importance of womanhood was not particularly realized. The system of child-marriage also discouraged the examination of a girl.

The internal qualifications of a bride were believed to be difficult to comprehend, so

189. अविलुप्तव्रतचर्यो नक्षत्र्यां स्त्रियमुद्बुधेत् । *Yāj. S. I. 52.*

स्त्रियं नपुंसकत्वनिवृत्तये स्त्रीत्वेन वरीक्षिताम् । *विज्ञानेश्वर Ibid.*

people resorted to queer superstitious means to know them. The Āśvalāyana Gr̥hyasūtra¹⁹⁰ says. "(Internal) signs (of a girl) are very difficult to know. Therefore having brought eight clods of earth from different places, one should address them with the verse. 'Ṛta, the moral order was born first in the very beginning The Truth is established in the moral order. Let that come to her to which the girl is born. Let that be seen what is true'. After the clods were addressed thus, the girl was asked to touch a particular clod she liked. Different clods told different fortunes, according to which the poor girl was either accepted or rejected. Gobhila¹⁹¹ and Śaunaka¹⁹² repeat the same test. But it seems that the test in question was not very popular as it is mentioned by no other ancient authorities. The Dharmasūtras, and the Smṛtis do not refer to it. The modern Paddhatis do not contain it. Perhaps it was omitted very early as a silly procedure.

Such were the ideal qualifications of a bride. But, if strictly expected, they would have excluded fifty percent of girls from matrimony.

190. दुर्विज्ञेयाति लक्षणाभिनि । अष्टौ पिण्डान्कुत्वा पिण्डानिमिसंज्ञयते । i 5.

191. G.G.S. ii. 1.

192. Quoted in, V.M.S. vol. II p. 732.

The practice, however, must have been milder than the rules. In course of time, family and monetary considerations became so important that they overshadowed all others except the virginity of the girl. When child-marriage became very common, the bridegroom, who must have been very inquisitive about his mate, lost his voice in the matter and automatically the examination of the bride came to be neglected. Only in the Deccan and the South, ancient Hindu traditions are alive to some extent and a cursory formal test of the bride takes place.

(riii) Qualifications of the Bride-groom

The qualifications of a bride-groom were equally high. Yājñavalkya¹⁹³ says that a bride-groom should possess all the good qualities of a bride. So there was no concession or partiality towards the former. The first requirement of a bride-groom was the completion of his Brahmacharya. Manu¹⁹⁴ declares: "A student who has studied, in due order, the three Vedas, or two or even only one, without breaking the rules of studentship, shall enter

193. एतैव गुणैर्दुक्तः । Yāj. १. I. 55.

194. वेदानधीत्य वेदो वा वेदं वापि दशाक्रमम् ।

अविप्लुतकृद्भव्यो गृहस्थाश्रममावसत् ॥ M.S. iii. 2.

the order of a house-holder". He¹⁹⁵ again adds, "Having bathed with the permission of his teacher, and performed the Samāvartana according to the rules, a twice-born should marry a wife," Brahmachrya was a primary condition accepted by almost all the Smṛtis.

The next important qualification of a bridegroom was his age. According to the Līṅga-Purāṇa quoted in the Viramītrodaya, "Before anything else, the age should be considered and then other signs. What is the use of the signs of a man who has passed his marriageable age?"¹⁹⁶

In the opinion of the Vārāṇś-Gr̥hyasūtra¹⁹⁷ "a bridegroom should have subdued his anger and be cheerful in his spirits". Other considerations were wealth, beauty, learning intellect and family status. The latter were more important than the former. Gautama¹⁹⁸ says that the bride should be given to "a man who possesses learning, character, friends, and modesty". Āpastamba¹⁹⁹ gives similar

195. *ibid.* 4.

196. पूर्वमायुः परीक्षेत पश्चात्कक्षयमादिशेत् ।

आयुर्हीननरार्णव लक्षणैः किं प्रयोजनम् ॥ V.M.S. vol. II. p. 752

197. विनीतक्रोधः सदर्शनः सदर्शनं भार्या विन्देत् । x. 1; x. 6.

198. त्वयाचारिड्यवन्तुलीलसम्पन्नाय कन्यां दद्यात् G.D.S.

199. वन्तुलीलकक्षयसम्पन्नः श्रुतवानरोग इति । Āp. D.S. I. 3.20.

qualifications Yama lays down the most comprehensive qualifications of a bride groom: "Having considered the family, character, physique, age, learning, wealth and resourcefulness—these seven qualifications of a bridegroom—a wise man should give his daughter to him; there is nothing else to be considered".²⁰⁰

Just as "Stritva" or womanhood was essential in a bride, so Pumsatva or potency was an indispensable quality in a bridegroom. "Women are created for offsprings; a woman is the field and a man is the possessor of the seed; the field should be given to that who possesses the seed; a man without the seed does not deserve a girl".²⁰¹ "If a man is really found potent after his examination in potency by the signs of his own limbs, he deserves a girl".²⁰² Nārada²⁰³ mentions fourteen kinds of impotent men who were to be avoided

Ananyapūrvakatva or virginity so necessary in the case of a bride was not essential in a

00 कुलं च शीलं च अपुंवयश्च विद्यां च वरां च सनायताश्च
एतान्गुणान्सप्त परीक्ष्य देया इत्या बुधैः शेषमचितनीयम् । Quoted in
V.M.S. vol. II p. 75f.

201. अपत्यार्थे स्त्रियः स्रष्टाः स्त्री क्षेत्रं बीजिनो नराः ।

क्षेत्रं बीजयते देयं नाबीजी क्षेत्रं मर्हति ॥ Nārada quoted by
Gadādhara on the P.G.S. i. 7.

202. Ibid.

203. Ibid.

bridegroom, though observance of Brahmacharya was required from him. A Hindu could marry a second time if his first wife was dead, or if she was physically incompetent or morally depraved.²⁰⁴ In the case of a man his second marriage was imperative on religious grounds. "A man having burnt his dead wife with Agnihotra should marry another woman without delaying the worship of his domestic Fire any further"²⁰⁵ But giving one's daughter to a bachelor was regarded more meritorious than to a man who marries for a second time. "The gift of a girl in the hands of a man, who has not burnt his wife brings infinite merits; in the hands of a man who marries for a second time it brings only half, but the gift is quite fruitless if it is made to a man who has married several times"²⁰⁶

The disqualifications of a bridegroom were several. The following bridegrooms were to be avoided: "One who is retired from life, one who is hated by his people or left by his friends and relatives, one who belongs to another caste, one who suffers from consumption, one who is a

204. Yāj. S. I. 72-74.

205. दाहयित्वाऽग्नौ होत्रेण स्त्रियं वृत्तवतीं पतिः ।

आहरेद्विधिवद्दाराग्नौश्चैवानिमन्यत् ॥ Yāj. S. I. 89.

206. अदग्धहस्ते यद्वत् तदनन्तफलं स्मृतम् ।

दग्धहस्ते तद्वन्न स्यान्निष्फलं बहुश्रूयतः ॥ Quoted in V. M. S. vol. II. p. 756.

"Jiṅgastha" (living in disguise) or an Udari (having a large belly), lunatic or fallen, who is a leper, impotent, or a man of the same Gotra, one who has lost sight and ears or suffers from epilepsy—these all should be disapproved for marriage. If these defects exists before marriage (some how unknown) or arise after it, in both the cases, the gift of a girl should be regarded invalid".²⁰⁷ "One should take back his daughter if she is given to a man who has no respectable family and character, who is impotent and excommunicated from his caste, infected with epilepsy, belonging to a different religion, sickly and living in disguise".²⁰⁸ The same authority enumerates other disqualifications as follows: "A girl should not be given to six kinds of men—one who is very near or very far away, who is either very strong or very weak, who has no means of livelihood and one who is an idiot".²⁰⁹ Old age and ugliness were also regarded as defects in a bridegroom: "If a man, out of greed for money, gives his daughter to a man who is old, wicked or

207. कात्यायन, Ibid. p. 758.

208. कुल शील विहितस्य वण्डादि पतितस्य च ।

अपह्नारि विधर्मस्य रोगिणो वैषधारिणाम् ॥

दत्तामपि हरेरकृत्या समोन्नोढां तथैव च । वसिष्ठ Ibid.

209. Ibid.

ugly, he is born in his next life as a "Preta" (an evil spirit)'.²¹⁰

In early times when girls were married in advanced age and freedom of choice was allowed to them, these qualifications of a bridegroom were more real and valued than in subsequent times when early marriage became the rule and post-puberty marriage came to be stigmatized. The strict Śāstric injunction was enforced that "a Nagnika girl should be given to a meritorious and celibate man, or even to one without merits, but one should not delay the marriage of a marriageable girl".²¹¹ The parents, no doubt, still cherish the pious desire of selecting the most suitable husband, but they do not pay full attention to purely religious considerations and the rules of racial eugenics. The greatest determining factors in marriage, at present, are wealth and social status of the bridegroom. Under the present Hindu Law, marriage with those persons who are regarded invalids in early Smṛtis, is recognized as legal.

(xiv) *The Ceremonies*

(a) Original Simplicity. When the proper selection of the bride and the bridegroom was

210. कन्यां यच्छति वृद्धाय नीचाय धनलिप्सया ।

कुरुपायाकुलीनाय स प्रेतो जायते नरः ॥ पराशर Ibid.

211. दद्याद्गुणवते कन्यां नामिका ब्रह्मचारिणे ।

अपि वा गुणहीनाय नोपकुर्याद्ब्रजस्वकाम् । बौधायन, Ibid.

made, the ceremonies relating to marriage began. In the beginning they must have been very simple. A woman was given to a man by the constituted authority by which they became wife and husband. But as marriage was a very important occasion in the community, many rites, practices and customs arose, which were regulated by the community itself. In course of time the society became complex and many local and chronological differences came into existence.

(b) Gradual complexity. Marriage ceremonies had, primarily, their origin in religious belief of the people, but as marriage was a festive event in the communal life, all sorts of mirths and amusements were associated with it in the form of feasts, music, dance etc. Decoration of the house and adornment of the bride and the bridegroom expressed aesthetic motives natural to any important event in social life. Besides, we find a number of ceremonies which are suggestive of various features in a marriage. The assemblage of the people had its origin in the vested interest of the parties concerned. The relatives of the bride had some sort of control or right over her, hence it was necessary that she should be given in their presence, so that there may be no impediment. A large group of ceremonies are symbolical. One class of them symbolizes the

union between the wife and the husband. For example, joining of hands, tying of garments, touching of heart etc. had for their motives the union of the pair. Another group of ceremonies had their origin in desire to promote the fertility of the union, or to ensure an abundance of food for the household. Some ceremonies are connected with the idea that some danger is attendant on every transitional period of life and it should be averted by proper rites. Because marriage inaugurated the most important epoch in one's life many ceremonies were performed to ward off the evil influences connected with the event. Other features of the marriage ceremonies are essentially religious in their origin. The beneficent gods are invoked for boons and blessings, and specific appeals are sent to unseen powers with definite rites of sacrifice and prayer. Divinatory elements are also religious in their character, because they seek to find out whether the higher powers are propitious at a particular time or not.

(c) The Vedic Period. We have no knowledge of the pre-Vedic marriage ceremonies. Most probably they may have been prototypes of those described in the Vedic literature. The marriage rites and ceremonies must have varied in different families even in R̥gvedic times, but of it we

possess no records. We must be content with the information supplied by the marriage hymns of the *R̥gveda* ²¹² and the *Atharvaveda* ²¹³. These hymns begin with the allegory of the marriage of Sūryā, the daughter of the sun with Soma or the moon. The whole scene is made the basis of a metaphoric description in which the heavens take part. However imaginary the plot may be, it can be safely concluded that the poets largely drew up on the knowledge of the rites they had from the practical life. From these hymns we can make out the main details of the marriage rites prevalent in those times. But we cannot be certain as to in what order they occurred. The procedures given in the *R̥gveda* and the *Atharvaveda* differ at certain points and both the procedures vary from that given in the *Gṛhyasūtras*. The description given in the *Atharvaveda* is more detailed. So noting the differences we should rely on it for the knowledge of the nuptials in the Vedic period. The following description follows mainly the order, in which the verses are given in the *Atharvaveda*:

The bride bearing a beautiful robe and a coverlet, eyes daubed with unguents, head

212. x. 85

213. xiv. 1,2.

dressed up in the Opaśa or Kurira style, started for the house of her intended lord in a canopied chariot accompanied by bridal friends (anudeyī).²¹⁴ Her treasure-chest (Kośa) containing her dowry was also placed in her chariot.²¹⁵

When she left her father's house the following benedictions were pronounced: "Worship we pray to Aryama, finder of busbanbs, kindly friends, As from its stalk a cucumber, from here I loose thee, not from there Hence and not thence I send her free I make her softly fettered there, that bountesus Indra, she may live blest in her fortune and her sons. Now from the noose of Varuna I free thee, wherewith the blessed Savitā has bound thee. In the heaven of righteousness, in the world of virtue, be it pleasant for thee, accompanied by the wooer Let Bhaga take thy hand and hence conduct thee. Go to the house to be the household's mistress, and speak as a lady to thy gathered people."²¹⁶

On the day of marriage the bride was bathed in water consecrated with Vedic verses and a

214, 215. The A.V. xiv i, 6-18.

216. Ibid. xiv. i, 17-20.

yoke was held over her head.²¹⁷ She was then dressed with the recital of verses. The mother shed tears on the impending departure of her daughter.²¹⁸

Then the actual wedding rite began. The bride was made to stand on a stone, to represent "the lap of earth".²¹⁹ The bridegroom took her hand muttering appropriate verses and promised to cherish her.²²⁰

Then the bridegroom presented to her robes and jewels with which she was invested,²²¹ and he expressed his rapture at the sight of the newly robed and bejewelled bride.²²² After saying some prayers to drive away demons and blessing a chariot, they started on a marriage procession.²²³ Verses were recited, while the procession was going round, to the effect that the bride was first the wife of Soma, then of Gandharva, then of Agni who lastly bestowed her on her human husband.²²⁴ Then the procession returned to the house of the bridegroom from where demons were

217. Ibid. xiv. 1. 40.

218. Ibid. xiv. 1. 46.

219. Ibid. xiv. 1. 47.

220. Ibid. xiv. 1. 4.-51

221. Ibid. xiv. 1. 53-57

222. Ibid. xiv. 1. 59.

223. Ibid. xiv. 1. 60-64

224. Ibid. xiv. 2. 2-11.

exorcized. The bride entered the house, then sat with her husband before the household fire, covered with a wrapper presented to her. She sat on a bull-skin on which was spread the Bulbaja grass and worshipped Agni with her husband ²²⁵

After this the bride was blessed: "Let there come forth from the lap of this mother animals (children) of various forms, being born; as one of excellent omen, sit thou by this fire; with thy husband be thou serviceable to the gods here. Of excellent omen, extender of houses, very propitious to thy husband, wealful to thy father-in-law, pleasant to thy mother-in-law, pleasant to thy husband and house, pleasant to all their clan; pleasant unto their property be thou. Of excellent omen is this bride; come together, see her, having given her good fortune. What evil-hearted, young women, and likewise, what old ones (are) here, do ye all give splendour to her. They go asunder and away home".²²⁶

Consummation of the marriage immediately followed the nuptial ceremony.²²⁷ At night the bride was conducted to the bridal bed, where she and the bridegroom anointed each other's eyes. The bride invested her husband with her Manu-born garment and the bride was told by her husband

225. Ibid. 12-18, 19, 20, 24.

226. Ibid. 25-29.

227. Ibid. vii 36.

to mount the bridal couch with verses appropriate to the occasion. After this, Viśvāvasu, the Gandharva attached to unmarried girls, was prayed to go away from her²²⁸ and co-habitation followed with the recital of verses. Then valiant sons were prayed for and Agni was supplicated for giving ten sons to the couple²²⁹

In the end the nuptial garment was presented to the Brahman priest, so that demons go away with that robe and numerous benedictions were uttered on the newly wedded couple.²³⁰ The husband finally welcomed his wife, "I am the man, that dame art thou; I am the Sāman, thou the Rchā; I am the heaven, thou the earth; so will we dwell together, parents of children yet to be."²³¹

The marriage customs were almost the same in the R̥gvedic and the Atharvavedic times, though the Atharvavedic marriage hymns disclose a few changes in the arrangement of the proceedings. Indeed the marriage hymn of the R̥gveda (X. 85) is taken bodily in the Atharvaveda but with some important changes and is extended up to two long hymns with 64 and 75 verses, forming the whole Kāṇḍa XIV of the Atharvaveda. The taking of the hand of the bride by the bridegroom

228. Ibid. vii 37.

229. Ibid. xiv. 2. 33-36.

230. Ibid. 40-50, 51-57.

231. Ibid 71

is the most important ceremony here as it was in the Ṛgveda, and the gift of the bride, as before, rests with her father, the bridegroom going to him to sue for her. But grasping of the bride's hand appears to take place at her house, as generally now is the case, and not at the bridegroom's, because the bridal procession is mentioned again. Curiously enough, the Atharvaveda omits the prayer for ten sons appearing in the Ṛgveda

Regarding the ceremonies given in the marriage hymns of the Ṛgveda and the Atharvaveda, one thing should be observed that the main outlines of the Hindu marriage rituals of to-day are almost the same as they were some five thousand years ago.

(d) The Sūtra Period. During the Sūtra period the ritualists arranged the floating mass of rituals into a system and every Gr̥hyasūtra describes the ceremonies in a set order.²³¹ The Gr̥hyasūtras, however, differ slightly in the arrangement of their matters and contain a few varying details. It was due to the fact that every Vedic family had its own Sūtras, containing local and tribal differences. But there was no material difference, the religious and the social back-grounds

231a. ḡ G.S. i. 5; \G.S. i. 5; P.G.S. i. 4-8; G.G.S. ii. 1; Kh. G.S. i. 3; H.G.S. i. 19. Ap. G.S. 2. 12, B.G.S. i. 1; Bh. G.S. i. 11-20; M.G.S. i. 7-12; J.G.S. i. 20 ff.

being the same. They quote almost the same Vedic verses and follow the same marriage customs. In addition to the ceremonies developed in the Vedic period, a few new features are found in the Grhyasūtras. We can form an idea of the procedure followed in the nuptial ceremonies by the contents given in the two following Grhyasūtras:

Pāraskara Grhyasūtra Baudhāyana Grhyasūtra

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Arghya and Madhuparka | 1. Vara-preksanam |
| 2. Vastra paridhanam | 2. Brāhmaṇa-bhojana. |
| 3. Samañjana | 3. Nāndimukha-
Vivāha-Homa. |
| 4. Vadvāsaha Niṣkramana | 4. The going of the
bride-groom to the
bride. |
| 5. Samiksanam | 5. Samikṣanam |
| 6. Agnipradakṣinam | 6. Hasta-grahaṇam |
| 7. Vaiśāhika Homa
Ajyāhuti, Raṣṭrabhṛta,
Java and Abhyātana
Homam. | 7. Saptapadi |
| 8. Lājā-Homa | 8. Arghya and
Madhuparka |
| 9. Pāṇi-grahaṇam | 9. Alamkaraṇam |
| 10. Aśmārohaṇam | 10. Homa to Aditi,
Anumati, Sarasvatī,
Savitā and Prajāpati. |
| 11. Gātha-gānam | 11. Hṛdaya-sparśa |

- | | |
|--|--|
| 12. Agni parikramanam | 12. Karne japa |
| 13. Śeṣa-Lājā-Homa | 13. Pāṇi-grahanam |
| 14. Saptapad | 14. Agni-pradakṣinam |
| 15. Mūrdhābhiṣeka | 15. Aśmārohanam |
| 16. Sūrya-darśanam | 16. Lājā-Homa |
| 17. Hrdaya sparśa | 17. Again Agni-pradakṣiṇā |
| 18. Abhimantrana | 18. Prājāpatya and other offerings |
| 19. Sitting on a bull-Skin | 19. Udvāha or departure |
| 20. Grāma-vachana | 20. Grha-praveśa |
| 21. Gift to the Āchārya | 21. Sitting on the bull skin |
| 22. Dhruva-darśana | 22. Dhruva, Arundhati and Saptiṣi-darśanam |
| 23. Trirātra-Vrata | 23. Irirātra Vrata |
| 24. Āvasathya Homa | 24. Chaturthi-karma |
| 25. Udvāhanam | 25. Upasamveśanam |
| 26. Chaturthi Karma | |
| 27. Mūrdhābhisinchanam | |
| 28. Sthāli-pāka-prāśana | |
| 29. The First Lesson in Conjugal Fidelity. | |
| 30. (Garbhādhānam) | |

The above table shows that while mainly following the Vedic rituals, the Gṛhyasūtras elaborated the nuptials and introduced many notable changes, e.g. Mādhuparka, Lājā-Homa, Aśmārohanam, Gāthāgānam, Mūrdhābhiṣeka, Hrdayasparśa, Sūrya-darśana etc. and above all, the great Saptapadī. It would be in vain to

try to trace the whole of the Grhyasūtra ceremonies in the Vedas. It seems that after the Vedic period, many popular rites and ceremonies were assimilated and given place in the scriptures by the priests, who wanted to enlarge the range of their religion. These later additions did not originally form the part of the Vedic rituals.

(e) Later Innovations. After the Sūtra period, the marriage ceremonies underwent further changes. Many modifications and innovations were introduced. Grāhavachanam of the Pāraskara Grhyasūtra ^{231b} and Janapada-Dharma ^{231c} of the Āśvalāyana Grhyasūtra were potent factors for producing new features in the Saṁskāra. According to the former, many items of the Saṁskāra took their sanction from the old men and women, who were the custodians of ancient and popular rites and ceremonies. The latter recognizes that local customs differed from place to place and they should be consulted in the performance of the Saṁskāra. Nārāyaṇa Bhatta remarks on the importance of customs, 'The procedure has been given but it should be followed according to one's own Deśacāra'. ²³² Kamalākara in his Nirṇaya Sindhu says, "The

231b. प्रायश्चनं च कुर्युः । i 8. 11.

231c. i. 5.

232. क्रमः उक्तः स च देशाचारवशेनानुसर्तव्यः । The Prayogaratna.

customs prevalent in one's own province and village should be relied upon in the matter of marriage." ²³² The Samskāra-Kaustubha informs "Many people overruled the express rules of the scriptures and followed the Deśācāra". ²³³

(f) The Present Form Thus, in course of time, the religious idealogy, social customs and rites and ceremonies changed. In the beginning, however, the scriptures were anxious to record only Vedic rituals and did not give the proper place to purely popular rites and customs. Later on, the priests were forced by the circumstance to recognize the latter. The Paddhatis and the Prayogas on the marriage ceremonies, that are more practical than the ancient scriptures, incorporated many new elements under the auspices of the Samskāra. In different parts of India, different Paddhatis and Prayogas are followed. Consequently, the marriage ceremonies also differ in different localities. But religious and social conservatism is so strong in India that the main outlines of the Samskāra are continued from the Vedic period down to the present time, and its general features are universal throught the country.

232a. जनपदचर्मा ग्रामचर्माश्च विवाहे प्रतीयान् । पूर्वभाग iii.

233. सकलप्रन्थाननादृत्यचारानुसरणमेवेच्छां परितोषार्थं यथाचारमपि प्रयोगं
स्मृत्यते।

Generally speaking, the following procedure is adopted in the Paddhatis and the Prayogas:

Māṇḍalika	Gadadhara
1. Vāgdāna	1. Vāgdāna
2. Maṇḍapakarana	2. Mr̥dāharaṇa
3. Punyāha-vāchana	3. Haridralāpana
4. Varagamana	4. Maṇḍapa-nirmāna
5. Madhuparka	5. Gaṇapati-pūjana
6. Vistaradāna	6. Saṃkalpa
7. Gaurihara-pūja	7. Nāndi-Śrāddha
8. Kanyādāniya	8. Vara-Varana
Jalasuddhi	
9. Kanyādāna	9. Ghaṭi-Sthāpana
10. Aksataropana	10. Varagamana
11. Kaṅkana-Bandhana	11. Nirājana
12. Ārdrākṣataropana	12. Madhuparka
13. Tilakakarana	13. Vara-pūja
14. Aṣṭaphalidāna	14. Agni sthāpana
15. Maṅgala-	15. Vāstra-paridhāpana
sūtrabandhana	
16. Gaṇapatipūjana	16. Samāñjana
17. Vadhūvaryoruttariya-	17. Gotrochehāra
prāntabandhana	
18. Akṣatāropana	18. Kanyādāna
19. Lakṣmi-Pārvatī-	19. Pratigrahana
Śachipūjana	
20. Vāpanadāna	20. Samikṣaṇa
21. Vivāha-Homa	21. Agni-Pradakṣiṇa
22. Saptapadi	22. Vaivāhika Homa etc.

Māṇḍalika	Gadādhara
23. Grhapraveśa-Homa	23. Lājā-Homa
24. Arṇidānam	24. Pāṇi-grahaṇa
25. Svasurāya Kanyārpana	25. Aśmārohana
26 Devakotthāpanam and Maṇḍapodvāsan	26 Gāthāgāna
27. Grhapraveśa	27 Śesa Lājā-Homa with Parikramā
28 Saptapadī	29. Abhisiñchana
30 Sūryāvalokana	31. Hrdaya-sparśa
32 Abhimantraṇa	33. Sindūra-dāna
34. Sitting on bull-skin	35. Dakṣiṇā to Ācārya
36 Dhruva-darśana	37. Triratna-vrata
38 Devakotthāpana and Maṇḍapodvasana	39 Vadhūpraveśa
40. Chaturthikarma	

(g) Description and Significance.

(1) *Betrothal*

The preliminary part of the marriage ceremonies consisted in the Vāgdānam (Betrothal) or oral giving away of the bride to the bridegroom. In early times, the selection of the bride and the bridegroom was mutual either from love or other considerations, and in the majority of cases love formed the dominant factor. When the parental control over the children became more rigid, the formal consent of the parents became

necessary. Even in the R̥gvedic times the bridegroom's friends approached the bride's father, to whom the formal proposal was made, as was done in the case of Sūryā by the Aśvins on behalf of Soma.²³⁴ If the bride's father approved the selection, the marriage was settled. The Gr̥hyasūtras generally do not begin with the betrothal ceremonies, so we have no information as to how they were performed. One tradition is recorded in the Nārada-Smṛti. Here betrothal is called Kanyāvarana. According to it, not only the friends of the bridegroom, but the bridegroom himself with friends went to the father of the bride for the formal settlement of the marriage. "Within the month of marriage, on an auspicious day, the Kanyāvarana ceremony should be performed. The bridegroom, well dressed and well adorned, with music and chanting of sacred verses, should go to the bride's home with a loving heart. Then the bride's father should give his consent happily. The bridegroom, having propitiated Śacī, should worship the well adorned bride and pray to her for good luck, health and progeny".²³⁵ It seems that in the mediaeval times the custom of the bridegroom's himself approaching the bride's father was dropped and he was substituted by his

234. The R. V. x. 85. 9, 15, 33.

235. Quoted in V.M.S. vol. II. p. 810.

father, who, with a party, went to the bride's father for the oral reception of the bride on behalf of his son. The description of this ceremony as given by Gadādhara is as follows: "In an auspicious time according to astrology, two, four or eight gentlemen, putting on agreeable robes, with the father of the bridegroom, having seen the Śakuna bird should go to the house of the bride's father and request him, "Give your daughter to my son." The bride's father having consulted his wife etc. should say, "On this auspicious moment I give this girl, born in such and such Gotra, daughter of such and such person and namely so and so". After this he should recite the verse, "This girl has been orally given by me for progeny and accepted by you. Be happy in inspecting the girl, having made up your mind". The father of the bridegroom should reply, "The girl has been orally given by you for progeny and accepted by me for progeny. Be happy in seeing the bridegroom, having made up your mind".²³⁶ After the proposal was accepted the father of the bridegroom worshipped the girl with rice, clothes, flowers etc. according to his family custom. The ceremony ended with the blessings of the Brahmins.²³⁷

This custom is still alive in the Deccan in the form of formally seeing the girl and

236. The Vāgdanavidhi, quoted, by Gadadhara on P.G.S.

237. तस्यै ब्राह्मणः आशीर्मान्वाचयेयुः । Ibid.

settling the marriage. In Northern India, however, the Purdah system and the supremacy of dowry have abolished this useful custom. Here, in the majority of cases, betrothal consists in fixing the sum to be paid by the bride's father and presenting the Sacred Thread, money and some fruits to the bridegroom which is called Vararaksa or Phaladāna. By this ceremony the guardian of the bridegroom is supposed to be morally tied down to the proposal.

The custom of Vara-varana has become more important than that of Kanyā-varana. According to Chandeśvara, "The brother of the bride and Brahmans should go to the house of the bridegroom and offer him Upavita, fruits, flowers, clothes etc at the occasion of Vara-varana."²³⁸ At present, this custom is popularly known as Tilaka, and in addition to the articles mentioned above a fixed sum of money is also presented. In the opinion of Gadādhara this ceremony should take place one day before the marriage, but generally it is performed many days before it.

(2) *Marriage Day*

After the betrothal an auspicious day is fixed for the wedding ceremonies. Astrological

238. उपनीतं पलं पुष्पं वासासि विविधानि च ।

देयं वराय वरणे कन्याभ्रात्रा द्विजेन च ॥ The Kṛtyacintāmaṇi.

considerations do not seem to play an important part in ancient times. As the union of the bride and the bride-groom depended upon mutual attraction of love, there was not much scope for making matches on the actual calculation and determination of the movements of stars. Moreover, though the ancient Hindus were acquainted with astronomy and astrology, the particular branch of astrology that deals with marriage was either not developed or was not much consulted for arranging a marriage. In the *Gṛhyasūtras*, the astrological considerations are very simple. Marriage was generally performed when the sun was in the northern hemisphere, in the bright half of a month and on an auspicious day. The later *Smṛtis*, the *Purāṇas*, the mediaeval astrological works and the *Nibandhas* are very particular about fixing the proper time for every detail of the marriage ceremony.

(3, *Mṛdāharaṇa*)

A few days before the wedding, the ceremony of *Mṛdaharṇa*^{238a} (bringing some earth or clay) ceremony is performed. The origin of this ceremony is popular and it does not find mention in the ancient scriptures

^{238a}. This ceremony is found in the *Paddhatis* only.

of the Hindus The Jyotirribandha quoted by Gadādhara says, "In the beginning of every auspicious ceremony sprouts should be used for Maṅgala decoration. On the ninth, seventh, fifth or third day before the marriage, in an auspicious moment, with music and dancing, one should go in the northern or eastern direction of his house to fetch the earth for growing sprouts in a pot of clay or a basket of bamboo" ²³⁹ Another ceremony performed before marriage is haridrālepana or besmearing the bride and the bridegroom with ointment of turmeric root and oil, a day or two before the wedding. The above substances besides being useful to the body are regarded auspicious also.

(4) *The Worship of Gaṇeśa*

The ceremonies preceding the marriage day are the following: In the beginning the most auspicious god Gaṇeśa is worshipped and his symbol is installed in the nuptial canopy erected according to the rules laid down in the scriptures. The sacrificial altar for the Vaivāhika Homa is also built under the canopy. Then the father of the bride with his wife, in the first half of the day, having

239. Quoted by Gadādhara on P.G.S. 1.8.

bathed, puts on auspicious robes. Next, having seated himself, sips water and restrains his breaths. After this he prays to place and time, and makes up his mind (Samskalpa) to perform Svastivāchana. Maṇḍapa-pratiṣṭhā, Matr-pūjana, Vasordhārāpūjana, Āyusyajapa and Nāndi-śrāddha as ancillary to marriage.²⁴⁰ The Samskalpa is "a psychological act, the determination to direct and control one's energies in such ways as will secure the attainment of object in view".²⁴¹

(5) *Ghaṭikā*

On the day of marriage a Ghati or waterclock (Olepsydra) is established with the verse, "Thou art the mouth of the (universal) machinery, created by Brahman in the beginning; for the Bhāva (good feelings) and Abhāva (lack of good feelings) between the husband and the wife, thou art the measurer".²⁴² The clock is not only useful for carrying the nuptial programme at proper times but it is also symbolical of Time that rules over the entire universe. It should be noted that this custom is not very popular.

240. The गर्गपद्धति ।

241. Raghunatha Rao: The Aryan Marriage, p. 20.

242. मुखं स्वसि यन्त्राणां ब्रह्मणा निर्मितं पुरा ।

भावभावय दम्पत्योः कालः साधनकारणम् ॥ Quoted by Gadādhara on P G. S. i, 4-8 This item is not found in G.Ss.

(6) *The Nuptial Bath*

In the morning the bride and the bridegroom, at their respective homes, take the nuptial bath with scented water and recital of Vedic verses indicative of the physical union of the husband and the wife.²⁴³ Then from the side of the bridegroom, the marriage party proceeds to the place of the bride's father "In the second half of the day, the bridegroom bathes, puts on a pair of white clothes, decorates himself with scent and garlands and prays to the family gods. After this he feeds the Brahmans, who recite the sacred verses

(7) *The Marriage Party*

Then many amusements take place and the bridegroom with his friends and relatives, goes to the house of the bride on conveyance suited to his status".²⁴⁴ At arrival, the bridegroom stands outside the gate of the house facing the east and is welcomed by a company of women bearing lamps and jars full of water". (The marriage procession is mentioned as early as in the R̥gveda and the Atharvaveda.²⁴⁵ The Śāṅkhyāyana and

243. G.G.S. ii. 1. 10; Ś.G.S. i. 11; Kh. G.S. i. 3. 6.

244 कृतकौतुकबन्धश्च मिश्रवाग्धवसयुतः ।

यानं यथाहमारुह्य यातव्यं च वधूगृहम् ॥ Śaunaka quoted in
V.M.S. vol. II. p. 819.

245. R. V. x. 85; A.V. xiv 1, 2,

the Āśvalāyana Grhyasūtras also describe it, with the marked difference that the conveyance for the bridegroom was either a chariot, an elephant or a horse. There was no system of a palanquin carried by men. Perhaps it was introduced during the muslim period.)

(8) *The Madhuparka*

The first honour that the father-in-law bestows upon the bridegroom is the offering of Madhuparka,^{245a} a rare honour, reserved for the distinguished persons of the society and the most respected relatives. Having ordered a seat to be got for the guest, the father-in-law says, "Well Sir! Sit down! We will do honour to you, Sir!" They get for him a couch (of grass), to sit down on, another for the feet, water for washing the feet, the Arghya water, water for sipping, and the honey mixture in a brass vessel with a brass cover. Another person three times announces to the guest the couch and other things when they are offered to him. The bridegroom accepts the couch and sits down thereon with the verse, "I am the highest one among my peoples as the sun among the thunder bolts. Here I tread on whosoever infests me." When he sits on the couch, the father-in-law washes the left foot and then the right foot of the

guest: If the host is a Brahman, the right first. He does so with the formula, "The milk of Virāj art thou. The milk of Virāj may I attain (May) the milk of Pādya Virāj dwell) in me". The bridegroom accepts the Arghya water with the words, 'Waters are ye May I obtain through you all my wishes'. Pouring it out he recites over the waters the formula, "To the ocean I send you; go back to your source. Unhurt be our men. May my sap be not shed'. He sips water with the formula, "Thou cometh to me with glory Unite me with lustre. Make me beloved with all creatures, the lord of cattle, unhurtful for the bodies. Then he looks at the Madhuparka with the words, 'With Mitrā ect'. and accepts it with the formula, "By the impulse of the god Savitr ect". Taking it into his left hand, he stirs it about three times with the fourth finger of his right hand with the formula, "Adoration to the brown-faced one. What has been damaged when the food was eaten, that I cut off from thee". With the fourth finger and the thumb he spirits away some part of it and partakes it three times with the formula, "What is the honeyed, highest form of honey, and by that enjoyment of food may I become highest, honeyed and an enjoyer of food". Having sipped water he touches the bodily organs with the formula, "May speech dwell in my mouth, breath in my nose, sight in my eyes, hearing in my ears,

strength in my arms, vigour in my thighs. May my limbs be unhurt. May my body be united with my body".²⁴⁶

In ancient times, the Argha ceremony was not complete without sacrificing a cow in the honour of the guest ²⁴⁷ When the guest had sipped water, the host, holding a butcher's knife, said to him three times, "A Cow!" To this the guest replied. "The mother of the Rudras, the daughter of the Vasus, the sister of the Adityas, the navel of immortality To the people who understand me, I say, "Do not kill the guiltless cow which is Aditi." I kill my sin and N.N.'s sin." This verse was recited if he chose to have it killed. But if he chose to let it loose, he said, "My sin and N.N.'s sin has been killed. Om! let it loose! Let it eat grass!" ²⁴⁸ The cow was the choicest present of the Indo-Aryans. An Aryan could not do a higher honour than offering a cow to a guest. But even in the Vedic times the cow was attaining its sacred character, and in course of time it became too sacrosanct to be killed for a guest. This tendency can be marked in the Gr̥hyasūtra period when killing of the cow

246. This is the ceremonial reception of the Indo Aryaus.

The present practice, however, is a poor apology for it.

247. न त्वेवावाप्सोऽन्नं स्यात् । P.G. S. i. 3. 30

248. Ibid. i 3. 27-29.

became optional.²⁴⁹ This tendency may be due to the growing regard for animal life among the Hindus, the close domestic relation between the cow and the householder and, perhaps, to the economic consideration also in killing a cow. In the time of the Smṛtis the cow-slaughter was forbidden altogether. The Purāṇas brought it under the general prohibition of killing a cow in the Kali-Age.²⁵⁰ At present the living cow is offered to the bridegroom as a gift. Gādhara in his Paddhati says, "As a rule the cow should be killed in a marriage and a sacrifice. It, however, does not take place in the Kali-Age. In the absence of the slaughter, the word 'Cow' is also not announced. Under the universal prohibition, it is simply given away, as it is said in the Karikā — 'In the Kali-Age, in all cases, the cow is offered as a gift owing to the prohibition of cow-slaughter.'^{250a}

(9) *The Bridegroom Honoured*

After the Madhuparka ceremony the bride is worshipped by the father-in-law with scent, garland, sacred threads and a pair of ornaments. The bride seats herself there after having

249. Ibid. i. 5, 29

250. महाप्रस्थानगमनं गो संज्ञतिश्च गोसवे । Ādityapurāṇa quoted in the Nirṇayasindhu, p. 202.

250a. On P.G.S. i. 3. 30, 31.

worshipped and meditated on the goddess Gauri.²⁵¹ Then the bridegroom establishes the Laukikāgni. According to the Gr̥hyasūtras, this fire was produced by friction. The maternal uncle of the bride brings her near the nuptial fire facing towards the east and a curtain is drawn between the bride and the bridegroom.²⁵²

(10) The Presentation of a Garment to the Bride.

Now the bridegroom presents an under garment to the bride with the verse, "Live to old age; put on the garment ! Be the protectress of the human tribes against imprecation. Live a hundred years full of vigour. Clothe thyself in wealth and children. Blessed with life put on this garment '" The upper garment was presented with, "The goddesses who spun, who wove, who spread out the threads on both sides, may those goddesses clothe thee for the sake of long life. Blessed with life put on this garment."²⁵³ At present, generally, these presents are not offered in the nuptial canopy. They are sent before the nuptials take place. The custom of presenting clothes to the bridegroom by the father-in-law is also current.

251. The Gargapaddhati.

252. Ibid.

253. P.G.S. i. 4. 13-14.

(11) Anointment

Next, the bride's father is required to anoint the pair, while the bridegroom should recite the verse, "May the Viśvedevas, may the waters unite our hearts. May Mātariśva, May Dhatr, may Deatr join us". The anointment is symbolical of 'Sneha' or 'love' and consequently of uniting the pair. This ceremony is called *Samanjana*. Some authorities explain it as "facing each other". But this explanation cannot be accepted in the light of the fact that the ceremony of *Samikṣana* or "looking at each other" is mentioned separately.

(12) Gotrochchāra

Before the bride is given away to the bridegroom the names of the ancestors of both the parties with *Gotra* and *Pravara* are announced loudly, thrice according to *Vāsudeva* and *Harīhara* and once according to *Gāṅgādhara*.²⁵⁴ This act signifies that the people assembled should know that both, the bride and the bridegroom, come of good families, the pedigree of which can be traced to many generations. The *Grhyasūtras* do not mention this item of the ceremony. It is found in the *Paddhati*.

(13) *Kanyādāna*

Then the Kanyādāna²⁵⁵ or "the ceremony of properly giving away the bride" follows. Only the constituted authorities are entitled to make the gift of a bride. The Gr̥hyasūtras^{255a} speak of having accepted the girl given by her father". The Smṛtis extend this 'right to other relatives also. According to Yajñavalkya "The father, the grand-father, the brother, the caste people and the mother are authorized, in descending order, to give away the girl".^{255b} Nārada does not mention the grand father and includes friends, maternal grand-father and the state in the list.^{255c} In ancient times, the last guardian was the patriarchal chief of the tribe or the locality, who had more religious and social considerations than the modern states. But even now according to the Hindu Law, some provision is made for an unmarried girl out of the property of the father.

The guardian of the bride utters the following

255. Ibid.

255a. पित्रा प्रप्तमादाय । P.G.S. i. 4 16.

255b. पिता पितामहो भ्राता सकुल्यो जननीतथो ।

कन्याप्रदः पूर्वनाशे प्रकृतिस्थः परः परः ॥ I 63

255c. Quoted in V. M. S. vol. II. p. 82¹.

Saṁkalpa, "determination:"²⁵⁶ "For the obtainment of absolute happiness, as the consequence of Kanyādana, for our fore-fathers; for purifying my twelve preceding and twelve succeeding generations through the progeny born in this girl; and for the propitiation of Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa etc. "I make this gift". He, then, recites the verse, 'I give away this girl adorned with gold ornaments to you, Viṣṇu, with the desire of conquering the world of Brahma The Nourisher of the whole Universe, all creatures and gods are witness to the fact that I make gift of this girl for the salvation of my forefathers.' After this the bride is given away to the bridegroom who accepts her formally

(14) *The Conditions*

While giving away the girl, the guardian puts forward following condition: 'In the attainment of Piety, Wealth and Desire, she is not to be transgressed'. To this the bride-groom promises, "Transgress her I will not."²⁵⁷ The

255. समस्तपितॄणां निरतिशयानन्दब्रह्मलोकावाप्त्यादिकन्यादानं कल्पोक्त-
फलशतये...द्वादशवर्षान् द्वादशापरान् पुरुषाश्च पवित्रीकर्तुमात्मनश्च
श्रीलक्ष्मीनारायणं प्रीतये वन्यादानमहं करिष्ये । The Vivāhapaddhati
by Jagannātha

: 57. 'वर्मे चार्थे च कामे च नातिचरितव्या इत्येयम् ।

'नातिचरामि' इति वरः ।

same promise is asked and repeated thrice. Many suitable presents are given with the bride, e g clothes, ornaments etc. According to the Hindu religion, no sacrifice is complete without its appropriate Dakṣinā. So the marriage which is regarded as a kind of sacrifice must be duly finished with a fitting Dakṣinā in the form of money and presents.

(15) *A Significant Question*

After accepting the bride, the bridegroom puts a very significant question to the guardian of the girl: "Who has given this bride to me?" The answer is "Kāma (the God of Love)."²⁵⁸ Then he leaves the nuptial canopy with the bride and in private utters the following formula to her in order to win her over: "Where thou wanderest far away with thy heart to the regions of the world like the wind, may the gold-winged Vaikarna (the Wind) grant that thy heart may dwell with me! N.N!"²⁵⁹ The Paddhatis call it the Vadvhādeśa or the admonition fort he bride. Samikṣaṇa or looking at each other follows next. The bridegroom while looking at the bride, recites the verse,

258. कोऽवाद् । काम इति ।

259. यदेति मनसा दूरं विक्षोऽनुव्रजानो वा । हिरण्यवर्णो वैकर्णः स त्व.
अन्वयना करोतु । P.G.S. i. 4. 16,

"With no evil eye, not bringing death to thy husband, bring luck to the cattle, be full of joy and vigour. Give birth to the heroes; be godly and friendly. Bring luck to men and animals." ²⁶⁰

(16) Protection Cord

Then comes the Kañkaṇa-Bandhana ceremony.²⁶¹ This ceremony was very important in ancient times, because from this time until the Samāveśa (sexual union) was performed, the bride and the bridegroom could suffer no pollution, as they had Kañkaṇa or Rakṣa (Protective Cord).²⁶² Now it has only a decorative value. In some provinces it is regarded simply auspicious and is called "Maṅgala-Sūtra." This ceremony is not mentioned in the Grhyasūtras and its origin seems to be more popular than scriptural.

(17) Evolution of the Bride suggested

Now the bridegroom utters the following verses in which he reminds the bride that she has become of age and they both have to enter the responsible life of a husband and a wife: "First, Soma had thee for his bride; the Gandharva

260. *Ib.d.* i. 4. 17. 1.

261. *of.* The paddhati by Maṇḍalika.

262. *The Aryan Marriage*, pp. 24, 25.

obtained thee next; Agni was thy third husband, thy fourth husband am I, born of man. Soma gave thee to the Gandharva, the Gandharva gave thee to Agni, and Agni has given thee to me, for wealth and sons".²⁶³ These mystic verses are explained by Sāyana thus: "While yet the desire for sexual intercourse has not arisen, Soma enjoys a girl; when it has just begun, the Gandharva takes her, and at marriage transfers her to Agni, from whom man obtains her (possessing capacity) for producing wealth and sons".²⁶⁴ The Smrtis offer a clearer interpretation; "Women are first enjoyed by the gods, Soma, Viśvāvasu and Agni; only then do men enjoy them. But the women are not tainted thereby. When hair has appeared on the pubes, Soma enjoys a maiden; the Gandharva enjoys her when the breasts are developed, and Agni when she had menstrual discharge".²⁶⁵ Different stages of physical and mental development

263. सोमः प्रथमो विविदे गन्धर्वो विविद उत्तमः ।

दक्षीयोऽग्निष्टे पतिस्तुरीयस्ते मनुष्यजः ॥

सोमोऽद् गन्धर्वाय गन्धर्वोऽद् अग्नये ।

रश्मिं पुत्राश्चादादग्निर्महानथो इमाम् ॥ R.V. x. 85, 40, 41.

264. See on the above verses.

265. पूर्वं स्त्रियः सुरैर्भुक्ता सोमगन्धर्ववह्निभिः ।

गच्छन्ति मानुषान् पश्चाद् नैतां दुष्यन्ति धर्मतः ॥ V.S.

सोमः स्त्रीं ददौ तासां गन्धर्वीश्व तथा गिराम् ।

पावकः सर्वमेवत्वं मेवत्वं योषितां सदा ॥ A.S. 137.

in a woman are further explained: "Soma is Sasyādhipa^{ti}, the Lord of the Vegetable world, and presides also over the mind...The physical growth of the girl, including that of the hair, was under the care of the god, Soma. The mind of the girl was also developed under his guidance...The Gandharva is the master of graces. It is his function to make the woman's body beautiful and to add richness of tone. Under his care the pelvis develop, the breasts become round and attractive, the eyes begin to speak the language of love, and the whole body acquires a rich hue. His work is advanced and he hands her on to Agni. Who is Agni? He is the Lord of Fire, the Lord of Agni-Tattva. Nature is radiant with colour and joy in Spring and Summer; animals breed in Spring...Agni is fructifier. It is he who brings about the menstrual flow, and women then can bear children. Agni then gives her to man; her fourth Pati or Lord".²⁶⁶ The Hindus believe that different gods preside over the different stages in the physical development of a girl and these gods are mythologically regarded to be her husbands.

(18) *Rāṣṭrabhṛta and other sacrifices*

A number of Homas follow, the chief among them being Rāṣṭrabhṛt, Jaya, Abhyātāna and

²⁶⁶. The Aryan Marriage pp. 26, 27.

Lājā Homa,²⁶⁷ The first three contain prayers for victory and protection and aim at hostile powers known or unknown to the bridegroom. The last Homa is symbolical of fecundity and prosperity.^{267A} The brother of the bride pours out of his joined hands into her joined hands fried grains mixed with Śamī leaves. The bride sacrifices them with firmly joined hands standing, while the bridegroom recites the verses, 'To the god Aryaman the girl has made sacrifice, to Agni May he, god Aryaman, loosen us from here, and not form the husband's side, Svāhā' The girl strewing grains prayed thus: "May my husband live long; my relations be prosperous Svāhā! This grain I have thrown into the fire; May this bring prosperity to thee, and may it unite me with thee. May Agni grant us that N. N. Svāhā!"

(19) *Pāṇi-grahaṇa*

The Pāṇi-grahaṇa or "the Grasping of the Bride's Hand" comes next.²⁶⁸ The bride-groom seizes the right hand of the bride with, "I seize thy hand for the sake of happiness, that thou mayest live to

267. cf. P.G.S. i. 6. '2,

267a. इमौस्त्वज्जानावपाम्यन्नी समुत्तिर्कणं तव । Ibid.

268. A.V. xiv. 1. 49; Ś.G.S. i. 13. 2; A.G.S. i. 7. 8; G.G.S. ii. 2. 16. Kh. G.S. i. 3. 17, 31; H.G.S. i. 6. 20. 1.

old age with me, thy husband. Bhaṅga, Aryamā, Savitr, Purandhi. gods have given thee to me, that we may rule over house. This I am. That art thou. That art thou, this am I. The Sāman am I, the Rik thou; the Heaven I, the Earth thou: Come let us marry Let us unite our sperm. Let us beget offsprings. Let us acquire many sons, and may they reach old age. Loving, bright with genial minds may we see a hundred autumns, may we live a hundred autumns, may we hear a hundred autumns". This ceremony is symbolical of taking the charge and responsibility of the girl. The responsibility is very sacred, as the girl is supposed to be given not only by his father but also by the above guardian deities who are witnesses to every solemn contract. The prayer in the end is suggestive of a fruitful, prosperous and happy married life.

(20) *Mounting the Stone*

In order to make the wife firm in her devotion and fidelity to him, the husband makes her tread on a stone,²⁶⁹ to the north of the fire, with her right foot, repeating the verse, "Tread on this stone, like a stone be firm. Tread the foes down; turn away the enemies" Stone, here, is symbolical

269. Ś.G.S. i. 13. 10; A.G.S. i. 7. 7; P.G.S. i. 7. 1; G.G.S. ii. 2. 3; Kh. G.S. i. 8. 19; H.G.S. i. 19. 18; Ap. G.S. 5. 3.

of firmness and strength in crushing the enemies. This ceremony is known as *Aśmārohaṇa* or "Mounting the Stone."

(21) *The Praise of Woman*

The bride thus being confirmed in her duties towards her husband, the latter sings a song in the praise of woman who are here represented by the goddess, *Sarasvatī*.²⁷⁰ "Sarasvatī! promote this undertaking, O gracious one, bountiful one, thou whom we sing first of all that is, in whom what is, has been born, in whom this whole world dwells - that song I will sing to-day, which will be the highest glory of women".

(22) *Agni-Pradakṣiṇā*

The couple, then, go round the fire while the husband recites the following formula: "To thee they have in the beginning carried round *Sūryā* with the bridal procession. Mayest thou give back, *Agni*, to the husbands the wife together with offsprings." The rites from the *Lājā-Homa* are repeated again and the bride pours the remaining fried grains by the net of a basket into the fire with, "To *Bhaga Svāhā!*"

(22) *The Sapta-Padi*

Then the great "Sapta-padi"²⁷¹ or "The Rite of Seven Steps" takes place. The husband makes the wife step forward in a northern direction seven steps with the words, "One step for sap, two for juice, three for the prospering of wealth, four for comforts, five for cattle, six for the seasons. Friend! be with seven steps (united to me). So be thou devoted to me." The objects referred to in the above formula are essential for domestic felicities. This ceremony is very important from the legal point of view, as marriage is regarded legally complete after it is performed.²⁷²

(24) *The Bride Sprinkled*

After the Saptapadi the bride is sprinkled on her head with the formula, "The blessed, the most blessed waters, the peaceful ones, the most peaceful ones, may they give medicine to thee".²⁷³ Water is famous for possessing medicinal and sanctifying

271. P.G.S. i. 8. 1.

272. हरगोत्रात् अश्रयते नारी विवाहात्सप्तमे पदे । Y. v. 78.

पाणिग्रहणमंत्रास्तु नियतं दारलक्षणम् ।

तेषां निष्ठा तु विज्ञेया विद्वद्भिः सप्तमे पदे । M.S. ix. 70.

नोदकेन वाचा वा कन्यायाः रतिरुच्यते ।

पाणिग्रहणसंस्कारात्पतित्वं सप्तमे पदे ॥ Y.S. 84.

273. P.G.S. i. 8. 1.

properties among all religions. By this ceremony the bride is supposed to be free from physical troubles and sanctified for the married life.

(25) Touching the Heart

Next, the husband touches the heart of the bride reaching over her right shoulder,²⁷⁴ with the words, "Into my will I take thy heart; thy mind shall dwell in my mind: in my word thou shalt rejoice with all thy heart: May Prajāpati join thee to me". The heart is the centre of feelings. By touching it the husband symbolically tries to rouse them and make them flow out to meet his own heart and thus unite them in the world of love.

(26) The Bride Blessed

Now the bridegroom invites the assembled guests and relatives to bless the bride, reciting the verses over her, "Auspicious ornaments does this woman wear. Come to her and behold her. Having brought luck to her, go away back to your houses".^{274A} The Sindūra-dāna or painting of red lead on the head of the bride by the bridegroom takes place on this occasion. It is the most striking feature of the present-day marriage ceremonies, but it is nowhere mentioned in the

²⁷⁴. Ibid. i. 8. 8.

^{274a}. P.G.S. i. 8. 9.

Gr̥hyasūtras. The Paddhatis say, "According to the tradition, Sindūra-dāna etc. are performed".²⁷⁵ The ceremony is now called Sumaṅgali, the name being suggested by the first word "Sumaṅgali" of the above blessing.

(27) *Sitting on Bull's Hide*

According to the Gr̥hyasūtras, after the blessing, a strong man snatched the bride up from the ground and set her down in an eastern or northern direction in an out of the way house, on a red bull's hide, with the words, % "Here may the cows sit down, here the horses, here the men Here may sacrifice with thousand gifts, here may Pūṣan sit down"²⁷⁶ The bull's hide was symbolical of fertility and prosperity, as it is shown by the prayer associated with this performance. At present, the snatching up of the girl does not take place, nor the bull's hide is requisitioned, as the former is regarded indecent and the latter is religiously objectionable. But after the prayer the pair retire to a room in the house in the company of ladies where many jestive pranks are played with the bridegroom.

(28) *Local Customs*

At this stage of the marriage ceremonies, a number of rites are performed in conformance with

275. अग्राचाराः (स्त्रियः) सिन्दूरदानादि कुर्वन्ति । गदाधर पद्धति on the above.

276. P G.S. i, 8. 10.

the local customs and traditions. The Pāraskara Gr̥hyasūtra says that one should do according to the custom of the village or Grāma-vacanam.²⁷⁷ Gadādhara explains "Grāmavacan" as follows: "Though not given in the Sūtras, the tying of the auspicious yarns, wearing garlands, tying of the garments of the bride and the bridegroom, touching the cup of a banyan tree, touching the nose at the arrival of the bridegroom, besmearing the chest of the bridegroom with curd etc. and many other things which the women of the place remember, should be done".²⁷⁸

(29) *Nuptial Fees*

In the end, the priest who conducts the nuptials receives his fees. According to the Gr̥hyasūtras, the Ācārya should be given a cow by a Brahman, a village by a Rājanya and a horse by a Vaiśya.²⁷⁹ At present, a cow is the ceremonial gift, which is accompanied by some hard cash and clothes.

(30) *Looking at the Sun and the Pole Star*

Though the nuptials proper end at this point, a number of ceremonies relating to marriage still

277, P.G.S. i, 8. 11.

278. विवाहे इमंशाने च दूदानां स्त्रीणां च वचनं कुर्युः । सूत्रे अनुपदिशन्मयि
वधूवद्वरवोर्मेगलसूत्रं गले मालाधारणं etc गदाधर on the above.

279, P.G.S. i, 8. 15-17.

remain to be performed. The first few are symbolical in their nature. The bride is required to look at the sun if the marriage takes place in the day time, with the words, "That eye etc".²⁸⁰ In the night the bridegroom shows to the bride the firm star (i.e. the Pole Star) with, "Firm art thou; I see thee, the firm one. Firm be thou with me, O thriving one! To me Bṛhaspati has given thee; obtaining offsprings through me, thy husband, live with me a hundred autumns".²⁸¹ According to other authorities Arundhati star and the Saptarṣi-Maṇḍala should be also shown to the bride.²⁸² Whether she sees them or not, she is asked to reply when a question is put to her, "I see". These performances were suggestive of firmness in the conjugal life.

(31) *Trirātra-vrata*

The nuptial rites are followed by the *Trirātra-vrata*²⁸³ or "The Observance of Continence for Three Days." "Through a period of three nights they shall eat no saline food; they shall sleep on the ground; they shall refrain from sexual intercourse, through one year, or through a period of twelve days, or of six nights, or at least of three nights."

280. P.G.S. i. 8. 7.

281. *Ibid.* i. 8. 19.

282. A.G.S. i. 7. 22.

283. P.G.S. i. 8. 21.

Such are the religious injunctions to be followed by the husband and the wife. At present, no restraints are put on the couple and they share fully the marriage festivities. In ancient times, a very interesting procedure was adopted at the end of the above observance. The pair had to wear ornaments and lie on the same bed with Viśvāvasu Gandharva occupying the middle position, which consisted of a rod of the Udumbara tree, coated with sandal paste, and covered with cloth. On the fourth night after the performance of the Pakva-Homa, the pair retired to a gaily decorated room, and a verse of great significance was recited: "Rise O Viśvāvasu, from this our bed, rise, we pray. Seek thou a girl that is tender in years, and that needs thy assistance. Leave thou this bride, my wife, unto me and let her unite herself to me. O Gandharva, this bride, now united to me, her husband, prostrates to thee, and begs this favour of thee. Depart and find thou an immature girl that still dwells in her father's house. Such a one is verily portion, nay thy birth-right."²⁸⁴ After this the rod was cast away. The exact significance of this rite cannot be explained, as this custom arose under beliefs that are, at present, foreign to our minds. A. C. Das is of opinion that "This rod was supposed to be inhabited by Viśvāvasu Gandharva,

and was the witness of the pairs "Brahmacrya."²⁸⁵ A. B. Keith, relying on Oldenberg, opines, The exact force of the magic is uncertain; the desire by refraining from consummation to deceive evil demons and cause them to depart is a possible motive. Viśvāvasu as a Gandharva seems to claim his right of connexion with women even after the marriage, and must at first be appeased and then formally banished. But the obvious connexion of the rite with other similar rites over the world down to the trium noctium is a warning against any feeling of security in the interpretation of the custom."²⁸⁶ The interpretation suggested by Keith seems to be more probable than that offered by Dr. Das. The belief was current in the Vedic times, and it is recorded in the Grhyasūtras also, that a maiden in the course of her growth was enjoyed by Soma, Gandharva and Agni and in the last bestowed on the man, her fourth husband.²⁸⁷ Perhaps the people thought that even after the nuptials the Gandharva was lingering, so it was necessary that he should be formally asked to leave the girl to her husband.

The Purpose of the Tri-rātra-vrata appears to be to give a lesson of moderation to the

285. *R̥gvedic Culture*, p. 381.

286. *Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas*. p. 37 ; cf Oldenberg, *Reli des Veda*, pp. 88. 249.

287. A V. xiv. 2. 3, 4, P.G.S. i. 4. 17.

married couple in the sexual life. Both the husband and the wife were youthful and attracted towards each other by love. It is but natural to suppose that they would be very eager to come into physical contact and wish the rite to be soon over. But no, they had yet to learn and realize that true love was not passionate or passion-born, but was based on perfect self-restraint. They had to lead a life of continence for a period, the minimum being three days and the maximum one year.^{287a} The longer the period of continence, the better was the chance of obtaining a superior issue.^{287b}

The Tri-Rātra-Vrata was a real necessity when the marriages of grown-up parties took place. After the introduction of early marriage, however, it became defunct. In the orthodox families it is supposed to terminate with the Caturthi-Karma, which is performed on the fourth-day after marriage. In the majority of cases it is paid no heed at all. The three days' stay at the house of the father of the bride is characterized by feasts, dance and music.

(52) *The Bride carried and blessed*

In ancient times, the marriage ceremonies being over, the married couple started for their

287a. Cf. *R̥gvedic Culture*, p. 381.

287b. *B.G.S.* i. 7. 11.

home in a car, ²⁸⁸ and as the wife mounted it, she was told by the husband, "Thou shalt be my mistress henceforth and bear me ten sons. Be mistress of thy father-in-law and mother-in-law. Be mistress of these and of the other daughters-in-law of the house, of the children, property and all". ²⁸⁹ In the present Hindu society the bride is not sent to her new home at the time of her marriage, or if sent at all, it is only ceremonial for two or three days. The custom of the second marriage is the general order of the day. Moreover, the child-bride has got neither the capacity to understand the above address nor the privilege to be the mistress of her new home.

(33) *Domestic Fire Established : Chaturthi-karma*

According to the Grhyasūtras, in the fourth night after the wedding, towards morning, the husband established the fire within the house, assigned his seat to the south of it, to the Brahman placed a pot of water to the north, cooked a mess of sacrificial food, sacrificed the two Ājya portions, and made other Ājya oblations with the following verses: "Agni !

288 P.G.S. i. 10. 1.

289. According to some, it is a reception address delivered at the arrival of the bride to her new home.

Expiation! Thou art the expiation of the gods. I, the Brāhmaṇa, entreat thee, desirous of protection. The substance that dwells in her that brings death to her husband, that extirpates in her, Svāhā!’ In the same way the husband invoked Vāyu, Sūrya, Chandra and Gandharva for the protection of children, cattle, house and fame. Then he sprinkled the wife with the verse, “The evil substance that dwells in thee, that brings death to thy husband, children, cattle, house and fame, that I change into one that brings death to thy paramour. Thus live with me to old age; N.N!” This rite is called Caturthi-Karma,²⁹⁰ because it is performed on the fourth day after the wedding. At present, it is performed not at the house of the bridegroom but at the house of the bride’s father before the marriage party leaves it. The purpose of this rite is to remove the evil influences from the person of the bride which may cause harm to the family.

(34) *The Common Meal*

At the end of the Chaturthi-karma, when it took place at the house of the bridegroom, the husband made the wife eat the mess of

290. P.G.S. i. 11, 13; G.G.S. ii 5; Ś.G.S. i. 18, 19; Kh. G.S. i. 4, 22; H.G.S. i. 12, 11; Ap. G.S. 8, 8.

cooked food with the words, "I add breath to thy breath, bones to thy bones, flesh to thy flesh, skin to thy skin."²⁹¹ Later on, this Prāsana turned into a conjugal feast and now it is performed after the second marriage. On the Pāraskara Gr̥hyasūtra,²⁹² Gadādhara observes, "Here the husband dines with the wife according to the custom." Eating with the wife is prohibited in the Hindu Dharmaśāstra. But it is an exceptional case entailing no sin. The ceremony symbolizes the union of the persons of both the husband and the wife.

(35) *Removal of the Nuptial Canopy.*

A ceremony, not recorded in the Gr̥hyasūtras, has been prescribed by the Paddhatis, according to which, the gods are dismissed to their respective places and the nuptial canopy is removed.²⁹³ It should be performed on some

291. प्राणैस्ते प्राणान्सन्दधामि—अस्थिभिरस्थोनि मांसमपानि त्वचात्वचम् ।
P.G.S. i. 11. 5.

292. अत्र स्त्रिया सह वरोऽपि समाचाराद् भोजनं करोति । स्त्रिया सह भोजने-
ऽपि न दोष इत्याह हेमाद्रौ पादशिञ्जत्त कण्ठे गालवः—
एकयान समाशोहः एकपात्रे च भोजनम् ।
विवाहे पथि यात्राया कृत्वा विप्रो न दोष भाक् ॥
अन्यथा दोषमाप्नोति पश्चाच्छान्दायणं चरेत् ॥

293. क्षमे च दिवसे कुर्याद्देवकोत्थापनं शुभः ।
षष्ठं च विषमं नेष्टं मुक्त्वा पंचमसप्तमौ ॥ Quoted in the
Gargapaddhati.

even day after the marriage. Odd days are prohibited except the fifth and the seventh.

(æ) Symbolism of Hindu Nuptials

(a) The Meaning of a Symbol. A symbol is a thing regarded by general consent as naturally typifying or representing or recalling something by possession of analogous qualities or by association in fact or thought. A symbol is not important by itself. It has only a vehicular value and conveys something beyond it. It is a mode of expression which vivifies abstract, subtle, unfamiliar or supernatural ideas before common folk. In ancient times, when human fancy was stronger and the human speech was not adequately developed, to express every shade of thought, symbols played a very important part. In religions and mythology they were commonly used. But even now they have not lost their value. The most up-to-date political ideology, which recognizes little use of religion, employs symbols for its ends and ideals.

(b) Sacramental Marriage and Symbol. Hindu marriage which the nuptials solemnize is not a social contract in the modern sense of the term, but a religious institution, a sacrament. By it we mean that besides the two human parties, the bride and the bridegroom, there is a third superhuman,

spiritual or divine element in marriage. The physical conditions of the two parties are always subject to change and, as such, they cannot form the permanent basis of marriage. It is on the third element that the permanent relationship between the husband and the wife depends. The husband and the wife are responsible not only to each other, but they owe a greater allegiance to this third element. This is the religious or mystic touch in the purely social and material contract between a man and a woman. Without it the conjugal life loses its charm and durability. The mystic aspect of the Hindu marriage necessitates the use of a number of symbols

(c) Marriage a Union of the Fittest Couple
In the very beginning of the Hindu nuptials there is a ceremony which symbolizes the union of the fittest parties. This ceremony, called Arghya 'Showing Respect',²⁹⁴ while conferring great honour on the bridegroom, indicates that he is the best of his sex and equals. Having ordered a seat for the bridegroom, the father-in-law says, "Well Sir, sit down. We will do honour to you, Sir." They get for him a couch of grass, to sit down on, another for feet, water for washing the feet, water for sipping, and the honey-mixture

294. The Pāraskara Gr̥hyasūtra, I. 3. 1-32.

in a brass vessel with a cover of brass. The bridegroom accepts the couch and sitting thereon says, 'I am the highest one among my peoples as the sun is among the shining ones. Here I tread on whosoever infests me.'²⁹⁵ On this occasion the guest of honour, accepting his dues from the father-in-law, makes a statement wherein he publicly declares that he is the fittest match for the bride.

(d) Marriage a New Bond. Some of the most important items of the nuptials are those which symbolize that marriage creates a new bond between the bride and the bridegroom. They are united like two young plants, which are uprooted from two different plots and are transplanted into a new one. They have to rear up this union by dedicating their entire energy in the direction of their common interest and ideal. One such item is Samānjana or "Anointment".²⁹⁶ The father of the bride is required to anoint the pair. While this ceremony is being performed, the bridegroom recites the verse, "May the Viśvedevāḥ, may the Waters unite our hearts. May Mātariśva, may Dhātṛ, may Deśṭṛ join us."²⁹⁷ The anointment is symbolical of

295. वर्माऽस्मि समानानामुद्यतामिव सूर्यः । etc. Ibid I 3 9.

296. Ibid. I. 4. 15.

297. समजन्तु विश्वे देवाः समापा हृदयानि नो ।

सम्मातरिष्व सन्धाता समु देष्टी दधातु नो ॥ Ibid.

“Śneha” or love and consequently of the union of the pair. Another ceremony of this type is the Pāṇigrahaṇa or the “Grasping of the Bride’s Hand.”²⁹⁸ “The bridegroom seizes the right hand of the bride with the verse, “I seize thy hand for the sake of happiness, that thou mayest live to old age with me thy husband. Bhaga, Aryamā, Savitr, gods have given thee to me, that we may rule over the house-hold. This I am That art thou, That art thou, this am I The Sāman am I, the R̥k²⁹⁹ thou; the Heaven I, the Earth thou. Come let us marry. This ceremony is symbolical of physical bond between the husband and the wife. The next ceremony of this kind is the Hṛdayasparśa or “Touching the Heart of the Bride.”³⁰⁰ The husband touches the heart of the bride reaching over her right shoulder with the words, “Into my will I take thy heart; thy mind shall dwell in my mind; in my word thou shall rejoice with all thy heart: May Prajāpati join thee to me.”³⁰¹ This performance indicates that marriage is not only the physical union of two persons but also the union of two hearts or souls. The heart is

298. The Atharvaveda, xiv, 1. 49; the Āgvalāyana G.S I. 7. 3; the Gobhila G S. II. 2 16.

299. Ibid.

300. The Pāraskara G.S. I. 8. 8.

301. मम व्रते ते हृदयं दधामि मम चित्तमनुचितं ते अस्तु । Ibid.

the centre of feelings. By touching it the husband symbolically tries to rouse the soft emotions of the wife and make them flow out to meet his own and thus to create a real union in the psychic world. One more ceremony may be mentioned in this connection. In the Sthālipāka or the "Common Dinner"³⁰² the husband makes the wife eat the mess of cooked food with the words, "I add breath to thy breath, bones to thy bones, flesh to thy flesh, skin to thy skin."³⁰³ Here both the material and the vital selves of the husband and the wife are united.

(e) Marriage a Permanent and Stable Union. Marriage is not a temporary contract to serve the momentary physical demand or to enjoy good company for sometime and then to lapse at the slightest inconvenience. It is a permanent union which stands various vicissitudes in life only to grow stronger and more stable. This fact has been symbolized by a number of ceremonies in the Hindu Nuptials. In the Aśmārohaṇa or "Mounting the Stone"³⁰⁴ ceremony the husband makes the wife tread on a stone repeating the verse, "Tread on this stone; like a stone be firm."³⁰⁵ Stone is a symbol of firmness and strength. The wife is exhorted to

302. The Pāraskara G.S. I. 11. 5.

303. प्राणैस्ते प्राणान्संदधामि etc. Ibid.

304. The Śāṅklyāyana G.S. I. 3. 19.

305. आरोहेममश्मामश्मेद स्थिरा भव । Ibid

be adamantine in her conjugal fidelity. Another ceremony of this class is Dhruvadarśana or, "Looking at the Pole Star."³⁰⁶ In the night the bridegroom shows to the bride the Pole Star with the verse, "Firm art thou; I see thee the firm one. Firm be thou with me, O thriving one. To me Brhaspati has given thee obtaining offsprings through me, thy husband, live with me a hundred autumns."³⁰⁷ Here two things are indicated. Firstly, the wife should be as firm and fixed as the Pole Star is amidst innumerable moving bodies in the firmament. Secondly, the union should last for a hundred years which is the normal span of human life. Thus the firm and life-long companionship is the objective in view. This aspect of marriage is highly prized and the husband prays to the goddess Sarasvati to protect it: "Sarasvati, promote this undertaking, O gracious one, bountiful one, thou whom will sing first of all that is; in whom what is; has been born; in whom this whole world dwells—that song I will sing to-day, which will be the highest glory of women."³⁰⁸

(f) Biological Symbolism of Marriage The primary function of a marriage is racial, that is, the continuity of the race through the procreation of

306. The Pāraskara G.S. I 8. 19.

307. ध्रुवमसि ध्रुवं दृष्ट्वा पश्यामि etc. Ibid.

308. The Pāraskara G.S. I 7. 2.

children. In the Hindu nuptials, there are various ceremonies that point out this fact and intend to make the union fruitful, to avert the dangers associated with the sexual intercourse and to facilitate the various stages of the process of generation. After accepting the bride formally given away by her father, the bridegroom puts a very significant question to the guardian of the girl. "Who has given this bride to me? The answer is, "Kāma or the God of Love."³⁰⁹ It means that the basic desire to exist through progeny is mainly responsible for marriage. In another place we find a reference to the biological development of the bride her preparedness for a married life and consequent procreation of children. The bridegroom reminds the bride, "First Soma had thee for his bride, the Gandharva had thee next. Agni was thy third husband; thy fourth husband am I, born of man. Soma gave thee to Gandharva; the Gandharva gave to Agni; and Agni has given thee to me for wealth and sons."³¹⁰

These verses are explained by Sāyana thus, "While yet desire for sexual intercourse has not arisen Soma enjoys the girl; when it has just begun the Gandharva takes her; and at marriage transfers her to Agni, from whom man obtains her (possessing

309. कोऽदात् । काम इति ।

310. the R̥gveda, x, 85. 40, 41,

capacity) for producing wealth and sons.”³¹¹ The Smrtis offer a clearer interpretation of the above obscure passage: “Soma gave them (women) purity; the Gamdharva bestowed sweet speech; and Agni Sarvamedhatva or purity. Therefore women are always in possession of Sarvamedhatva or purity.”³¹² A modern writer further clarifies the suggestion. “Soma is Sasyādhpati, the Lord of the Vegetable world; and presides also over the mind...The physical growth of the girl, including that of the hair is under the care of the god Soma. The mind of the girl also develops under his guidance...The Gamdharva is the master of graces, It is his function to make woman’s body beautiful and to add richness to her tone. Under his care the pelvis develop, the breasts become round and attractive. The eyes begin to speak the language of love and the whole body acquires a rich hue. His work is advanced and he hands her on to Agni. Who is Agni? He is the Lord of Fire, the Lord of Agni-tattva. Nature is radiant with colour and joy in spring and Summer, Animals breed in Spring, Agni is the fructifier. It is he who brings about the menstrual flow and women then can bear children. Agni then gives her to man, her fourth Pati or Lord.”³¹³ In the “Grasping of the

311. Śāyana on the above verse.

312. The Ātrismṛti, 137.

313. The Aryan Marriage, pp. 26, 27.

Hand" ceremony also the biological aspect of marriage is fully brought out. The bridegroom says to the bride, "The Heaven am I, the Earth thou. Come let us marry Let us unite our sperm Let us beget offsprings. Let us acquire many sons and may they reach old age. Loving, bright with genial minds, may we see a hundred autumns, may we live a hundred autumns."⁸¹⁴ Just as in the Vedic pantheon, the Heaven and the Earth (Dyāvā Prthivī) are the parents of gods or shining ones, so the husband and the wife are expected to generate a world of their own.

(g) Marriage should be Fruitful and Prosperous. The nuptials symbolize not only the biological function of marriage but also employ a number of symbols which refer to the fertility and prosperity of the married life. There is the Lājā Homa⁸¹⁵ or "offerings of Fried Grains into Fire" ceremony in which the brother of the bride pours out of his joined hands fried grains mixed with Śami leaves. The bride offers them with firmly joined hands standing, while the bridegroom recites the verses, "To the god Aryaman the girl has made sacrifice, to Agni. May he god, Aryaman, loosen us from here, and not from the husband's side. Svāha!" The girl strewing grains prayed thus, "May my

814. द्यौरहं पृथ्वी त्व । तावेहि विवहावहे सह रेतो दधान है etc. The

Hiraṇyakeśi G.S. I. 6. 20. 1.

815. The Pāraskara. G.S. I. 6. 1.

husband live long, my relations be prosperous. Svāhā! This grain I have thrown into the fire, may this bring prosperity to thee, and may it unite me with thee. May Agni grant us N N. Svāhā!"³¹⁶ Here grains and leaves are symbols of fruitfulness and prosperity. There is another ceremony which emphasizes the same thing. According to the Gṛhyasūtras, a strong man snatches the bride up from the ground and sets her down in an eastern or northern direction on a red bull's hide with the word, "Here may the cows sit down, here the horses, here the men. Here may sacrifice with thousand gifts, here may Pūṣan sit down"³¹⁷ "The bull, the horse, the cows, the men, the sacrifice are all recognized as signs of virility and fecundity. The idea of, and a strong desire for, a prosperous life is better expressed in the ceremony called Saptapadi or the Rite of Taking Seven Steps"³¹⁸ The husband makes the wife step forward in a northern direction seven steps with the word, "One step for sap, two for juice, three for the prospering of wealth, four for comforts, five for cattle, six for the seasons. Friend, be with seven steps (united to me). So be thou devoted to me."³¹⁹

316. Ibid.

317. Ibid. I. 8. 10.

318. Ibid. I. 8. 1.

319. Ibid.

(b) **Marriage a Crisis: Removal of Evil Influences.** Marriage is the most critical event in the life of a man and ushers in quite a new era in his life. It establishes a novel relation between two persons, which is attended by many anticipations, hopes and fears. In the nuptials various attempts are made to remove the dangers associated with the crisis of marriage. The father of the bride, while making the pair face each other exhorts her in the following words, "Be thou of benign and pleasing eyes; never cherish an evil design against your husband, be kind and well-wishing to cattle and others dependent like them; be always cheerful and prosperous; be the mother of heroic sons; sacrifice to the gods; be happy, be auspicious to us, bipeds and quadrupeds".³²⁰ The first fears and doubts are about the bride who is to form the nucleus of the home and has to deal not only with her husband but also with his dependents and cattle. In relation with all these she is expected to be affectionate, kind and generous. In the Rāṣṭrabhṛta sacrifice bridegroom seeks protection from important gods and Fathers against all possible dangers which might be lurking in a married life. He says, "Let Fire, the Lord of creatures protect

me, let Indra the Lord of the Great protect me; let Yama, the Lord of the Earth, protect me..."³²¹ In the Abhiṣiñchana, "Sprinkling of water"³²² ceremony the waters are requested to ensure perfect health and all-round peace: "Let the waters, which are auspicious, the most auspicious, peaceful the most peaceful, be health-giving medicine to you".³²³ Then there is a Sumamgate (Auspicious) ceremony in which the bridegroom invites the assembled guests and relatives to bless her with the following words: "Auspicious ornaments does this woman wear, come to her and behold her. Having brought luck to her, go away back to your houses".³²⁴ At the close of the nuptials there is a ceremony, called Caturthi-karma,³²⁵ which is performed on the fourth day after marriage. The husband offers oblations with the verses, "Agni! Expiation! Thou art the expiation of the gods. I, the Brāhmaṇa, entreat thee, desirous of protection. The substance that dwells in her, that brings death to her husband, that extricate in her. Svāhā!"³²⁶

321. Ibid. I. 5. 7-11.

322. Ibid. I. 8. 5.

323. Ibid.

324. Ibid. I. 8. 9.

325. The Āpastamba G S. 8.8; the Khādīra G.S. I. 4 22.

326. Pāraskara G.S. I. 1 . 2.

Next he sprinkles water on the bride with the words "The evil substances that dwell in thee, that bring death to thy husband, children, cattle, house and fame, that I change into one that brings death to thy paramour. Thus live with me to an old age".³²⁷ In all these ceremonies the critical nature of marriage and the dangers attendant thereon are realized and attempts are made to remove them. Here one thing particularly is noteworthy. The bride is supposed to be more susceptible to dangers than the bridegroom and, therefore, she is the centre of auspicious ceremonies.

(i) Marriage not a Licence. The fact that marriage is not a passport for sexual indulgence but a human institution aiming at moderation in the conjugal life, has been emphasized at the end of the nuptials, when the Trirātra-vrata or the "Observance of Continence for Three Nights"³²⁸ is undertaken. "Through a period of three nights they shall eat no saline food, they shall sleep on the ground; they shall refrain from the sexual intercourse through one year, or at least three nights".³²⁹ The symbolism of this observance seems to be to give a lesson in moderation to the married couple. It is but natural for a

327. Ibid.

328. The Pāraskara G.S. I. S. 21.

329. Ibid.

young man and a young woman to be strongly attracted towards each other and to be eager to come into physical contact as soon as possible. But here the religious ceremonies utter a word of caution by introducing the aforesaid observance. The married couple has as yet to wait and realize that married love should never be controlled by blind passion but should be based on perfect selfrestraint. The greater the moderation the happier the married life will be.

(j) Marriage a Social Change and a Sacrifice. The nuptials in their utterances, promises, hopes and fears symbolize a great social transition in the life of the bride and the bridegroom. They are no longer irresponsible youths depending for their bread and views on their parents. The seriousness of life dawns upon them. They for sake their old families to form a new one. They have to run an independent home, to earn their own livelihood, to procreate children and to discharge their obligations towards gods, Fathers and the creatures of the world. This is the life of responsibilities and cares. It is only in this sense that Hindu marriage or "Vivāha" can properly be understood, which means "to lift, to support, to hold up, to sustain". This involves a great compromise and mutual sacrifice. Those, who regard marriage as the solution of the problem

of happiness, suffer from a great misconception. Those, who marry for pleasures are sorely disappointed. The essential difficulties of life are not given send off under the wedding canopy but, as a matter of fact, they are invited. The conscious acceptance of responsibilities in life is to court suffering. We, no doubt, talk of a happy marriage. But the happiness of the married life is not possible in the selfish sense of the personal pleasure. Marriage acquires its true meaning and reaches perfection only when the conjugal relationship is based on the realization that marriage is a willing sacrifice for the good of the partner, the family, the society and the world.

Thus the general function of nuptial symbolism is to cover all the aspects of married life. The biological significance, the critical nature, the physical and mental union of the couple, moderation, the social transition and sacrifice, these are the main features of the Hindu nuptials. They have been symbolically suggested but not described in transparent prose, because conveyed through symbols, they are better emphasized and become more eloquent and telling.

CHAPTER IX

THE ANTYEṢṬI SĀMSKĀRA (THE FUNERAL CEREMONIES)

(1) *Introductory*

The last sacrament in the life of a Hindu is the Antyeṣṭi or the Funeral with which he closes the concluding chapter of his worldly career. While living, a Hindu consecrates his worldly life by performing various rites and ceremonies at the different stages of his progress. At his departure from this world, his survivors consecrate his death for his future felicity in the next world. This Samskāra, being post-mortem, is not less important, because for a Hindu the value of the next world is higher than that of the present one. The Baudhāyana Pitrmedha Sūtras say, "It is well-known that through the Samskāras after the birth one conquers this earth; through the Samskaras after the death the heaven"¹ Therefore the ritualists are very anxious to have the funerals performed with meticulous care

(2) *The Origin*

(i) *The Horror of Death*

The origin of the funeral ceremonies like that of the others is shrouded in mystery. There

1. आतसंस्कारेणं लोकमभिजयति मृतसंस्कारेणामुं लोकम् । iii. 1. 4.

were many factors that brought into existence the rites and ceremonies attending on the occasion of death. First of all, there was the horror of death. To an early man death was not the natural end of life, but an abnormal event which shocked him to the core. The horror depended not so much upon the physical pain that is caused at the time of death as upon the mystery of it and the results which is produced for its victim and his relatives. All the familiar relations ceased between them, and the body which was the centre of these relations decomposed. This horror has given birth to an obstinate disbelief in the necessity of death. The attempts to escape it are repeated, though with sad failure. Even the most natural and inevitable disease is ascribed to causes not beyond human control. The picture thus presented of the desperate refusal of mankind to accept the necessary end of the worldly career is one of the most pathetic episodes in the history of human race. In the futile attempts for averting death, many ceremonies of primitive type arose.² But the contrast between life and death was so striking that man had ultimately to accept it as the natural end of the human life. He, then, made the proper arrangement for making

the death and the life after death easy.³

(ii) *The Conception of the Soul after death*

According to the primitive belief, death did not cause the entire annihilation of man. The usual theory of the process of death was the separation of the soul from the body. The soul may separate from the body before death as in dreams. Sickness was frequently held to be such a separation. The distinction between such a separation and that of death was that the latter was final. Thus, the deceased, though disembodied, was supposed to be still living.

(iii) *The mixed Feelings of Dread and Love*

The survivors cherished mixed sentiments towards the dead. First, there was the sentiment of dread. It was believed that the deceased had still some kind of interest in his family property and relations, whom he would not like to quit and, therefore, was lingering about the house.

3. जातस्य वै मनुष्यस्य ध्रुवं मरणमिति विजानीयात्तस्माज्जाते न ग्रहस्येन्द्रतेजो न विबोदेत् । 2.

अकस्मादागतं भूतमकस्मादेव गच्छति ।

तस्माज्जातं ह्युत त्रैव सपश्यन्ति सुचेतसः ॥ 3.

तस्मान्मातरं पितरमाचार्यं पत्नीं पुत्रं शिष्यमन्तेवासिनं पितृव्यं मातुलं
सगोत्रमसगोत्रं वा दायमुपयच्छेद्दहनं संस्कारेण संस्कुर्वन्ति ॥ ,

B.P.S. iii.

It was also supposed that because he was alienated from the survivors by death, he might cause injury to the family. So attempts were made to avoid his presence and contact. Formal farewell address was given to him;⁴ he was asked to depart; and even actual barriers were put between the living and the dead.⁵ Besides, he was provided with food and other articles necessary for a traveller, so that he should resume his journey to the next world. The next sentiment was of affection and love towards the deceased. The natural blood-relation still existed between the dead and his relations. The survivors were solicitous about the future welfare of the departed. They thought that it was their duty to help the dead in reaching his destination after death. The corpse was disposed of by means of fire, so that the dead, being purified, may be allowed to enter the holy place of the Fathers.⁶ Articles necessary in the journey were supplied to him, so that he may not suffer from want. As the next world was believed to be a replica of this world, every thing necessary for starting a new life was presented to him. For example, the

4. प्रेहि प्रेहि पश्चिभिः etc. A.V. xviii. 1. 54.

P.G.S. iii. 10. 24.

5 यदाश्रुतं कृण्वो जातवेदोऽयेमेनं प्रहिण्वतापितृभ्यः । R.V. x. 16. 1.

6. The शैतर्णीदानप्रयोगः Stein's cat. p. 104.

Anustarani or an old cow or a goat was sent with him to serve as a guide in the way; daily food was offered; in later times, and even now, the Vaitarani or a cow is given to help the dead in crossing the river lying in the way to Yama.⁷ Formerly these things were consumed in fire with the dead. Now they are presented to the Brahmans, who are supposed to send them to the realm of the dead through some mysterious agency.

(iv) *Physical Needs*

In addition to the above sentiments, there was the physical need of disposing of the dead body and the subsequent performance of ceremonies and observances. The decomposition of the corpse made it impossible for the relatives to keep it in the house for a long time. So, like other refuses, it was also removed, though with reverence and care denied to them. Moreover disease and death of the dead caused pollution and contagion in the family. In order to remove them many observances and taboos arose.

The main objects of the proper disposal of the corpse and the performance of all the rites and ceremonies connected with it are to

7. R. V. x. 14, 16, 18,

free the survivors from the pollution of death and to give rest to the dead. Until these rites and ceremonies are duly performed, the soul of the man is not finally dismissed to its place in the next world, it does not find place in the company of the fathers, it is not elevated to its due position in the cult of ancestral worship and it continues to be Preta, haunting its relatives unpleasantly. This belief was current in all the ancient peoples and is universal in the lower culture even at present. The funeral ceremonies were as significant among the ancient Greeks and Egyptians as among the Hindus.

(3) *Different Kinds of Disposal*

We have no pre-Vedic record of the disposal of the corpse and other funeral ceremonies connected therewith. Recent archaeological discoveries, no doubt, have brought to light some instances of how the dead bodies were disposed of in ancient India. But their chronology is still disputable and we cannot trace them all back to pre-historic times with any appreciable amount of certainty. Moreover, information supplied by them is limited to the burial of the dead and they do not tell any thing about the postburial or the cremation ceremonies.

The earliest literary mention of the funeral ceremonies is found in the *R̥gveda*⁸ and the *Atharvaveda*.⁹ The mode of the disposal of the dead depends on the religious belief of the people concerned and their general culture. The society presented in the Vedic hymns is sufficiently advanced, so the primitive forms of disposal are not to be found in them. Cannibalism or eating away of the dead by the survivors cannot be traced in the Vedas. The sub-aerial deposit or leaving the body on the ground was probably the earliest method of removing the corpse, as it was the simplest. In the funeral hymns there is no description of it, though it is referred to once.¹⁰ In the very primitive times, when people moved from place to place in the search of food and fodder, exposure of the dead and the diseased was very common, as they proved a burden on the wandering family. During the Vedic period, the Indo-Aryans were not a nomadic people but they led a settled and civilized life and the aged were held in love and respect. So no exposure of the aged persons took place. But Kaegle¹¹ quotes the following remarks of Zimmer to show the treatment accorded by the Germans

8. A. V. xviii. 1, 2, 3, 4.

9. येनिष्ठाता ये परोता ये दग्धा ये चोद्धिता । A. V. xviii 2-34.

10. Der *R̥gveda*, No. 50.

11. Grimu *Deutsche Rechtsalt*, pp. 487 ff.

to the aged, in order to prove the existence of a similar custom among the R̥gvedic Aryans. Among the Germans, when the master of the house was above sixty years old, if the signs of the weakness of age were of such a character that he, "no longer had the power to walk or stand, and to ride unassisted and unsupported, with collected mind, free will and good sense, he was, obliged to give over his authority to his son and to perform menial service; the old men might be made by hard sons and cruel grand-sons to expiate painfully the love and gentleness they had neglected in their more powerful days; those who had grown useless and burdensome were even either killed outright, or exposed and abandoned to death by starvation".¹² Kaegle says, "We have to imagine exactly similar conditions among the Indians, when the texts speak of "the divided possessions of an old father" and of "old men exposed".¹³

The above inference is based upon a R̥gvedic verse, which indicates that the possessions of the old father were divided among his sons in his life time. But even if we suppose that they were landed property, provision had to be first made for his and his wife's maintenance. The passages in

12. Zimmer, *Act. Laben*, 326-328.

13. *Vedic Index* i. 351, 352,

the later literature, however, "all negative the idea that the property of the family was legally family property; it is clear that it was the property of the head of the house, usually the father, and that the other members of the family only had moral claims upon it, which the father could ignore, though he might be coerced by his sons if they were physically stronger.....The developed patria potestas of the father, which was marked very early, as shown by the legend of Śunahśepa, is inconsistent with the views that the sons were legally co-sharers with the father; unless and until they actually insisted on a division of the property".¹⁴ Then, again, it should be observed that even in the R̥gvedic¹⁵ times, sons were coveted, because they would offer oblations to the dead parents and their ancestors. This was not only a moral but a religious duty. It cannot, therefore, be conceived by any stretch of imagination that the R̥gvedic Aryans killed their old and decrepit parents or exposed and abandoned them to die by starvation. The custom found among the ancient Germans must have been a relic of the barbarous times, that prevailed among the prehistoric aborigines of Europe, with whom the half civilized German tribes had amalgamated. There is no distinct trace of

14. R. V., i, 105, 3.

15. viii, 51, 2.

the existences of this barbarous custom in the Ṛgveda, the oldest work extant of the Aaryn people.

There are a few passages more in the Vedic hymns, from which the existence of exposure is inferred. The Ṛgveda¹⁶ refers to a person cast out and the Atharvaveda¹⁷ speaks of the dead man being exposed (Uddhita). But the latter passage may well refer merely to the bodies being exposed after death to the elements as is done by the Parsis. The former passage may refer to the individual case of some person who may have been cast out, and proves absolutely nothing as to a habitual or recognized custom.

We have no record of the cave burial also in the funeral ceremonies of the Hindus. It seems that it was not a recognized form of disposal. Water burial or to fling a dead body into a sea or a river is one of the easiest ways of getting rid of it. That doubtless is the reason for thus disposing of the corpses of slaves or common people in various places. But it does not account for every case of water burial. In some cases the object is not merely to get rid of the body, but to prevent the deceased from returning to plague

16. x. 14.

17. xviii. 2. 34.

the survivors,¹⁸ for water is usually regarded a barrier to scare away evil spirits. The practical utility of water burial is recognized in Hinduism in the case of those who have no survivors, to perform their funeral ceremonies. But the sentiment of fear is not so prominent in the Hindu mind. At present water burial is accorded to small children, who are esteemed too innocent to require a purification, or to realized ascetics and mendicants, who have no family ties and do not stand in need of funeral. Married men and women, who die of some epidemics, are given water burial. But in their case, the funeral ceremonies are postponed to a subsequent convenient time when their effigies are properly burnt and the post-cremation ceremonies are duly performed.

Inhumation or burial proper is almost absent in the present day Hindu funerals, except in cases of great saintly personalities and very small children.¹⁹ But the existence of this custom among common people in the Rgvedic times is proved by the verses contained in it.²⁰ Addressing the dead body

18, E. S. Hartland, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. iv, p. 421.

19 अद्विषदं प्रेतं... शरीरमदत्तं निखनन्ति । P.G.S. iii, 10. 2-5

20. x. 18 10-13.

carried to and lying in the burial ground, the priest says: "Go to this thy mother, Earth, the widespread, delightful Earth; this virgin (Earth is, as soft as wool, to the liberal worshipper; may she protect thee from the proximity of Nīrti. Earth, rise, above him; oppress him not; be attentive to him (and) comfortable; cover him up, Earth as a mother covers her child with the skirt of her garment. May the earth heaped over him lie light; may thousand of particles (of dust) envelop him; may these mansions distil ghee for him; may they every day be an asylum to him in this world. I heap up the earth around thee placing (upon thee) this clod of earth; may I not be injured; let the Piatra sustain this thy monument; may Yama make thee a dwelling here."²¹

Scholars influenced by the later-day custom of cremation and the subsequent burial of the remains hold that the above hymns refer to the Asthi-sañchaya or the collection of bones. According to Sāyana the above verses were uttered at the time when the bones of the dead were put into an urn and buried into a grave. He bases his opinion on the Āśvalāyana Gr̥hyasūtra.^{21a} But this was a later

21. Ibid.

21a iv. 5.

custom, and should be regarded as a relic of the ancient custom of burial, which was being replaced by the custom of cremation. It was a compromise between the two customs. The opinion of Sāyana cannot be accepted owing to the following reasons:

(1) At the time of cremation, verses were uttered with the object of sending the dead man to heaven, the dominion of Yama, situated in the highest heaven.²² If he had already been cremated and gone to heaven, why soon afterwards, at the time of burying his ashes and bones, should he be asked again to go "to this thy mother Earth" the widespread delightful Earth? Such a procedure would be inconsistent and contradictory.

(ii) If it be at all possible for the dead corpse to suffer any pain, it must have suffered extreme agony at the time of cremation, and the burnt bones and ashes would suffer no further pain or agony at the time of their burial in grave, enclosed in an urn provided with a lid, over which earth was heaped up. But the verses become quite 'intelligible' when they are applied to the burial of a corpse. The dead body was still there, as would appear from a perusal of the verses in which the mourners

have been described as taking away the bow from the dead man's hand, and it was quite natural for them not to have been able as yet to dissociate themselves from their feelings and belief that the dead man, who have been quite alive a few hours back, could not feel any pain afterwards. It was, therefore, quite natural for them, while performing their last duty towards him, to entertain tender feelings for him, and address him as follows: "Go to this, thy Mother-Earth etc." and the earth was also asked to be kind and soft to him.

There can be no doubt that the foregoing verses refer to the burial of a dead person and not to his ashes or bones after cremation. But it must be admitted that even during the Vedic period this custom was becoming optional and falling into disuse. When the cult of sacrifice was fully established, the funeral came to be regarded as a sacrifice²³ and cremation became the most prevalent custom, replacing the older custom of burial. In the Grhyasūtras the burial of the dead bodies is not mentioned, though the ancient tradition was followed in the form of burying the bones and ashes of the dead after cremation. In subsequent times the

23. This, however, was a Pitṛyajña as the dead was sent unto the Fathers, cf R.V. x. 16. 1.

burial of the dead became quite unknown among the Hindus except in the cases of very small children and ascetics.

Preservation of the dead body in the house with or without previous desiccation or mummification is not mentioned at all in the ritual literature of the Hindus. This custom was prevalent in a rude or archaic society that believed that the soul or spirit of the man was still dwelling in the body after his death. The Indo-Aryans outgrew this stage as early as the Vedic period. According to their faith the spirit departed from the dead body²⁴ and there was no sense in preserving it.

Cremation or burning of the dead body is the most recognized mode of the disposal of corpse among the Hindus from the time of the Vedas up to the present day. This mode evolved at a high stage of the human civilization, as it is the most scientific and refined. More than one causes might have operated in bringing this custom into existence:

(i) Tribes without a settled abode may have found it convenient, if they desired to carry about the remains of their dead, or to remove such remains beyond the possibility of desecration by their enemies.

(ii) Another very powerful motive for

cremation may have been the desire to be quit of the ghost. The fortress of the ghost was destroyed by fire and it was frightened away by its flames.

(iii) Fire, consuming forest, grass and refuses might have suggested its utility in burning away the dead also.

(iv) In the beginning the above causes may have been more active, but the most potent factor that gave the custom of cremation a lasting position was the religious belief of the Indo-Aryans that obtained during the Vedic period. Fire was regarded by the Indo-Aryans as the messenger of the gods on earth, and the carrier of the oblations offered to them.²⁵ The material things that constituted Havya could not be bodily and directly conveyed to the gods in heaven; hence the services of a heavenly messenger and carrier like Agni were requisitioned. This analogy was also extended to human corpses as well as to the carcasses of the animals that were sacrificed to the gods. After a man died, it was thought necessary to send his body to heaven. This could be only done by consigning it to Agni. After the body was consumed by it and reduced to ashes, the dead could receive a new body in the world of Yama and join the Pitṛa and his ancestors.²⁵

25. अग्निं यज्ञसं विदधस्व केतुं सुप्राढ्यं दूर्तं सशो अर्धम् । R. V. i. 60. ..

25a. R.V. x. 14. 8.

This seems to be the most powerful idea underlying the custom of cremation, and this idea was essentially a religious one. Before fire was discovered and brought to human use, corpses used to be cast away as a rule, or buried under ground, or exposed to be devoured by carnivorous birds and beasts. The custom of cremation must, therefore, have come into existence in the last. One branch of the ancient Aryans, the Parsis, however, retained the older custom of exposing the corpse to be devoured by birds, even after they had become staunch Fire-worshippers, for they regarded Fire too sacred to be polluted by such an unclean thing as a corpse. But the Vedic Aryans did not agree with them in this view, and, anxious as they were to see their beloved dead go to heaven and join his ancestors, they consistently thought it right to consign his dead body to Agni in order to transfer it to heaven, in a subtler and a more resplendent form befitting his new environments.

There was another religious belief also which seems to have been instrumental in introducing the custom of cremation. It was believed that the evil spirits mostly originated from the wicked souls of the dead persons buried in the earth.²⁶ So the people thought

26. Vedic Mythology, p. 70. cf. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, 62-2.

it necessary to restrict their number in the terrestrial region by widely introducing the custom of cremation and thus sending the dead to the regions of Yama or Nīrti, there to receive the reward or punishment of their actions. The Hindus even now regard cremation as absolutely necessary for the welfare of the souls of the dead, excepting those of the infants who are sinless and pure, and of the holy mendicants or Sādhus who are supposed to have overcome evil tendencies during their life-time, and are, therefore, accorded a burial as perfectly harmless. But in the case of ordinary men and householders, want of cremation is looked upon with horror, retarding the progress of the souls in the other world (Sadgati). The Hindus call the cremation ceremony Aurdhvadaihika-kriyā or the ceremonies that release the soul from the body for its upward journey to heaven. Unless the ceremony is performed, the departed soul is believed to linger about its late habitation and hover about without consolation, and in great distress as a Preta.

The rites of cremation are denied to babes and children under the age of initiation or puberty.²⁷ Children are gently buried. In some cases at least, and possibly in all, this is done with a view to securing their rebirth. Persons

27. According to the Gṛhyaśūtras, children below two only are denied this rite. See P.G.S. iii, 10, 2.

dying of epidemics are generally cast away in water. It is due to the superstition that the evil spirits that bring these diseases will be infuriated if their victims are burnt. Persons held in reverence are also not burnt, as their sacred qualities set them apart from the rest of mankind. Women dying in pregnancy or childhood also are not accorded the rites of cremation.

(4) *The Funerals*

(i) *The Vedic Period*

For the full details and descriptions of the funeral ceremonies we should begin with the Vedic period. The details of the rites must, like those of the marriage rites, have differed among different tribes during the time of the Vedas. But we have no record of the different families. Moreover, the verses of the ceremonies are not arranged in the order of their occurrence in the R̥gved X. 11-19 and the Atharvaved XVIII where they are collected. Still we can easily guess the main incidents of the rite:

- (i) When a man died, verses were recited to revive him (Atharvaveda VII.53); when this failed funeral rites were started.^{27a}

27a. A Survival of a similar custom is found in Spain. On the death of a pope or a king, a high official of the court calls with a loud voice three times the name of the deceased, and receiving no reply, certifies the death E. S. Hartland, E. R. E. vol iv. p. 411.

- (ii) The corpse was washed (Atharvaveda V.19.4) and the big toes tied together with a bunch of twigs, lest death should walk back to the house after the corpse was sent out (Atharvaveds,V.19.12).
- (iii) The corpse was removed on a cart drawn by two bulls (Atharvaveda 2'56; Taittiriya Āraṇyaka IV.1.3) accompanied by mourning relatives and professional mourners (Atharvaveda VIII.1.19; Atharvaveda IX.2.11).
- (iv) The corpse was dressed in the burning ground (Atharvaveda. XVIII 257).
- (v) The face of the dead was covered with the omentum of a cow (Atharvaveda. XVIII.2.58).
- (vi) The staff or the bow was taken off from the hand of the dead person (Atharvaveda XVIII.2.59,60)
- (vii) The widow lay down on the funeral pile by the side of her husband (The R̥gveda X.18.7; Atharvaveda XVIII.3.1.2).
- (viii) A goat was sacrificed and the pile was lit up. Women expressed their grief (Atharvaveda XVIII.2.4.8).
- (ix) The various parts of the dead man's body were directed to go to appropriate places (R̥gveda X.16.8).

- (x) The bones were collected and buried and in some cases a funeral monument was erected (R̥gveda X.18.11.13).
- (xi) A farewell address was presented to the dead R̥gveda X.14.7.8).
- (xii) The survivors took their funeral bath to purge the pollution caused by the funeral fire (Atharvaveda XII 2.40-42).
- (xiii) The pure sacrificial fire was lighted up in the house to remove the impure fire. (Atharvaveda, XII 2.43-45)
- (xiv) On the completion of the funeral rites the corpse-eating Fire (Kṛavyāda) which had been invoked for cremation had to be sent out of the house (Atharvaveda XII 2.4) The Grāhi Fire was also sent out, who holds fast in his net the house, when a dame's husband dies (Atharvaveda XII.2.39).

(xv) Then there was feasting and resumption of dancing and laughter (R̥gveda X 18.3).

Thus in the above list of the incidents, we find all the four parts of the complete funeral rites, the burning; the Abhiṣiñchana and the Śmaśāna-chiti (the washing of the corpse and piling of the funeral pyre); the Udaka-Karma (water oblations); and the Śāntikarma (pacificatory rites). The details have suffered much alteration during the passage of time, but

the fundamental divisions of the rite are still the same

(ii) *The Sūtrā Period*

Coming down from the vedas we find the description of the funeral ceremonies in the sixth Chapter of the *Āraṇyaka* of the *Kṛṣṇa-Yajurveda*.^{27b} The *Āraṇyaka* describes the ceremonies under the title of *Pitṛmedha*, or the rites for the welfare of the manes, and gives all the mantras required for the ceremonial of the first ten days after death, leaving the *Śrāddha* or the rites meet for the eleventh day altogether unnoticed. The verses are mostly taken from the *R̥gveda*, and arranged in consecutive order, but without any clue to the particular rituals for which they are meant. In the few *Gr̥hyasūtras*, in which the *Antyeṣṭi Samskāra* is described, the ceremonies are further detailed and more systematic. The *Baudhāyana* and the *Bhāradvāja Gr̥hyasūtras* aphorize the said *Āraṇyakas* supplying many deficiencies in it. They also give several particulars not to be found in the *Āśvalāyana Gr̥hyasūtras* which also deals with the subject. The *Hirānyakeśi Gr̥hyasūtras* also describe the funeral ceremonies and are supposed to be relied upon by laterday writers.

^{27b}. The *Taittiriyāraṇyaka*, iii.

(iii) Later Additions and Omissions

The mediaeval and modern Paddhatis and Prayogas generally draw upon these sources, adding new features and omitting obsolete items of the Samskāra. Besides tradition plays a great part in these ceremonies. The chronological differences will be noticed in their due places while treating a particular item of the funeral rites.

(5) The Approach of Death

The scriptures do not fully record all the customs followed and ceremonies observed before death. But from the tradition we know a number of them. When a Hindu feels that his death is near he invites his relatives and friends and holds friendly discourse with them. To promote his future weal he makes presents to the Brahmins and the needy. Among the presents, the gift of a cow is the most valuable. She is called Vaitarani, as she is supposed to be the conductor of the dead over the stream of the under-world. In the Sūtra period this cow was called Anustarani and she was either sacrificed and burnt with the corpse or let loose to run away from the cremation ground.²⁸ When the slaughter of a cow became prohibited, she was presented to a Brahman and was believed

to help the dead in the crossing the infernal river through some mysterious power of the receiver. This custom still continues. When the dying hour draws near, the patient is placed on a cleansed spot on sandy soil. The dying couch is prepared in proximity to the three fires or, if he preserves only one, near it, viz, the domestic fire²⁹. Here the diseased is laid down with his head turned towards the south. Sacred passages from the Vedas of one's own school are chanted in the ears. If the patient is a Brahman, passages from some Āraṇyaka are repeated in his ears. At present verses from the Bhagvadgītā and the Rāmāyaṇa are recited to a dying person.

(6) *Pre-disposal Ceremonies*

The first mantra given in the Āraṇyaka refers to the performance of a homa just after death. But this rule is binding only on the death of one who, in his life-time has maintained the sacrificial fires. According to the Baudhāyana, four offerings should be made, while touching the right hand of the dead man, to the Gārhyapatya fire, with a spoon overflowing full of clarified butter. Bhāradvāja, however, prescribes that the

offerings should be made to the Āhavanīya fire; he is silent whether they should be fourfold or not. Āśvalāyana³⁰ recommends that the offerings should be made at a subsequent stage. With the decline of the sacrificial religion among the Hindus, this prescription has lost its force and is followed in a very few orthodox families. New Paurāṇic and popular customs have taken its place. They pour some drops of water with a few leaves of Tulasi in the mouth of the dying person. A very strange custom has evolved in Bengal. According to it, the dying person is carried to the riverside and the lower half of the body is immersed in water at the moment of death.³¹ This ceremony is called Antarjali and forms a very offensive part of the modern ceremonial in Bengal. With a flourish of rhetoric it is called Ghāt murder. That this custom is not ancient will be evident from the following observations. All the scriptures referred to above take it for granted that death has happened within the house, if not near the place where the sacrificial fires are kept.³² Considering this

30. Ibid. iv, 1

31. This custom is not prevalent in other provinces of India.

32. B.P.S. i 1.

negative evidence against the custom, its total absence in other parts of India and the oldest authority on the subject being the most recent of the Purāṇas,³³ we can fairly conclude that it is of modern origin. None of the authorities usually quoted, enjoining it as a positive duty belongs to a time earlier than the sixteenth century A.D.³⁴ It has come into existence probably since the date of Raghunandana and his contemporary writers on ritual.

(7) *The Bier.*

According to the Gṛhyasūtras, after the homa, a cot made of udumbara wood (*Ficus glomerata*) is to be provided, and having spread on it a piece of black antelope skin with the hairy side downwards, and head pointing to the south, the corpse is to be laid thereon with the face upwards.³⁵ Under the present practices, however, the cot can be made of bamboo and the antelope skin is dispensed with. A son or brother, or other relative, or in their absence whosoever takes the lead, should next address the corpse to give up its old clothing and dress it in a

33. The Skandapurāṇa quoted in the Śuddhitattva p. 167; the Agnipurāṇa, quoted in the Prāyaścittatattva, p. 292.

34. This is the date of Raghunandana. See P.V. Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, p. 416.

35. A.G.S. iv. 1.

new suit : "Give up the clothes thou hast hitherto worn; remember the Iṣṭa and the Pūrta sacrifices thou hast performed, the fees to Brahmans thou hast given, and those gifts thou hast bestowed upon thy friends."³⁶ The body is then covered with a piece of unbleached uncut cloth, having fringes on both sides, the operation being performed while repeating the mantras, "This cloth comes to thee first." The dead is required to change his or her old shab by clothes and put on pure and new ones for entering the next world. Then the corpse, being wrapped up in its bedding, is to be borne on its cot to the place of cremation.

(8) *The Removal of Corpse*

The removal of the corpse, according to some authorities, should be made by aged slaves, according to others, on a cart drawn by two bullocks.³⁷ The mantra for the purpose says, "I harness these two bullocks to the cart, for the conveyance of your life, whereby you may repair to the region of Yama, to the place where the virtuous resort." This indicates that the most ancient custom was to employ a cart and not men. The Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra suggests only one

36. अपैतद् ह यदिहाविमः पुरा । इष्टापूर्तमनुसम्पश्य दक्षिणां यथा ते दत्तं बहुधा विबन्धुषु ।

37. A.G.S. iv. 1.

bullock to be employed. Any how, the ancient Sūtrakāras evince none of the repugnance to the employment of the Śūdras for the removal of the corpse of a Brahman, which the modern Smṛtis entertain on the subject. According to the latter, none but the blood relations of the dead should perform this duty and the touch of others than that of one's own caste is pollution, which can be atoned for only by the performance of an expiatory ceremony.³⁸ This prejudice first manifested itself in the time of Manu.³⁹ He says, "Let no kinsman, whilst any of his own class are at hand, cause a deceased Brāhmaṇa to be carried out by a Śūdra, because the funeral rite, polluted by the touch of a servile man, obstructs his passage to heaven." The subsequent authorities are equally emphatic on prohibition of a Śūdra's touch.

(9) *The Funeral Procession*

The funeral procession is headed by the chief mourner, generally the eldest son of the dead.⁴⁰ In many localities, the man leading the procession carries a fire brand in his hand which he has kindled at the domestic fire. The Chief mourner

38. P.S. iii. 43.

39. M.S. v. 104.

40. The Paddhati by Jayarama P.G.S. iii. 10.

is followed by the funeral bier and the latter is followed by the relatives and the friends of the deceased. The Grhyasutras enjoin that all the Sapiṇḍas should join the 'funeral procession of the dead who are older than two years.⁴¹ The order of the mourners in the procession is according to age, the elders being in front. In ancient times women also went to the ground of cremation with loose dishevelled hair and their shoulder besprinkled with dust.⁴² But now this custom is stopped. The following verse is repeated by the chief mourner at the time of start: "Puṣā, who knows the road well, has well-trained animals, to carry you, and is the protector of the region, is bearing you away hence; may he translate you hence to the region of the Pitr̥s, May Agni, who knows what is meet for you bear you away."

(10) *The Anustaraṇi*

A most important member of the funeral procession, in ancient times, was an animal called Anustaraṇi or Rājagavi.⁴³ For this purpose a cow of a particular description (which might be

41 द्विवर्षप्रभृति प्रेतमाश्रमक्षानास्सर्वेऽनुगच्छेयुः । P.G.S. iii, 10-8

42. अथ्य भार्याः कनिष्ठप्रथमाः प्रकीणकेश्यो व्रजेयुः पांसुर्न सेष्वावपमानाः ।
B.P.S. i, 4. 3.

43. आश्विन्येतो कृष्णो कूटो जर्तरी तज्जघन्यामनुस्तरणी पद्मद्वयम् । B.G.S.
i. 4. 1.

substituted by a goat) was chosen. The animal was brought with the following verse: "Protector of regions, this is an offering for thee". According to the Sūtrakāras the cow should be sacrificed, but should any accident happen at the time of the sacrifice, the animal was set free.⁴⁴ The mantra for the sacrifice runs: 'Companion of the dead, we have removed the sins of the dead by thee; so that no sin or decrepitude may approach us'. If it was necessary to let loose the cow, she was to be made to walk thrice round the pyre, while the leader repeated the mantra each time. Then she was sanctified by another verse which runs, "Mayest thou be a source of satisfaction by the milk to those who are living in my family, and those who are dead, and those who are just born, as well as those who may be born henceafter," and lastly the cow was set free with, "This cow is the mother of the Rudras, the daughter of the Vasus, the sister of the Ādityas, and the pivot of our happiness, therefore, I solemnly say unto all wise men, kill not this sacred harmless cow. Let her drink water and eat grass. Om! I let her loose". At present the cow-sacrifice for any purpose is prohibited altogether and in its place the gift of a cow is made just before the death of the person and at the cremation ground before the corpse is burnt.

44. A.G.S. i. 1.

In the opinion of Oldenberg,⁴⁵ we get the idea of substitution in offering a cow or a goat at the time of burning the dead body. Fire consumes the flesh of the cow or the goat which cover the corpse and spares the dead man. He bases his opinion on the R̥gvedic verses (X 16 4, 7) that run :

The he-goat is thy part; with fire consume him;
 Let thy fierce flame, thy glowing heat devour him.
 Shield thee with cows against the flame of Agni,
 Be wholly covered with their fat and richness;
 So may the bold one eager to attack thee
 With fierce glow, fail to girdle and consume.

The German savant is justified in his conclusion so far as the R̥gvedic ideology is concerned. But during the Sūtra period the ideas changed and the above offerings were regarded as provision during the ethereal journey and for the life in the next world, as is evident from the verses accompanying them⁴⁶. In subsequent periods the same idea continued in the form of gift, though the method of sending the provision to the next world was changed. Formerly the funeral Fire conveyed it there on its up-going flames; now it is done through the mysterious agency of the Brahmins. Moreover the cow or the goat were not only provision but they served as guide and help in

45. The R̥gveda, 587-88.

46. A.G.S. iv.

the journey of the dead, as their very name, Vaitaraṇī or Anustaraṇī suggests.

The journey from the house of the dead to the cremation ground is divided into three parts, and the funeral procession stops at every halt where special rites are performed⁴⁷ The Yamasūktas are repeated in the way. The general practice at present, however, is to repeat the sacred name of Hari or Rama while carrying the corpse. The majority of population dispense with the ceremonies in the way and the recital of the hymns dedicated to Yama.

(11) *The Cremation*

After the arrival at the cremation ground, the next operation is to select the ground for arranging the pyre and digging a trench.⁴⁸ The Āraṇyaka does not allude to the items of the ceremonies preceding the burning of the corpse at the cremation ground which shows that these were formerly performed without the aid of any mantra. But the Gr̥hyasūtras contain special regulations, particularly as to its orientation. The rules prescribed for the selection of the round somewhat resemble the same regarding the place of offerings for the gods. The plot duly selected

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

is purified and a formula is chanted to scare away demons or ghosts. The trench, according to Āśvalāyāna, should be twelve fingers deep, five spans wide and as long as the corpse with its hand uplifted. The kind of wood used, the size and the orientation of the pyres, and other things related to them are regulated by the sacred texts and nothing is left to the whims of the mourners. In the opinion of some writers the corpse should be disembowelled and the cavity filled with ghee.⁴⁹ The idea underlying this operation was to purify the corpse and to facilitate the cremation. Later on, however, this custom was regarded repulsive. At present, the pairing of hair and nails of the dead body and washing it with water are thought to be sufficient for purification. The corpse is now laid on the pyre. The threads that bind the thumbs are loosened, the cords that hold the bier together are cut off and the very bier is either flung into the water or placed upon the pyre.⁵⁰ The corpse, in its hands, should have a pie of gold if it is of a Brahman, a bow if of a Kṛattriya, a jewel if of a Vaiśya.⁵¹ In the Vedic and the Sūtra periods, when everything was done according to the rule, the Anustarani cow, as

49 अथास्य दक्षिणं कुक्षिमपाकृत्य निष्पुत्रीषं कृत्वाऽद्भिः प्रक्ष्वास्य सर्षिषा अन्त्राणि पूरयित्वा दर्भैः संक्षीब्यति । B.P.S. i. 2-6.

50. A.G.S. iv.

51. Ibid; B.P.S. i. 8. 8-5.

already said, was either slaughtered or let loose, Now this prescription is dropped altogether.

(12) *Lying of the Widow on the funeral pyre*

At this stage, a reference should be made to the custom of the lying of the widow on the funeral pyre with her husband, which, though obsolete now-a-days, was prevalent up to the time of the Sūtras in ancient times.⁵² The wife should lie down on the left side of the corpse according to Baudhāyana. Āśvalāyana recommends that she should be placed near the head on the north side. The chief mourner, or he who was to set fire to the pyre, should then address the dead saying, "O mortal, this woman, (your wife), wishing to be joined to you in a future world is lying by the corpse; she has always observed the duties of a faithful wife; grant her your permission to abide in this world, and relinquish your wealth to your descendants."⁵³ A younger brother of the dead, or a disciple, or a servant, should then proceed to the pyre, hold the left hand of the woman and ask her to come away, "Rise up, woman, thou liest by the side of the life-less; come to the world of the living, away from the husband, and become the wife of him who holds thy hands and is willing to marry thee."⁵⁴

52. Ibid. .

53. Ibid.

54. A.G.S. iv. 24.

The verses recited in connection with the above custom are first to be found in the funeral hymns of the *R̥gveda*⁵⁴ and the *Atharvaveda*.⁵⁵ Here we find the ritualistic survival of the Sati custom. During the earlier period gifts to the dead were buried or burnt with the corpse.⁵⁶ These gifts consisted of food, weapons, clothes and domestic animals. Sometimes slaves and even wife were also burnt or buried with the dead.⁵⁷ The *Atharvaveda* calls it "the ancient custom,"⁵⁸ This inhuman custom, however, was discontinued in the *R̥gvedic* time, though the formality of lying on the funeral pyre by the widow was retained. The *Gr̥hyasūtras* prescribe the same ritualistic substitution for the real burning of the widow. The ritual literature since the time of the *R̥gveda* is not in favour of burning the widow alive. The *Paddhatīs* and the *Prayogas* on the funeral ceremonies have cancelled this custom, altogether, even not requiring the widow to attend the ceremonies performed at the ground of ceremation. But the Sati custom never ceased entirely and later on it was

54. X. 18. 8-9.

55. xviii. 3. 1-2.

56. Schrader, *Aryan Religion*, E.R.E., II, pp. 11-57; *Indogermanea*, 146.

57. *Ibid.*

58. *धर्म पुराणं परिपालयन्ती* । xviii. 3. 1.

revived in certain tribes and families.⁵⁹

When the ceremony of lying on the funeral pyre by the widow was finished, she was asked to bring away the gold referred to above from the hands of the dead with the following mantra, "For the promotion of thy wealth, and glory as a Brahman woman, and beauty and power, take the gold from the hand of the dead, (and abide) in this (region); we (shall dwell) here welsserved and prospering, and overcoming all assailants".⁶⁰ The commentator on the Āśvalāyana Grhyasūtra says that the remover of the widow, and not the widow herself should take the gold, and that in the case of his being a slave, this and the two preceding verses should be repeated by the chief mourner, Wilson and Max-muler take it in the same sense,⁶¹ though Sāyana's comment is opposed to it. But whatsoever may be the difference in the interpretation the removal of the widow and the articles was completed. No alternative is contemplated in the Āranyaka and the Sūtras. It clearly shows that when the Ārnyaka was

59. It was mostly prevalent among the Rajputs. This custom was finally stopped by Lord William Bentinck in 1835.

60. A.G.S. iv. 1-2.

61. The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xvi (1854), pp. 201-14; for the opposite view see the remarks by Rājā Bādhakānta Deva on the abont J. R. A. S., vol. xvii (1859), pp. 209 220; The Śuddhitattva by Raghunandana

compiled, the inhuman practice of burning the living wife with her dead husband, had not obtained currency in the country. With the stoppage of the Sati custom, this ceremony automatically ceased to exist.⁶²

During the times when the sacrificial rituals were followed regularly, the sacrificial vessels which the dead used to employ in his ceremonial rites were, now, to be placed on the different parts of his body. And so were the different members of the cow if she was killed; if not, they were substituted by cakes or by imitations of her organs made of rice and barley. These articles were burnt with the corpse, so that the dead might get them in the next world.

(13) Cremation a Sacrifice

When the preliminaries are finished, the cremation⁶³ begins, which is regarded as an offering into the Sacred Fire, conducting the corpse to heaven as a sacrificial gift.⁶⁴ When the pile is ready to be lighted, a fire is applied to it with the prayer, "Agni, consume not this body to cinders; nor give it pain, nor scatter about its

62. Ibid.

63. A.G.S. iv. 1-2; Bh G.S. i. 2.

64. Ibid.

skin or limbs! O Jātavedas, when the body is fairly burnt, convey the spirit to its, ancestors."⁶⁵ The prayer is followed by an address to the organs of the dead which runs as follows: "May the organ of vision proceed to the sun; may the vital air merge in the atmosphere; mayest thou proceed, according to the virtuous deeds to heaven or earth or the regions of water, whichever place is beneficial to thee; mayest thou there, provided with food, exist in corporeal existence".⁶⁶ This is a touching scene when the survivors send off their dead relative to the next world for ever but with every solicitude for his or her future happiness.

During the Sūtra period the cremation was performed by the flames of the three or five fires kept by the householder and a divination took place as to where the dead had gone after the cremation. Note was taken of which fire reached the dead first, and it was argued therefrom whether the dead started for the world of the gods of the manes, or to somewhere else.⁶⁷ At present neither the different kinds of fires are preserved by a householder nor the relatives of the deceased bother about his future abode.

65. R.V. x, 16:1.

66. A.V. xviii. 2. 7.

67. A.G.S. iv, 2-4.

Among the followers of some Vedic schools, a knee-deep trench is dug, in which a certain water plant is placed.⁶⁸ In the opinion of A. Hillebrandt⁶⁹, it is 'Clearly an ancient superstition, the purpose of which was to cool the heat of the fire'. The tradition explains this custom in this way "The dead man rises from the trench and ascends along with the smoke to heaven".

According to the practices of other Vedic schools, the mourners leave the funeral pyre to burn itself away, and the chief mourner excavates three trenches to the north of the pyre, lines them with pebbles and sand and fills them with water brought in an odd number of jars. The people who join the procession are now requested to purify themselves by bathing in the trenches. This being done, a yoke is put up with the Plāśa branches stuck in the ground and tied at the top with a piece of weak string. The mourners are made to pass under it. The chief mourner passes last and plucking out the yoke offers a prayer to the sun.⁷⁰

68. P.G.S., 10, 1.

69. E.R.E. vol. II. pp. 475. ff.

70. A.G.S. iv, 2-4.

(14) The Return

Then the funeral party moves off without looking around. The mourners are asked to restrain themselves from any expression of grief, and go forward with heads bent down, entertaining one another with consoling speeches and virtuous tales.⁷¹ "Many tears" it is said, "burn the dead".⁷² We learn from the *Mahābhārata* that Yudhiṣṭhira was rebuked by Vyāsa for bewailing the death of his nephew. For the purpose of driving away the sorrows of the survivor the story-tellers are engaged.⁷³

(15) The Offering of Water

The next ceremony is called the *Udaka-karma*⁷⁴ or the offering of water to the dead. It is performed in a variety of ways. According to one authority, all the relatives of the dead down to the seventh or tenth generation bathe in the nearest stream and purify themselves by it and offered a prayer to *Prajāpati*. While

71. The *Antyeṣṭipaddhati* by Jayarāma on P.G.S. iii, 10.

72. R. V. viii 86.

शोकमानास्तु सस्नेहा बान्धवाः सुहृदस्तथा ।

वातवन्ति जगं स्वर्गादनुपातेन राक्षस ॥ The *Rāmāyaṇa* quoted by Jayarāma on P.G.S. iii, 10.

73. cf. *Liders*, *ZDMG.* 1. viii, 706. off.

74. P.G.S. iii, 10. 16-23.

bathing, they put on only a single garment and the sacred thread hangs over the right shoulder. Many authorities prescribe that the hair should be dishevelled and dust thrown upon the body. The mourners turn their face towards the south, plunge under the water and calling upon the dead person by name offer a handful of water to him. Then they get out of the water, put on dry clothes and wringing those that they had on before, they spread them out towards the north. The present day custom enjoins a very interesting item after the Udaka-Karma. Just after the bath some grains of boiled rice and peas are scattered on the ground for the crows. It recalls the primitive belief according to which the dead were supposed to appear as birds. This supposition is confirmed by the comparison of the Maruts (an offshoot of the Pitaras) with the birds.⁷⁵

(16) *Regaling the Mourners*

After the bath the relatives of the dead retire to a clean and pure grassy spot. Persons conversant with the Itihāsas and the Purāṇas regale the mourners with the praises of the deceased and consoling stories from ancient lore.⁷⁶ They do not return to the village till

75. वयो न सद्विज्जि बर्हिषि प्रिये । R. V. i. 85. 7.

76 P. S. iii, 10, 22.

the sunset or the appearance of the first star.⁷⁷ In the opinion of some, they do not go home before sunrise.⁷⁸ Then the young ones walk first and the old ones last—a procedure reverse of that followed when the procession goes to the cremation ground. When they arrive at their home, they touch, by way of purifying themselves, the stone, the fire, cow-dung, grain, til-seed, oil and water before they step in.⁷⁹ According to other authorities, at the door of the house, they chew leaves of the Pichumanda or the Neem tree, rinse their mouth, touch water, fire, cow-dung etc. or inhale the smoke of a certain species of wood, tread upon a stone and then enter.⁸⁰ These magical performances symbolize the severance of relation with the dead, and the articles used in them are supposed to serve as barriers against the inauspicious spirit of the dead.

(17.) *Impurity*

Now the period of Āśaucha,⁸¹ pollution or defilement, begins. The death of a person entails

77. Ibid. iii. 16. 35.

78. Ibid. iii. 10. 36.

79. B.P.S. i. 12. 6. says, “अथ गृहानायान्ति यथाव शिवः
आहुस्तकुर्वन्ति ।”

80. P.G.S. iii. 10. 24.

81. Ibid. iii. 10. 27. ff; M.S. V. 58-105; Yāj. S. iii. 1; P.S. iii.

a condition which can be adequately expressed by the Polynesian word, "taboo" which means "setting apart a thing or a person as shunned for a religious or a semi-religious reason". A corpse is everywhere regarded as a taboo and the greatest care is taken in approaching or dealing with it. It is not quite clear what is this taboo due to. Is the corpse feared in and for itself, or as a vehicle of death, or is it dreaded owing to its connection with the disembodied spirit? Whatsoever may be the religious or sentimental motive underlying the taboo, one thing is evident that, to a great extent, it was based on the contagious nature of the corpse. So the survivors, owing to their contact with the dead person during his sickness and with his corpse after his death, are severed from the society on the sanitary grounds. The prohibitions consequent on a death, however, reach far beyond the persons who have been compelled to perform the last offices about a corpse. They extend to the whole house, the whole family, the whole clan, the whole village, nay, to the very fields and even sometimes to the heavens.⁸² But generally speaking; though the whole village attends the cremation, it is more particularly the near relatives who are defiled by death pollution than distant ones. Moreover, the

82. Cf. E.S. Hartland, *E.K.E.* vol. iv, p. 418.

period of mourning and therefore of taboo varies among different peoples according to the relationship of the mourners to the dead or their various circumstances, from a few days to many months.⁸³

The period and the scope of Āśaucha differs according to the caste, age and sex of the deceased. The Gṛhyasūtras do not make any distinction between the periods of Āśaucha for the Brahmans and the Kṣatriyas, the common period being ten days.⁸⁴ But they fix fifteen days for the Vaiśyas and one month for the Śūdras as the periods of defilement.⁸⁵ This distinction was mainly based on the observance of the rules of purity and cleanliness in different castes. Option was, however, allowed for people of different circumstances. "Impurity caused by death lasts for three or ten days."⁸⁶ This Sūtra text is explained by Jayarāms with reference to a verse from the Parāśara-Smṛti:⁸⁷ "A Vipra (Brahman), who regularly performs Agnihotra and remains

83. The period was determined by the standard of purity and the closeness of relation.

84. P.G.S. iii. 10. 30.

85. Ibid. iii. 10. 38.

86. Ibid. iii. 10 29-30.

87. एकाहाष्टद्वयते विप्रो योऽग्निवेदसमन्वितः ।

अथाहोरात्रवेदस्तु निगुणो दसनिदिनैः ॥ III 5.

engaged in the study of the Vedas, is absolved from defilement in one day; one who studies the Vedas only, in three days; and one who neglects both, in ten days."⁸⁸ The later Smṛtis permit even exception from Āśauca altogether. "Persons engaged in conducting a sacrifice, one initiated in a sacrifice, those performing similar ceremonies, men performing long sacrifices or undergoing some observances, students, one who has realized Godhood, artisans, artists, medical practitioners, maid-servants, slaves, kings and their servants become instantly purified."⁸⁹ The exception is entirely based on the social convenience. At present the period of defilement lasts ten days for a Brahman, twelve days for a Kṣatriya, fifteen days for a Vaiśya and one month for a Śūdra.⁹⁰

The periods as prescribed above are in the case of the death of grown-up persons. The death of a child causes less impurity. According to the Gṛahyasūtras, the death of a child under

88. Ib d.

89 अग्निजां दीक्षितानां च यज्ञियं कर्म कुर्वताम् ।

सब्रह्मणि ब्रह्मचारिदाह्यः हविदां तथा ॥ Yaj. S. iii. 28

कारणः शिल्पिनो वैश्याः दासीदासाश्चनपिताः ।

राजानाः भोजिनाश्चैव सद्यःसौत्राः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ P.S. iii. 21-22.

90. Ibid. iii. 1-2.

two inflicts defilement on parents only, for one night or three; the rest of the family or the clan are untouched.⁹¹ The Smṛtis, however, enjoin three days' defilement for all the Sapindas. "By the death of a child, whose teeth have come out and whose tonsure ceremony has been performed, all the Bāndhavas become impure."⁹² If a child dies before its naming ceremony no impurity is involved.⁹³

The sex of the deceased is also a determining factor for fixing the period of defilement. This distinction is not known to the Gr̥hyasūtras, and most probably it arose during the Smṛti period. The death of a boy after his Upanayana entails full-fledged defilement,⁹⁴ but a girl before her marriage is still regarded a child and her death causes defilement for a period of three days only;⁹⁵ if she dies before her tonsure, her death causes only one day's defilement. Impurity caused by the death of one's mother ends with the defilement caused by the death of one's father which takes place earlier, but such is

91. P.G.S. iii 102-5.

92. दन्तजतेऽयुजते च कृतचूडे च संश्रिते ।

अयुजा बान्धवाः सर्वे सूतके च तथोच्यते ॥ Quoted by- Jayarāma
on the above.

93. M.S. V. 70.

94. Yāj. S. III. 23.

95. M.S.V. 72.

not the case when the death of the mother takes place earlier than the death of the father, because in this case impurity begins from the latter occurrence.⁹⁶

The observance of the rules of defilement for relatives and friends is optional in the Grhyasūtras. "It depends on one's wish to observe the rules of Āśauca on the death of a family priest, the father-in-law, a friend, other relatives (matrimonial) and sons of the sister"⁹⁷ But the Dharmasūtras and the Smṛtis make it enunciated and the length of the periods differs according to the closeness of the relation with the dead.⁹⁸

The rules to be observed during the Āśauca are of two kinds-negative and positive. The negative rules⁹⁹ require the mourners to forego the many pleasures and comforts and even ordinary business of life and thus exhibit the feelings of grief and sorrow. They forbid certain things, such as the cutting of the hair and beard, study of the Vedas, Grhya offerings etc. The positive rules¹⁰⁰ have also their origin in the aggrieved feelings of the survivors. They enjoin, for a period of three days, to observe continence,

96. A Smṛti quoted by Vijñāneśvara on Yāj. S. iii. 20.

97. P.G.S. iii. 10. 46-47.

98. Āp. D.S. i. vi.

99. P.G.S. iii. 10. 31. 32; Yāj. S. iii. 15; M.S. v. 73

100. Yāj. S. iii. 16.

to sleep on the ground, to live on begged or purchased food, to eat only in the day time etc.

(18) *Asthi-Sañchayana*

The ceremony that follows the cremation is the *Asthi Sañchayana*¹⁰¹ or the "Collection of Bones". It is the remnant of the ancient custom of burial. During the Sūtra period, a compromise between the burial and the cremation was introduced. According to the then current custom, the dead body was burnt, but, in order to preserve the old tradition, the remains began to be collected and buried after a few days. The Grhya-Sūtras contain a very detailed account of the ceremony. According to Āśvalāyana¹⁰² the *Asthi-Sañchayana* ceremony should be performed on the thirteenth or fifteenth day of the wane, while Baudhāyana¹⁰³ enjoins the third, fifth or seventh from the day of cremation. First of all, the cinders should be besprinkled with milk and water and the heap should be stricken with an Udumbara staff to separate the bones. This should be done while repeating the mantras. The cinders should be then collected and thrown towards the south side leaving the bones behind. Three oblations

101. A.G.S. iv. 5; B.P.S. i. 14.

102. A.G.S. iv. 5.

103. B.P.S. i. 14, 1.

should next be offered to Agni. According to the custom of the Taittiriya, the duty of collecting the bones was performed by women, preferably by the senior wife of the deceased. Baudhāyana¹⁰⁴ enjoins that the women must attach a fruit of the Brhati plant to the left hand and with a dark blue and red thread, mount upon a stone, wipe their hands once with an Apāmarga plant and with closed eyes collect the bones with the left hand. The following verse was recited: "Arise hence, and assume a new shape. Leave none of the members of your body behind. Repair to whichever place you wish; may Savitā establish you there. This is one of your bones; be joined with the third in glory; having joined all the bones be handsome in person; be beloved of the gods in a noble place."¹⁰⁵ The above formula is an appropriate commentary on the purpose of the ceremony. It shows that the dead were supposed to take a new shape in the other world for which it was thought necessary to send every part of the material body to the next world either by burning or burial.

The bones, then, were washed and deposited in an urn, or tied up in a piece of black antelope skin.

144 .ibid i 14, 6.

105. Ibid.

The pot containing the bones or the bundle was to be hung from the branch of a Śami tree. The bones of person who had performed sacrifices were, however, burnt again. The bones of others were accorded a burial. For this purpose, an urn was absolutely necessary. Āśvalāyana¹⁰⁶ recommends an urn with spout for females and one without it for males. The urn which was closed with a lid, was placed in a trench prepared in the same way as the ground of cremation, or it might be laid under the root of a tree. According to other authorities grass and yellow cloth were placed in the trench and the bones were thrown in.

After the Sūtra period the Asthi-chayana ceremony underwent a great change. During the Pauranic times, people had no regard for the custom of burying the bones of every individual. The sanctity of rivers increased. The cremation began to take place generally on the bank of some river. The burial ceremony of the remains was simplified. From the later period we have an account of how the chief mourner, just after the cremation, puts the remains into a small earthen pot and throws them into the water, if there be any at hand, or if not, into some lonely place or desert.¹⁰⁷ Now it is regarded very

106 A.G.S. iv. 5.

107. The Antyeṣṭipaddhati by Harihara.

meritorious for the dead to collect the bones on the day of cremation and subsequently throw them into the Ganges or other sacred rivers: 'The virtuous one, whose bone floats on the water of the Ganges, never returns from the Brahmaloṅka, to the world of the mortals Those, whose bones are thrown into the Ganges by men, live in heaven for thousands of Yugas.'¹⁰⁸

(19) *Sānti-Karma*

The next ceremony to be noticed is called *Sānti-karma*¹⁰⁹ or the pacificatory rites for the well-being of the living. The formulas uttered during it have regard to life and adverting of death. Effective measures are taken to ward off evil and to return to ordinary way of life. The mediaeval and the modern *Smṛtikāras* enjoin the shaving and pairing of nails and bathing.¹¹⁰ But the *Gṛhya-Sūtras* prescribe a very long procedure. The ceremony should be performed on the morning following the ninth night after death, i.e., on the tenth day.

108. गङ्गातीये च यस्यास्थि प्लवते शुभकर्मणः ।

न तस्य पुनरावृत्तिर्ब्रह्मलोकात्कदाचन ॥

गङ्गातीये च यस्यास्थि नीत्वा संक्षिप्यते नरैः ।

युगानां तु स्रष्टास्थि तस्य स्वर्गे भवेद्गतिः ॥ Yama quoted by Jayarāma on P.G.S. iii, 10.

109. A.G.S. iv, 5.

110. The *Antyestipaddhati* by Harihara.

Āśvalāyana,¹¹¹ however, recommends that it should be performed on the fifteenth of the wane. In the opinion of some authorities, the ceremony should take place at the burning ground, while the others leave it with the mourners to select any place out of a town, whether it be the burning ground or not, that may be convenient. The relatives by blood, both male and female, having assembled at the selected place, a fire should be kindled and they should be requested to sit down on a bullock hide of a red colour, spread on the ground, with its neck side facing the East, and its hair directed towards the North. The relatives should be requested in the following words

“Ascend on this life-giving skin, as you wish to live to a decrepit old age. According to your seniority, attempt carefully to abide on it. May the well-born and well-adorned fire of this ceremony bestow long life on you. Even as days follow days, and seasons are attached to seasons; even as the young forsake not their elders, may Dhātā so prolong the life of these people according to their age”.¹¹²

In the modern ritual, the females are not required to attend this ceremony, as they perform it separately from the males, and the bullock-skin as a symbol of life is not utilised, because in modern

111. A.G.S. iv. 5

112. Ibid.

Hinduism it has become repulsive. The party having properly seated, the chief mourner should offer four oblations to the fire. The relatives should rise up and recite the Mantras, while touching a red bull. In ancient times, the women were asked to put on collyrium with the following words :

"Let these women, who are not widowed, who have good husbands, apply the collyrious butter to their eyes; without tears, without disease, worthy of every attention, let these wives enter the house".¹¹³

At present, this item has been dropped, as the women do not participate owing to the Purdah system, and the popular currency of widowhood among the twice-born castes, which forbids any rejoicings on the part of the widow. Then the assembly should proceed towards the East, leading the bull with the words:

"These men, forsaking the dead, are returning. This day we invoke the gods for our good, for success over enemies, and for our merriment. We

113. इमा भारीविधवा सुपत्नीर्गर्जनेन सर्पिषा संविशन्तु ।

अनग्रयोऽनमीषा सुरक्षा आरोहन्तु जनयो योनिमग्रे ॥ R V. x. 18. 7.

The explanation of this verse is very controversial. According to some, it was recited when the women entered the home, while others hold that it was recited when the widows mounted the funeral pyre of their husband. See J.R.A.S. xvi. pp. 201-14; xvii. 209, 20.

proceed eastwards, having well sustained long lives".¹¹⁴

The chief mourner then recites another Mantra, and with a 'Sami' branch, efface the foot-marks of the bull that precedes the party. On the departure of the last man, the Adhvaryu should place a circle of stones behind him as a wall to prevent death from overtaking those that have gone forward, praying "I place this circle of stones for the living; May we and others not go beyond it in mid-life; may we all live a hundred autumns, driving death away from this heap".¹¹⁵ The party then should repair to the house of the chief mourner. The fire that served the deceased is removed and extinguished outside. The new fire is kindled after the removal of the old. Now a feast takes place and the survivors follow the course of ordinary life.

(20) *The Smaśāna*

Another funeral ceremonies of the Hindus is the Pitṛmedha or Śmaśāna,¹¹⁶ i.e., the building of a mound over the remains of a dead person. Burial of the dead is a custom whose origin can be traced back to the very early period of Aryan history.¹¹⁷ It must have proved a great incentive for erecting a

114. A.G.S. iv. 5.

115. Ibid.

116. B.P.S. i. 18.

117. Schrader, *Aryan Religion*, E.R.E. vol. II. p. 11-57.

mound or tomb over the grave. Even at present, among the Christians and the Mohammadans, where burial is the universal custom, some kind of elevation is made over the body of the dead, and in the case of rich and notable persons tomb or mousoleum is built. Though the Indo-Aryans gradually abandoned the custom of burial, they were still fond of perpetuating the memory of their departed relatives by building a mound over their remains. In the *Vedas* we have no reference to this custom. But the omission is not a sure proof of its nonexistence. The *Brāhmaṇas* that are mainly concerned with rituals refer to it. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*¹¹⁸ there is a detailed description of the *Śmaśāna* ceremony. Not all the *Gr̥hyasūtras* describe it, which shows that it was not a universal practice. But the *Gr̥hyasūtras*¹¹⁹ that deal with it, adopt the procedure of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* with some modifications. Among the Buddhists, however, the custom of raising a mound was very popular and the Hindu *Śastrakāras* reserved this honour for great saints, monks and *Sanyāsins* only. The *Paddhatis* make this custom optional and allot it a very insignificant position amidst the funeral ceremonies. In modern Hinduism, the raising a of mound is

118. xiii. 8.

119. A.G.S. iv. 5.

almost stopped and the building of the Samādhis or Stupas is limited to a few religious celebrities.

The questions for whom and at what time the Śmaśāna should be performed have given rise to ritual discussions and have been variously answered by different schools of ritual. The lapse of time after the death, the season of the year and the presiding constellations are all considered, and preference is given to the new-moon day.

After the spot is properly selected, on the day preceding the ceremony some plants are rooted up at that place. To the north of these plants earth is dug up and from this bricks, from six to twenty-four hundred, are made for building the mound, besides the number employed for packing. Now the urn containing the ashes of the dead is brought and placed between three Palāśa twigs driven into ground and a hut is erected over it. If the bones are not found in the trench where they were deposited, a very quaint procedure is followed. Some dust is taken from the spot or the dead man is called upon from the bank of a river, and creature that happens to fall upon an outspread cloth is regarded as the representative of the bones. Over the Palāśa twigs a vessel with many holes is placed, through which sour milk and whey trickle upon the urn.

The ceremony proceeds with the trumpet blast and the sound of the lute. The company

circumambulates the spot, striking the left thigh with hands. The relatives assembled there fan the urn with the skirts of their garments. Some authorities prescribe songs and dance of females also. Variations and modifications of the above description are found in different schools.

The Śmaśāna ceremony proper should take place during the first, the middle or the last part of the night. The party goes early in the morning to the place selected for the purpose. The spot must be cleared and surrounded by a rope supported by wood stakes. Its surface should be covered with small stones. On the ground furrows are opened with a plough drawn by six or more oxen and various seeds are cast into them. In the middle of the ground a hole is made, into which gravel or saliferous earth is cast. Some quantity of milk from a cow whose youngone is dead should be placed in the hole to serve as food for the dead person. A piece of reed is immersed in a trench dug to the south of the hole evidently to serve the purpose of boat to the dead. Next the darbha grass is arranged in the figure of a man and the remains are laid upon it and covered with an old cloth. Then, the vessel containing the ashes is broken and over the bones a monument is built according to a fixed plan. Where the monument is erected up to a certain heights, food for the dead is enclosed within the walls. After the structure

is completed, earth is piled over the Śmaśāna and water is poured over it from the jars which are destroyed after their use. The mound or Stūpa thus built is the symbol of death and many devices are used to separate the world of living from that of the dead. The line of demarcation between them is drawn by means of lumps of earth, stones and branches of tree. Some formulas are also uttered to meet the same end.

(21) Offerings to the dead

The last item of the funeral ceremonies of the Hindus comprises those offerings to the dead which are made during the Āśaucha period.¹²⁰ The dead is regarded as still living in a sense. The efforts of the survivors are to provide him with food and guide his footsteps to the paramount abode of the dead.

During the Vedic periods, the Fathers were invited to partake the offerings in general,¹²¹ but an individual invitation was hardly met with. This literary omission, however, does not negative the supposition that the offerings were made to the dead as the custom is prevalent in all the religions of the world. The Sūtras¹²² have got positive rules on the topic. They prescribe that

120. P.G.S. iii, 10, 27-8; The Kriyāpaddhati by Gadādhara.

121. R.V. x, 15.

122. P.G.S. iii, 10, 27-28.

a Pinda or a "ball of rice" should be offered to the dead on the first day. The ball was called "Pinda", because it was supposed to constitute the body of the Preta.¹²³ With the ball of rice water for ablution was poured out for him and he was called on by name. Milk and water were set out for him in the open air with the words, "Bathe here." Perfumes and drink were also offered as well as a lamp to facilitate his progress through the utter darkness that enshrouds the road to the city of Yama.¹²⁴ At east, which contained dishes of meat also, was given to the Brahmans on the eleventh day.¹²⁵

The Paddhatis on the funeral ceremonies have fully developed this part of the ceremonies. They prescribe for every day after the cremation up to the twelfth, a particular kind of offering for a particular purpose. According to them, on the first day, should be offered a rice ball, a jar of water and food articles for satisfying the thirst and hunger of the dead and building the veins of the would-be body of the dead. Darbhagrass for sitting, ointment, flowers, perfumes and lamps should also be set out for the dead. On the second day, offerings are made for constituting the ears, eyes and nose of the dead;

123. पिण्डमवयवपूर्कं दत्त्वा । जयराम on the above.

124. A.G.S. iv. 5.

125. P.G.S. iii. 10. 48.

on the third day for neck, shoulders, arms and breasts, and so on up to the ninth day when the whole body of the dead is supposed to be completed. On the tenth day the hair, beard and the nails of the survivors are pared and the Piṇḍas offered to the dead and Yama for ending the Preta-state of the deceased. On the eleventh day follow a large number of ceremonies. In the beginning, ablution are offered to the dead and Lord Viṣṇu is prayed to for the salvation of the Preta.¹²⁷ It is quite a new feature in the funeral ceremonies where heavenly blessings are substituted by salvation. The most prominent item of this day's procedure is the Vṛṣotsarga¹²⁸ or letting loose a bull and a heifer. Both the animals are bathed, adorned and branded with a discus and a trident. The following verse is uttered in the ears of the bull; "The four-footed Lord Dharma is Himself well-known as Vṛṣa or bull. I adore Him with devotion; may He protect me".¹²⁹ Then they are married by fastening a piece of cloth to them, with "This

127. अमादिनीचनो देव शङ्खचक्रगदाधरः ।

अक्षय्य पुण्डरीकाक्ष प्रेतमोक्षप्रदोभव ॥ Quoted by Gadādhara on P.G.S. iii 10.

128. The Vṛṣotsargapaddhati by Narāyaṇa

129. वृषो हि भगवान् धर्मश्चतुष्पादः प्रकीर्तितः ।

वृषे हि समर्हं भक्त्या य मा रक्षतु सर्वतः ॥ Quoted in the Kriyā-paddhati by Gadādhara.

husband, the best among all, has been given by me; the most charming of all the wives, this heifer, has been given by me'. After this the pair is let loose and driven to the Southern direction 'for ending the Preta-condition of the dead and enabling him or her to cross the ocean of mortality'.¹³⁰ The ceremony terminates with a feast to the Brahmans, who are called the Mahāpātras and are eleven in number. They receive ample Dakṣiṇā and all sorts of gifts that are supposed to be transported to the next world through them for the future felicity of the deceased. The provision of food is made for full one year, as the dead is believed to reach the abode of Yama in one year.

(22) *Sapindī-Karaṇa*

The ceremony of Sapindīkaraṇa¹³¹ or 'uniting the Preta with the Pitaras' takes place either on the twelfth day after the cremation, at the end of three fortnights or on the expiry of the year. The first day is prescribed for those who maintain the sacrificial fire, the second and the third for the rest.

The soul of the dead person does not reach the world of the Pitaras at once. It remains separate

130. अमुकं प्रेतस्य प्रेतस्त्वमुक्तये सन्तारयितुम् । Ibid.

131. The Kātyāyana-Śraddha-Kalpasūtra V. 1-2. Antyeṣṭi paddhati by Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa.

from them for a time as a Preta or Spirit. During this period special offerings are presented to it. But after certain time, the dead man passes into the abode of the Fathers through the instrumentality of Sapiṇḍikaraṇa.

On the dates prescribed for Sapiṇḍikaraṇa, the Śodaśa Śrāddhas are performed in the beginning. Then four pots are filled with sesame seeds, perfumes and water. Three of them are offered to the Pitaraś and one to the Preta. The contents of the Preta-pot are poured into the Pitr-pot with the words, "These equal etc." and the ceremonies are over.

(23) *Special Cases*

Besides the normal ceremonies attendant on the natural death of an individual, many special cases are recorded in the Gr̥hyasūtras and the Smṛtis. In the Vedic hymns the regular funeral ceremonies are described without any distinct reference to abnormal cases. Verses 2, 3, 4 and 35 of the Atharvaveda (xviii), however, may be assumed to point out such cases. The first of the above verses runs; "O Agni, bring here all the Fathers, buried, cast away, burnt or exposed, to enjoy the offerings". The most popular method of disposing of the dead in the Atharvavedic times was cremation, so the other cases mentioned above might have been abnormal. The burial, here, may refer to the burial

of children and ascetics, custom known to later literatures on funeral; casting away may be the casting away of mandicants dying in a forest which is mentioned in the Chândogya-Upaniṣad,¹³² or it may refer to merely depositing dead bodies in a Samādhi as recognized in Buddhism;¹³³ and the exposure may have been the exposure of the dead on trees as it is recorded in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.¹³⁴ These cases cannot refer to very primitive method of casting away or exposure of the dead or disabled persons proving a burden on the family, as it is supposed by some scholars.¹³⁵ Rather they represent a special ceremonial in abnormal cases. This assumption can be supported by the fact that in the above Atharvavedic verses the Fathers are invited very affectionately and not remembered as cast away refuses. Coming down to the Brāhmaṇas, we find that the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,¹³⁶ as already pointed out, mentions the exposure of dead bodies on trees, a custom certainly followed in the cases of homeless ascetics and beggars, who did not leave heirs behind them to perform their funerals. The

132. vi. 16. 2, 3.

133. Buddhist India, pp. 78 ff

134. iv. 5. 2. 13.

135. Zimmer. Alt. Leben, p 402.

136. iv. 5. 2. 13,

Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka¹³⁷ speaks of the rite of Brahmamedha, performed at the death of a Brahman who had realized Brahman-hood. From the Chhāndogya-Upaniṣad¹³⁸ we know that sometimes dead bodies were left uncared for and no funeral ceremonies were performed specially in case of those who had entered into forest and pursued Brahma-vidyā and went to Brahmāloka from where there was no return.

The most systematic treatment of the abnormal cases has been given in the Gr̥hyasūtras, where, after a thorough classification, the ceremonies were codified. Baudhāyana¹³⁹ in his Pitr̥medhasūtras has described almost all the irregular cases of funeral ceremonies. The Smṛtis do not develop the ritual but prescribe different types of Āśauca to be observed and the Prāyaścittas to be performed in such cases. The later Paddhatis and the Prayogas follow the ritual described in the Gr̥hyasūtras, though these have evolved a few new ceremonies e.g., the Jirachchrāddha not found in the earlier literature.

The first special funeral rite was that of the Āhitāgnia or the householder, who maintained all the three Fires. He distinguished himself from

137. iii.

138. vi. 16. 2. 3.

139. The B.P.S.

the rest of the society by his religious regularity. So it was thought necessary to accord him special funeral. According to Baudhāyana,¹⁴⁰ Homas should be performed before and after his death and his sacrificial utensils should be burnt on a separate pyre with his effigy made of Kuśa grass. It should be noted that Āśvalāyana¹⁴¹ prescribes the burning of sacrificial vessels with the dead body itself in a normal funeral. He, undoubtedly, records the earlier practice, when the sacrifices were offered more regularly. The Smrtis differentiate between the cremation and Āśaucha of an Āhitāgni and of an Anāhitāgni. Vṛiddha-Yājñavalkya¹⁴² says, "The Āhitāgni should be burnt with the Three Fires, Anāhitāgni with one and the rest with the Laukikāgni." In the opinion of Aṅgirā,¹⁴³ the period of impurity in the case of an Āhitāgni should begin from his cremation (which may be postponed for certain reasons), but that of the Anāhitāgni from the day of his death. In modern practices, however, the distinction is not well preserved as the sacrificial religion has declined and only a few Agnihotrits maintain the Three Sacred Fires at present.

140. Ibid. ii. 1.

141. A.G.S.

142. Quoted by Vijnanagvari on Yāj. S. iii. 1. 9.

143. Ibid. iii. 1. 21.

Another special rite is that of children. They are not full men, so their funeral must differ from that of the adult. Their tender body should be spared the fierce flames of fire; their innocent life neither inflicts so much impurity upon the family nor it requires so much purification as the worldly life of the householders. Children do not also require in the next world all the necessities of the terrestrial life, because they are not accustomed to them in this world. These ideas underly the special rite accorded to children. Baudhāyana¹⁴⁴ says that Pitṛmedha should not be performed in the case of the uninitiated boys and unmarried girls. According to him,¹⁴⁵ in the case of abortion, the abortive child should be buried and the performer becomes instantly purified after a bath with clothes on. In the opinion of Paingya,¹⁴⁶ however, the abortion entails impurity for a period of ten days upon the mother. A child, whose teeth have not come out, should be buried with the recitation of Praṇava¹⁴⁷ denied to the abortive child. A child before two, Pāraskara¹⁴⁸ says, should be

144. यथा एतन् प्राक् बीजधर्मीयानां दहनं विद्यते अतुपनीयानां कन्यानां चित्तमेव क्षुत्तम् । B.P.S iii, 6, 1.

145. Ibid, iii, 6, 2.

146. Quoted by Vijnanēśvara Yāj. S. iii, 1, 20.

147. B.P.S, iii, 6, 3.

148. P.G.S, iii, 10, 4, 5.

buried without cremation. *Manu*¹⁴⁹ differs from the above authorities and prescribes that "The relations of the dead child below two should take it out of the village, should decorate its person with garland and clothes and leave it in open air (or bury it beneath the earth); collection of bones should not be done in this case. Neither the child should be cremated nor it should be offered water oblations". But he¹⁵⁰ allows an option in the case of a child whose teeth have come out, and *Baudhāyana* even recommends cremation if desired by the relatives.¹⁵¹ At present the burial of children are performed in some localities, but in the majority of cases they are thrown away into rivers and no impurity is observed.

The next special rite is that of a *Garbhīṇī* or a pregnant woman, who dies in her pregnancy. *Baudhāyana*¹⁵² says that she should be carried to the cremation ground. After saving the child she should be burnt properly with the additional gift of an *Aṣṭakādhenu*, a *Tiladhenu* and a *Bhūmidhenu*. The ceremonies following cremation should be the same as usual. At present in such cases no attempt is made to save the child and it is burnt with the

149) M.S. v. 67-70.

150. नात्रिवर्षस्य कर्तव्या बान्धवैरुदकक्रिया ।

जातदन्तस्य वा कुर्युर्नाम्नि वापि कृते सति ॥ M.S. v. 70.

151. B.P.S. iii. 6. 4.

152. Ibid. iii. 9. 1.

mother, and the funeral ceremonies are the same as in normal cases. The modern Paddhatis¹⁵³ prescribe special ceremonies for a woman dying in her confinement or monthly course. According to them, her dead body should be bathed with water from a jar, in which Pañchagavya is mixed. It is, certainly, done to purify her body which is contaminated with the impurity of the childbirth or the menstrual flow. Then the Prājāpatyāhutis are offered and the body is covered with new clothes and burnt. But the cremation is distinguished by not burning the corpse entirely.¹⁵⁴

The funeral of the Parivrājakas, retired ascetics and mendicants, form another class by itself. They are the persons, who have given up all worldly attachments and have realized the Brahman or the Universal Soul. Their goal in life is not the attainment of the Pitṛloka nor of the Svarga, but the acquirement of Brahmaloaka or salvation. Therefore, both socially and religiously, they are above the ordinary householders. Hence their last sacrament must be different from that of those, who are after worldly pursuits and heavenly pleasures. The first mention of the funeral of a realized

153. The Kriyāpaddhati by Śaṅkara.

154. "निःशेषस्तु न दहय्यः" इति वचनात् । Ibid.

Brahman is made in the Taittiriya Āraṇyaka¹⁵⁵ where it is called Brahmamedha. The Baudhāyana Gr̥hyasūtra¹⁵⁶ describes the funeral ceremony of a Parivrājaka as follows. The dead body should be laid in a ditch and the begging bowl placed on his belly with the appropriate verses. Then his Kamaṇḍalu should be filled with water and put on his right hand. Next the ditch should be covered with earth and a mound should be raised on it to save the corpse from the carnivorous animals.¹⁵⁷ The performance of this duty to the Parivrājakas is regarded very meritorious.¹⁵⁸ The post-cremation ceremonies are prohibited in the case of a Sanyāsin.¹⁵⁹

This custom is still followed in certain sects of the ascetics. But after the transition of Hinduism from Vedism or Brahmanism to Puranism and Tantrism, Sanyāsa came to be regarded as Kalivarjya. Though Śaṅkarācharya broke this

155. The Taittiriya-Āraṇyaka, iii.

156. B.P.S., iii, 11.

157. शृगालश्चवायसाः स्वादन्ति चेद्दोषमाहारयेत्कतुः । तस्मादविशङ्कवेदिं प्रच्छादयेदिति बोधायनः । iii, 11. 2. Later on, in case of distinguished परिब्राजकः, this mound developed into a memorial,

158. इत्येष संस्कारोऽश्वमेधफलं तत्रोदाहरन्ति । Ibid., iii, 11. 1.

159. ज्ञयाद्यानाभमायां च कुर्याद्वाहिकाः क्रियाः ।

इतेः किञ्च कर्तव्यं न चान्येषां करोति सः ॥ Quoted by Gadādhara in his Kriyāpaddhati,

prohibition by his example, Sanyāsa never became popular in Hinduism again. The modern Sadhus belong to different sects, following Jñānamārga or Bhaktimārga, and they cannot be properly called Sanyāsins. Some of the sects practise burial but the majority of them prefer waterburial and their last offices are completed with a grand feast to the Sadhus and the Brahmans. The present custom of breaking the skull of an ascetic is based on the Upanisadi belief that the soul of a Brahmajñāni escapes through the Brahmarandhra or a hole on the top of head.¹⁶⁰ So the skull is broken to facilitate the departure. The Sanyāsins are not cremated, because being purified by the fire of spiritual knowledge and merged in Brahman, they do not require material fire to sanctify their body and convey the soul to the next world.¹⁶¹

Men, dying in distant lands away from their homes, form another category. Here too Baudhāyana¹⁶¹ is the first Sūtrakāra who describes the ceremonies in detail. The relations, when informed of the death, should bring the dead body, if preserved, or the bones for the proper funeral. In the latter case, thirty, three bones

160. शर्ह चैका हृदयस्य नाड्यस्तासां मूर्धनमभिनिः स्रुतेका ।

तयोर्ध्वमायकमृत्तमेति विश्वङ्कन्या उत्क्रमेण भवन्ति ॥ Ch U, viii, 66

161a. Vide the Yatisamskāra a part of the Pratapanārasimha,

B.B.R.A.S. cat p 222 nos. 700-703.

161. B.P.S. iii, 6.

should be selected from different limbs, as the man was supposed to consist of thirty-three.¹⁶² But when the bones were not available and only the direction was known,¹⁶² the Preta was called by name from that direction, an effigy of the man was made on the black deerskin, sacrificial vessels were placed on it, Kuśa grass was scattered on these articles and the cremation was performed. When no clue of the persons gone abroad was found and he was believed to be dead, his funeral ceremonies were performed as described above. In such cases, sometimes, a few of the supposed dead persons came back home. They had got to be revived again with the proper Samskāras,¹⁶³ from the Conception to the Vivāha, as they were socially dead and no body would keep contact with them. At present the same ritual is followed but people do not evince any hurry about the funeral of missing persons, and their Antyeṣṭi is performed when the possibility of their return is over.

A peculiar by novel practice of Jivachchrāddha¹⁶⁴ has come into existence in modern time. By an orthodox Hindu it is believed that his proper funeral is essential for his Sadgati. (heaven or salvation). In case he has got no sons, or when

162. “अश्लिष्टतुल्यः” । *Ibid.* iii. 6. 2.

163. *Ibid.* iii. 7.

164. The Jivachchrāddhaprayoga by Nārāyaṇabhāṭṭa,

he is doubtful whether his Antyeṣṭi will be properly performed by his children or not, he becomes anxious to see that it is duly done in his life-time. His person is represented by an effigy and the entire ceremonies are performed as usual. There is, however, a popular superstition that persons, whose Antyeṣṭi is performed in their life-time, die very soon. So only a few dare to do so.

Those who die of accidents are also treated as special cases. According to Baudhāyana,¹⁶⁵ those, who die of wounds caused by weapons, administration of poison, choking by a string, drowning in water, fall from a mountain or a tree etc., do not deserve a funeral. Most probably they were thrown away into water or cast away into forests. At present, however, they are accorded funeral ceremonies after performing certain Prāyaścittas. The idea underlying the denial of funeral in this case was that these persons could not be admitted into the Pitrloka; therefore it was futile to undergo the botherations of tedious ceremonies.¹⁶⁶ But the Gautama-Dharmasūtra says that the survivors could perform the

165. B.P.S. iii. 7. 1. He recognizes an exception देशान्तरगृहे संश्राम्यते व्याघ्रहते क्षरिमादाय विधिना दाहयेत् । 'ibid iii. 7. 2

166. उदकं पिण्डादानं च प्रेत्यभ्यो यत्प्रदीयते ।

वीरतिष्ठति तत्सर्वमन्तरिक्षे विनश्यति ॥ Quoted by Vijñāneśvara on the Yaj. S. iii. 1. 6.

Udakakarma etc. if they liked ¹⁶⁷ The majority of the Smṛtis, however, prohibit the observance of Āśauca and performance of ceremonies, as no impurity is caused by their death.

The Patitas or fallen are also regarded as special cases. According to Manu, ¹⁶⁸ an apostate, a man born of Pratiloma marriage, a suicide, a Pāṣaṇḍa, an adultress, a woman causing abortion or hating her husband etc. should not be given a funeral. yājñavalkya includes thieves also in the same class. The reason behind this prohibition is that these people are lost to society on account of their unsocial habits and, therefore, they are not entitled to the social privilege of deriving benefit from a Samskāra. At present such cases are not detected or publicly accepted, and many of the fallen pass as ordinary householders.

(24) *The Primitive Nature of the Ceremonies*

The funeral ceremonies, though often repeated and tedious, are of the simplest type. In no other field of Hinduism the primitive beliefs regarding life and death survive so insistently as in the naive funeral operations. The next world is nothing but

167. प्रायेऽनाशक शलाग्नि विषोदकोद्बन्धप्रपन्नैश्चेच्छताम् । Ibid.

168. V.M.S. 87-90,

169. पाश्वज्याभ्रिताः स्तेना भर्तृभ्यः कामगारिकाः ।

सुराप्य अश्वपतिभ्यो नाश्वीबोदकभाजनाः ॥ Yāj. S. iii. 1. 6.

the replica of this earth, and the needs of the dead are the same as those of the living. Throughout the ceremonies the prayers are offered for the sensuous enjoyments and ease of the dead. We do not find any indication of the desire for his or her spiritual benefit, salvation or beatitude. The prayer for freedom from the cycles of birth and death is very casual and could be discovered only in the latest phase of the ritual. The whole performance is of the most primitive kind, and speaks of a period of remote antiquity.

CONCLUSION

(1) Life a Mystery and an Art

Life has been a great mystery to man. Its origin, growth, decadence and disappearance have always exercised his thoughts and emotions. The Hindu Saṁskāras were just an attempt to fathom and to facilitate the flow of this mystery. Through observations and experiences and through faltering and confidence of ages the ancient Hindus realised that life was an art like any other art in the world. It required cultivation and refinement. Man born and left to himself was a mass of elements, crude and brutal and slightly removed from his fellow citizens of the forest. His life stood in need of as much care, protection and cultivation as a plant in a garden, crops in a field and an animal in a cattle-farm. The Saṁskāras involved conscious efforts to meet this need. The seers and the sages of yore, to their light and resources, tried to transform crude animality into refined humanity.

(2) Life a Cycle

As in philosophy so in rituals life was regarded as a cycle. It starts where it ends.

From birth to death it is a continuous series of incidents moving round a nucleus of desire to live, to enjoy, to think and ultimately to retire. All the Samskāras and their ceremonies emanate from the centre of life and are concurrent with its circumference. The Gṛhyasūtras, the oldest manuals of the Samskāras start with the Vivāha (Marriage Ceremonies), because marriage was supposed to be the centre of life which supports and sustains all social activities. The Smṛtis, however, begin with the conception of a child in the womb of its mother, as, obviously, the life of an individual germinates here, and they end with the Antyeṣṭi (Funeral Ceremonies), which apparently mark the end of an individual life. Between births and deaths, like life, the Samskāras revolve.

(3) Dogma a Conscious Development

In the beginning, the Samskāras, though not automatic, were spontaneous. There was no dogma and there was no code. Precedent was the only authority; the question of rationale did not arise. When in course of time the various ceremonies connected with the Samskāras developed and they were amplified according to the social sentiments and needs, a conscious attempt was made at the codification of the Samskāras and dogmas were fixed. This provided

for the stability of the institutional aspect of the Saṃskāras, but it hindered its spontaneous growth which resulted in its stultification and decay.

(4) The Procedure of the Saṃskāras

The forms and procedure of the Saṃskāras were suggested by observation and reasoning. Even in early times there were elaborate and distinct procedures of the Saṃskāras. Their precise origin is lost in the depth of antiquity but it is certain that they originated in social needs and in course of time they assumed a religious garb. Symbols and taboos played an important part in the procedural development of the Saṃskāras.

(5) The Place of the Saṃskāras in Hinduism

(1) Saṃskāras took Life as a whole

In the beginning of civilisations life was much simpler than it is at present and it was not divided into compartments. Social institutions, beliefs, sentiments, arts, sciences etc. were all closely interwoven. The Saṃskāras covered all these fields of life. Religion was an all-embracing factor in ancient times and rituals were giving sanctity and stability to all possible incidents in life, and, to this end, they were utilising all

the moral and material resources of the world to which man had an access. The aim of the Samskāras was to create conditions for the development of an integrated personality of an individual, who can adjust himself with the world around him believed to be full of human and superhuman forces.

(ii) Samskāras and the Three Paths of Life

When in course of time the complexitiss of life increased and distinctions in action came to be made, the Hindus recognized three definite paths of life—(1) Karma-mārga (the Path of Action), (2) Upasanā-marga (the Path of Meditation and Worship) and (3) Jñāna-mārga (the Path of Knowledge). Though the Samskāras were sufficiently comprehensive in their scope orginally, they came to be included, later on, in the Path of Action (Karma-mārga) alone. The first Path of life was a preparatory step to the second and the third ones, meant for the purification of mind (Chitta-śuddhi). Therefore though the Samskāras were not of the highest importance in life, they were of the primary importance and thus essential for every individual. As a matter .of fact they provided a necessary training for a higher type of culture intellectual and spiritual.

(iii) Philosophical Indifference and Hostility towards the Samskāras and their reconciliation with Philosophy

Indian philosophical attitude towards life centred round the idea that temporal life, in its last analysis, is futile and that a permanent state of consciousness transcending the earthly existence is to be reached. The Samskāras which blessed the mundane affairs of life were looked down upon by retiring aspirants after the transcendental values of life. Some of the Upanisadic thinkers derided all sacrifices, including the Samskāras, and compared them with frail boats unfit for crossing the ocean of mortality. But the classical Hindu mind, being synthetic and taking a balanced view of life, was able to reconcile ritualism with philosophy and under the same sacrificial canopy, side by side with most elaborate sacrifices, the highest metaphysical questiones were raised and discussed. The Chārvākas (Materialists), the Buddhists and the Jains (Heterodox Religions) attacked rituals in vain. The Chārvākas, having no rituals and dogmas to rest upon, died out. The Buddhist and the Jain churches developed their own rituals, leaving their laityt to follow the popular rituals current in the society. The Brahmanical thinkers never tried to discard them, perhaps,

thinking that people could not live without some kind of ceremonies; the Samskāras, being best of them, received their approval.

(iv) Samskāras and Puranic Hinduism

The development of Puranic Hinduism synchronized with the decline of the Vedic religion and the gravity of religious life shifted from home—the venue of the Samskāras—to the places of pilgrimage and the temples. The emphasis was laid on idol-worship. But, though the big sacrifices fell into disuse, the Samskāras survived with the change that some of them, e.g., the Tonsure and the Upanayana, in some cases, came to be performed at a temple instead of at home. The Samskāras were so closely associated with the personal life of an individual that they clung to him or her through all changes and vicissitudes. Their hold on life was so strong that even some of the deities had to undergo some of these Samskāras.

(6) The Achievements of the Samskāras

The Samskāras helped in the refinement and purification of human life, facilitated the development of personality, imparted sanctity and importance to human body, blessed all material and spiritual aspirations of man and ultimately prepared him for an easy and happy

exit from this world of complexitis and problems. They also helped in the solution of the many social problems of importance. For example, the Garbhādhana (Conception) and other pre-natal Samskāras were connected with sex-hygiene and eugenics. When the latter had not developed as independent branches of science, the Samskāras were the only educative agencies in these matters. Similarly, the Vidyārambha (Learning of Alphabets) and the Samskāras begining from the Upanayan (Initiation) to the Samāvartan (Returning Home from the Teacher's are all of highly educational importance. In early societies there was no secular agency to enforce compulsory education upon the masses. The Samskaras, being compulsory, served this purpose. Every child, if he was not mentally and physically invalid, was to undergo a compulsory course of education involving learning and strict discipline. This maintained the intellectual and cultural level of the ancient Hindus. The Vivāha Samskāra (Marriage) regulated a number of sexual and social problems by laying down definite rules on the types and forms of marriage, the limitations of marriage, the selection of parties and the nuptials. No doubt, these rules tended to make society static but they also added to the stability and happiness of social groups and family life. The last Samskāra, the Antyeṣṭi (Funerals) combined

the duties of a house-holder towards the dead and the living. It was a wonderful combination of family and social hygiene and consolation for the survivors. Thus, the Samskāras operated in the practical life as a graduated scheme of human life and its development.

(7) *The Decline of the Samskāras*

Like other socio-religious institutions the Samskāras also, after serving their purpose for a long time, declined in course of time due to their internal weaknesses and external circumstances, which developed in the history of the Hindus. The creative stage of the Samskaras was followed by the critical, conservative and imitative ones, when the Samskāras were codified, commented upon, compiled and confusedly and poorly imitated. The result was that they became static and stultified and lost their power of elasticity and adaptation. The time and ideology under which they evolved were left far behind and new social and religious forces were operating in the society, which did not fully conform to old social and religious institutions. Buddhism, Jainism and the many new cults of devotion diverted the attention of the people from ritualistic exactitude to devotional practices of worship. The linguistic difficulty was also responsible for the decline of the Samskaras. The Mantras recited in the

Saṃskāras were from the Vedas and the procedure of the Saṃskāras was couched in archaic Sanskrit and the both have continued to be so till to-day. Though Sanskrit has ceased to be the popular language of India and is intelligible to only a few learned persons, the priests have never cared to change the language of the Saṃskāras, as they are always anxious to preserve the mystic and obscure nature of the religious ceremonies. The natural consequence is the apathy and indifference of the masses towards the Saṃskāras, which have become a sealed book to them.

A far-reaching cause of the decline of the Saṃskāras was the development of the society from its primitive conditions and the bifurcation and specialisation of the different branches of human activities. Originally the Saṃskāras combined religious beliefs and practices, social customs and laws, educational schemes, rules regarding health and hygiene etc. In course of time all these aspects of human life developed more or less independently. So the Saṃskāras lost most of their contents and importance; only its religious sanctity survived in its truncated form. The Saṃskāras, which once constituted a serious attempt at the reformation of man, were reduced to mere ceremonies. The Saṃskāras to-day are in the majority of cases a matter of routine bereft of effective influence.

Hinduism assimilated foreign elements in its fold throughout its long history. These elements conformed to the broad outline of Hinduism, but they did not find minute ritualistic details congenial to them. They performed the most important Samskāras like the Vivāha (Marriage) and the Antyeṣṭi (Funeral), which they could not escape, but they had little use of the minor ones. The advent of Islam in India eclipsed Hindu culture and in the major part of the country there was no free opportunity to perform religious rites. For their safety the masses abstained from ostentacious ritualistic procedure and only a few orthodox families performed them at their great risk. The later and modern impact of materialism from the west has attacked Hinduisim on a different plane. Through western educational system and foreign medium of instruction it has uprooted the majority of young people receiving this new education from their moorings both intellectually and emotionally. It has made its converts hostile towards the traditional life of the country, sceptic towards spiritual values of life and impatient of any religious discipline. They are getting lost to the very sacramental conception of life. This constitutes the gravest menace to the Samskāras. The only saving feature for the Samskāras is the reaction which is visible to-day against materialism in a serious section of

humanity, which may restore the religious and spiritual values to man in future again.

(8) Revivalism and the Samskāras

In the nineteenth century in India the impact of western influences, was on the one hand, capturing the mind of a large number of young people, on the other hand, it created a reaction against it led by nationalistic cultural movements. The more orthodox of them, like the Arya Samāja and the Sanatana Dharma movements, sought to defend the Hindu community firstly by retorting to the charges hurled by the foreigners against the Hindu religion and culture and secondly by reviving the old social and religious institutions with some reforms and simplification, so that they might attract the educated people intellectually. The Samskāras were revived with a zeal and they appealed to the people for some time, but they are losing their influence again. The real question is not the West versus the East; it is the Old versus the New. The Samskāras originated in the hoary past when the problems and the needs of the society were different from what they are to-day; the mind of the people was working under an ideology which was peculiar to its age. To-day the society has changed; the man has changed accordingly; his beliefs, sentiments and aspirations have all undergone change. Unless the Samskāras

are also transformed in the light of new developments, they cannot appeal to the new mind.

(9) *Prospects*

The Samskāras were the expression of human beliefs, sentiments, aspirations, hopes and fears, and they catered for human needs. With changes in life they are bound to change. To-day the very conception of life has undergone change. By scientific discoveries many mysteries of life have been solved and man's control over his environment has immensely increased. Many natural forces which were feared or respected have become docile servants of man. Material resources of life are getting multiplied. Many fields of life which were regarded sacred have now become secular. So, the awe and reverence with which the religious rites were performed are diminishing gradually. But in spite of all these changes in the material aspects of the world, certain central mysteries of life and some fundamental needs of human existence will remain. Though the evolutionary process of life has been analysed and studied, the origin of life, its constituents and their combinations are still puzzling the human mind, and there does not seem to be any possibility of solving the central problem of life satisfactorily. At the source of life man is even to-day experiencing the mystic touch of the invisible. This fact will keep alive

the religious sentiments in man. Though the magic hold of religion in some fields of life will be loosened, the human heart will not part with that sanctity which is imparted by religious sanction. The consecration of life will never cease. Similarly the fact that life is an art and it requires conscious and planned efforts for its cultivation and refinement will never die out. The art of race-culture and nation-building will always form an important part of human progress. The Samskâras will change their old garbs and will assume new shapes.

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1	Foot-note No. 1	स्मृतिशीले	स्मृतिशीले
4	"	Samveda	Samaveda
9	15	Maitrayni	Maitrāyaṇi
11	18	ceremonies	ceremony
15	17	cammon	common
16	foot note 44	Bühler	Bühler
16	6	Caland	Caland
25	6	more	mere
"	8	punctitions	punctilious
32	3	Namakarṇa	Namakarṇa
"	13	Samāvatan	Samāvartana
45	foot-note 12	उज्जोव	उज्जीव
46	foot-note 18	दधात	दधातु
"	" 20	पशन्	पशन्
71	" 37	Godādhara	Gadādhara
75	14	actrology	astrology
100	foot note 18	प्रशून्	प्रशून्
116	title	JATAKARMA	JĀTAKARMA
132	6	nenies	names
135	1	forbips	forbids
148	15	coulb	could
175	16	Descrimination	Discrimination
195	24	Gure	Guru
197	6	unmber	number
200	4	Medhātthi	Medhātithi
207	3	upnnayan	Upanayana
208	21	facter	factor
216	9	Āhcarya	Āchārya
227	4	epual	equal
229	22	observes	observes
233	24	persuit	pursuit
236	10	waa	was
238	27	chiild	child
249	8	aarly	early
252	20	Vratasmātakas	Vratasnātakas
258	16	studest	student
273	neading	Historial	Historical
"	foot-note No. 26	मत्ता	मर्त्ता
"	"	विवाहान	विवाहानां
278	foot-note 38	कामसंभनः	कामसंभवः
281	" 48	इर्विष्य	इर्विष्य

284		dowry	dowry
286	foot-note 66	प्रजापत्यो	प्रजापत्यो
296	5	evogamy	exogamy
297	19	sanctily	sanctity
298	15	seme	same
301	14	similer	similar
303	20	Matulayoṣā	Mātulayoṣā
307	4	Pārashara	Pārāśara
307		Aśauce	Āśauca
309	foot-note 122	Epigraphia	Epigraphia
323		suitor	suitor
334		Vāraha	Vārāha
336		Anyapūrbikās	Ananyapūrvikās
340	foot-note 196	प्रयोजनम्	प्रयोजनम्
344	" 211	बोधपन	बोधयन
355	" 231b	प्रामचनं	प्रामचनं
357	" 8	Jalaśuddhi	Jalaśuddhi
361	sub-heading	Marriage-day	Marriage-day
369	"	Gādadhara	Gadādhara
"	foot-note 250	गोसंज्ञि	गोसंज्ञि
373	"	0	of
375	5	Kaṭikana	Kaṭikana
376	foot-note 265	मुक्ता	मुक्ता
380	head (21)	Woman	Women
"	7	"	"
383	4	Sumāṅgali	Sumāṅgali
393	20	enoferring	conferring
367	16	tot he	to the
"	foot-note 307	भुव	भुव
403	9	sumāṅgate	Sumāṅgali
408	17	desease	disease
418	16	Piatra	Pitara
450	foot-note 87	दशमिदिने	दशमिदिने
452	" 12	संस्थिते	संस्थिते
466	" 127	नीचनो	निचनो
467	20	thee	the
472	foot-note 144	विमोक्ष	विमोक्ष
478	166	विमोक्षान	विमोक्षान
483	10	in	in
485		conciliation	conciliation
489		cares	cares

